GUIDE TO THE SK7 GUANÁ FILE

[The Guaná, who call themselves Chaná, were the southernmost representatives of the widespread Arawakan linguistic family in South America. According to the written account of Sánchez Labrador in 1767, the Guaná tribes (Echoaladi, Kinikinao, Layana, Niguecactemic, and Terena), were located along the Paraguay River extending from latitude 21° S. to latitude 19° S. They were probably in this area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Terena, a sub-group of the Guaná and the file sample used here, now occupy the southern region of Mato Grosso which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians. In Paraguay, the name Guaná was substituted for Chaná, the latter term being restricted to the Layana sub-group. To distinguish the two Chaná branches whose history and culture developed along different lines, the name Chané by conventional usage has been applied to the western groups along the Andes and Guaná to the eastern sub-groups of the Paraguay basin.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards to the Chaco, the peaceful Guaná farmers had been conquered by and were vassals of the roving Mbayá. The Guaná provided the Mbayá agricultural produce, manufactured goods, and menial labor in return for protection against incursions from other war-like groups. This symbiotic relationship lasted until the nineteenth century when both ethnic groups began to disintegrate under White influence. While originally the cultures of Guaná and Mbayá were markedly different from one another, they soon blended together and became identical. During the last half of the 18th century (probably around 1787) the Guaná migrated to the eastern side

of the Paraguay River, while the Mbayá seem to have abandoned the Chaco. In 1767 the various subgroups making up the Guaná people were settled in seven large villages. Detailed information on these settlements and the subsequent demographic changes in locations and population size after a period of thirty years will be found in Métraux's article on the "Ethnography of the Chaco", Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. 1, pp. 239-240.

At the end of the 18th century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. In 1845 the population of Terená as reported by Castelnau was 3,000, basically the same as found for this group in the mid-20th century.

Subsistence was based primarily on agriculture by the brand-tillage method and supplemented by hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits and roots. The chief crops grown were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cara, beans, sweet potatoes, squash, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco. The dog was the only native domesticated animal among the Guaná, but the horse was readily adopted and produced a shift to a semi-migratory life. Among the Terena, parrots, macaws, and rheas were also kept for their feathers. Cattle were obtained in raids by the Terena, as well as horses, but apparently they were not milked but instead used as a source of meat and even ridden.

Men performed the heavy work of clearing the land and hoeing the ground while women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Food preparation, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making,

and warfare. Wild plant foods were gathered by both sexes.

The Guaná village consisted of a number of beehive-shaped huts (more rectangular among the Terena) covered with reed mats and arranged in a circle around a central plaza. Each of the huts housed a bilocal extended family. Residence was initially matrilocal but ultimately it became either matrilocal or patrilocal depending on the relative wealth and status of the family involved.

Marriage was generally monogamous but there was no objection to polygamy. In the past an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel or cross cousins or anyone whom he called "brother" or "sister", and was expected to marry within his moiety or class. Among affinal relations the sororate and levirate were the preferred marriage forms. No bride-price was required.

Descent among the Guaná was bilateral. The villages were divided into two endogamous moieties which generally functioned as ceremonial units but exercised some degree of control over their members by regulating marriages and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions. Each of these moieties had a separate chief although the villages themselves were politically autonomous and had a single war chief. Succession to office was patrilineal. Kinship terminology was of the Hawaiian type.

Class distinctions were well developed in Guaná society with three separate strata being present: (1) chiefs ("big" and "small"), (2) people (commoners), and (3) captives. The Terena recognized four such classes: (1) chiefs (unati), (2) warriors (shuna'asheti), (3) commoners (wahereshane) and (4) slaves (kauti). The slaves were obtained in raids on neighboring groups.

The aboriginal Terena believed in a high god (Itukoviche), in the culture hero twins (Yúrikoyuvaki) and in such evil spirits as Vanonu, Voropí and Hihíaiuné. All objects were believed to have a soul and thus to possess certain powers that could be called forth by magic for good or evil purposes. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by their living counterparts to influence the affairs of men. Today most of the Terena are either Catholics or Protestants, although they still attend shamanistic performances.

This file consists of six sources all dealing with the Terena sub-group of the Guaná; two in English (2: Oberg and 6: Oliveira), two being translations from the German (4: Baldus and 5: Rohde), one from the Portuguese (3: Oliveira) and one from the Spanish (7: Bach). Source number one in this file has not as yet been processed. There is no single source in the file that is completely adequate for a general background on the Terena, but instead a combination of sources 2: Oberg, 4: Baldus, 5: Rohde, and 7: Bach would give enough ethnographic data to serve as orientation material for the researcher. All sources in the file, except 7: Bach which was written by a businessman, were written by professional anthropologists and contain excellent primary data based on actual fieldwork with the Terena.

Source 2: Oberg is a study of culture change in Terena society resulting from contact and interaction with the Caduveo, an Mbayá group (SK11) and Brazilian culture in general. This theme of culture change is continued in 3: Oliveira, which attempts to record and interpret the processes of social interaction between Terena and Brazilian society with the goal of determining the operative socio-cultural mechanism affecting the more specific process of assimilation. 4: Baldus is a study of the succession to chieftainship within a Terena group living near Miranda in the southern part of the Brazilian Mato Grosso. This source also contains some incidental information on Terena ethnography. 5: Rohde is a collection of scattered ethnographic data, mostly on material culture, relevant to a Terena group living to the west of Miranda toward the Bolivian border. 6: Oliveira is a structural analysis of the Terena marriage and social stratification system. 7: Bach is again a collection of notes on the ethnography of the Terena living near Miranda, gathered during the author's travels through the area in the 1890's. The researcher should note that the data contained in this file are primarily restricted to the Terena subgroup of the Guana and do not necessarily relate to the entire Guaná group. The file, however, does have good historical coverage (1884-1958), but is somewhat weak on kinship and social and poltical organization. The file was processed in 1965-1968.]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

[P.1-B]

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

G 175 101 [131] G 175 161 M 131 M 161 M 101

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

M G 105 114 566 G M 105 621 648 63 G M

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

648 105 G [562] [627]

[P. 2-A]

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

[POST Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. 101 829 [177]

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos." 101 177 829

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization 101 177 182

[p.35-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

101
177
182
648

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of [673] unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another [681] reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving [682] murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the 177 182 Indian Service makes a stable community life 191 possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers [640] [792] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative 121 177 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[464] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society,
[162] as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/12 cont./

/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/21 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

/14 The study of this process, however, first called for a
/21 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

/13 cont./

114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[162] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying
[103] that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

/19/

G
Gi
M
101
G
[104]
[113]

I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

G
C
101
175

3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G /19 cont./
C
101
175

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G
175
[361]
[648]
[162]

C
161
[361]

G
Ki
M
161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]

G
[172]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[191]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

/24 cont./

/121/ elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
/177/ for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
/178/ an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

● /101/ Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[13] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
/101/ occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
/175/ "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/25 cont./
/10/ parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among them-
/175 selves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the

[128]

10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

12. 1809, II:86.

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

13. 1898:471.

/25 cont./

/101/ The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyênó," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology. (14)

14. Cf. the works of Metraux, Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

and /26/ adopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology [114] faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the [174] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

/26 cont./

101 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not
174 consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guaná subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás," which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the Guaná subgroups as a whole. (16) A /

101

16. The distinction made by Sanches Labrador between the tribal designations and the names attributed to the Aruák groups by the Guaikurú, permits us to set up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

101 This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a
648 Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--owing to the enormous Guaikurú influence throughout the area--the "Choarána" seem to have been known in the 18th century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).
101 Already in the following century, the
[648] Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the remaining "Choarana" seem to have been called also by the generic name "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and "Chualas," which are added to the

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. 7/A

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

7/A [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

/28 cont./

the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/29 cont./

121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná (26) show
241

26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses." (27) Already by this
648

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors." (28)

28. Ibidem.

G /31 cont./
M their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--
175 or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko.
648 "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
[201] have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights
M over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques
565 and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
648 and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our
175 brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the
G
M
175
648
431

34. Idem:267.

G offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their
[288] servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake
of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a
cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
M the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not
[565] offered such presents, even though they are provided with food
[574] during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends
and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in
175 the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand
648 the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the
17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
G their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed
[439] knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could
supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max
174 Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)
648

[text continues on p. 33]

G M 175 648 [57] 622 [682]

/35 cont./
Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/ will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

G M [101]

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layana words.

G [191]

The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

/21 /73 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work.
[128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
631 ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[171] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G 565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to refer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané), and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

G [104]

M 565

M 565 631

59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

H
175
167

/59 cont./

us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

G
H
175
167
G
[101]

But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

H
175
167

101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant.--On the right bank of the

/61 cont./

H 175 167 496 162 361

idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:181-132.)

G 175 177 /62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population((108)

G [101] [361]

108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

G [162]

cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

G [361]

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/64 cont./

175
177
797

had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[10] munities; chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

[361]

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175
648

/65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
● [01] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175
621
648
723
[13]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

/119 cont./

121 of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac, the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families, comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[621]

190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in /120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already mentioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how widely the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families, a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihã (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construír lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

/93 cont./

/101 I passed through all of the aldeas mentioned, starting my trip on February 21 and ending it on April 14 of the present year (1896).

/92

Terena Vocabulary

Man, oyhénó
Woman, sénó
Infant, calihónó
Head, tuty
Eyes, uqué
Nose, guirij
Mouth, pahó
Teeth, ohé

Tongue, nené
Ears, quenó
Neck, docó
Hair, tutijé
Forehead, uhónhó
Arm, daquij
Hand, mohúm
Fingers, toes, coava móhúm
Body, nninho
Chest, chéné
Milk, atuchéné
Heart, omisconé
Liver, apacaná
Lungs, japahytinán
Intestines, ocóhó
Legs, anunzéré
Foot, jévé

Scrotum, ayháquiá
Anus, acicicó
Beard, achenoyhó
Skeleton, hopéthij
Buttock, curócunan
Cemetery, petyayháquiá
God, tupá
Father or cacique, cóchómonetij
House, petij
Walls, yévépetij
Roof, tunucunanpetij
Door, pahápetij
Bed, ypé
Net, tuyty
Ball, uthó
Ollas, chóróná
No, acó
Yes, all right, honaijtij
Small, calij
Water pot or jug, camuchy
Knife, peritau
Necklace, chúrópé
Arrows, chumé
Bow, chequij
Kitchen, oyécótique

Chane SF8
Guana SK7

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

Ga [621] "The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

102
131

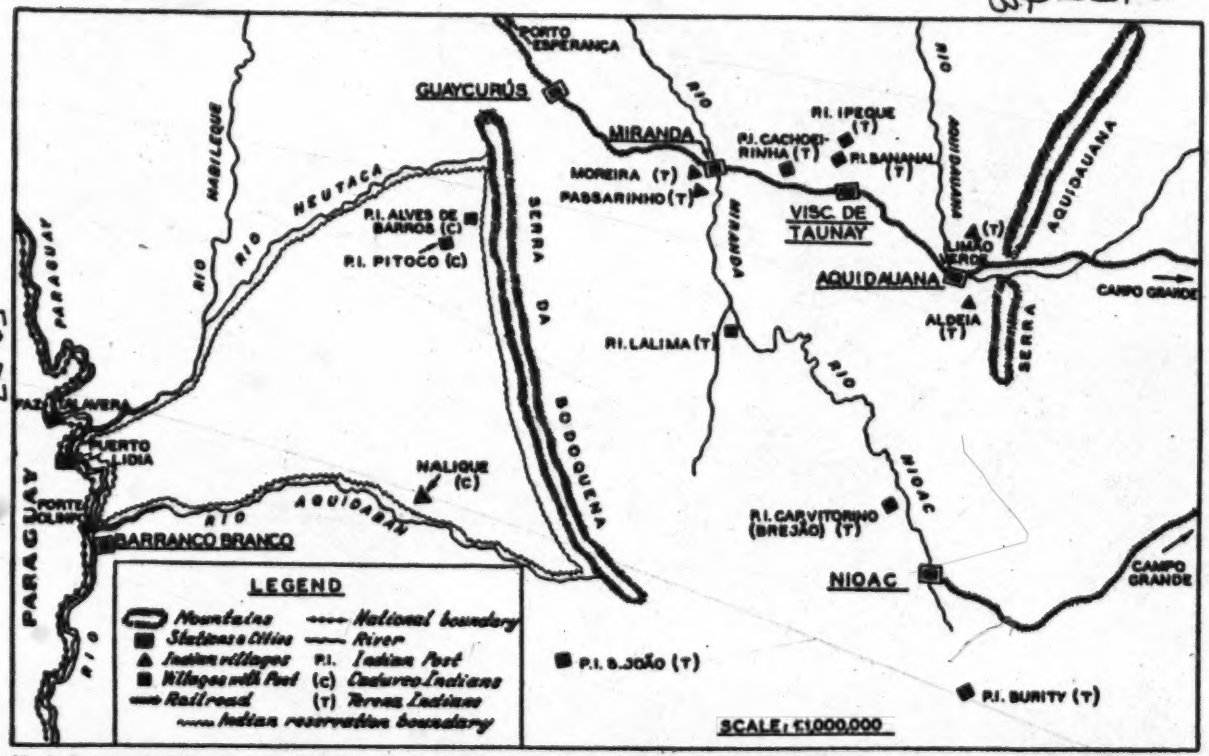
MAP 1.—South America, showing area of study.

[p. vi]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

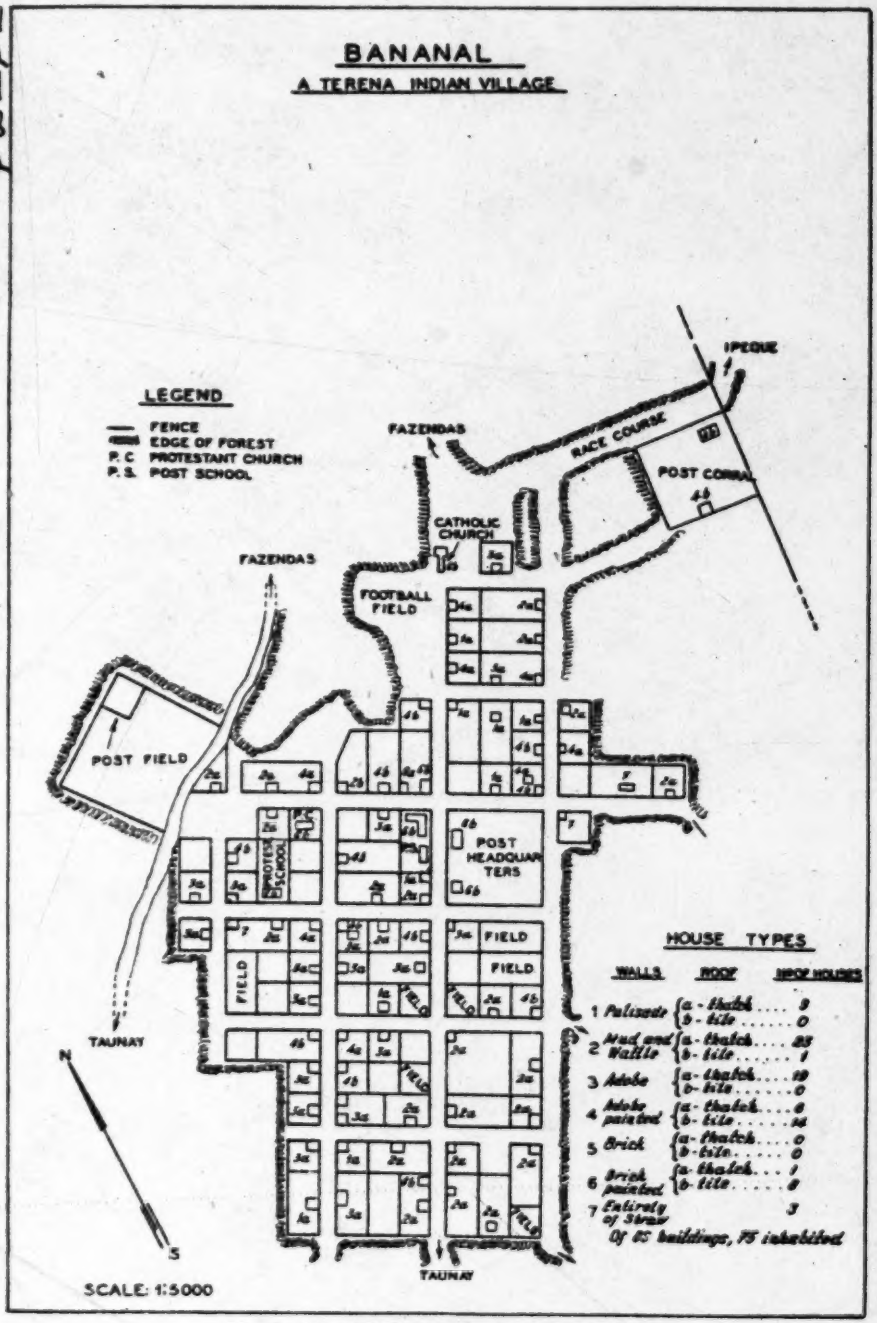
M
GP
103
102
131
361
162
133

[p.7]



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 800; Cachoeirinha, 400; Ipegue, 304; Cap. Vitorino, 180; Burity, 470 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 185 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 3,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 150. (For P. I. Ipegue on map, read P. I. Ipague.)

311
342
361
368
102

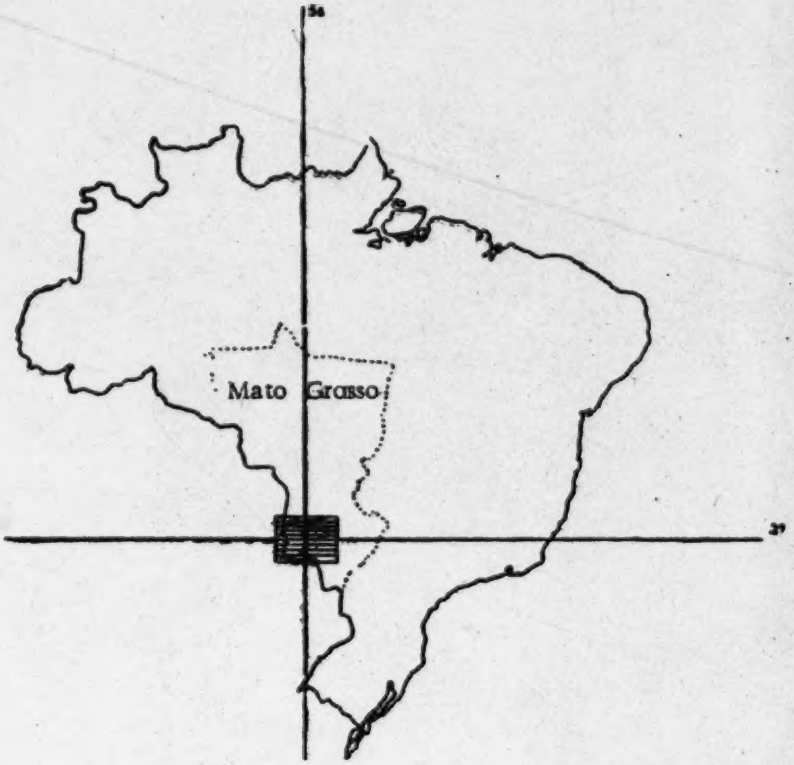


MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).
(For Ipegue on map, read Ipegue.)

[P.21]

/21 cont./

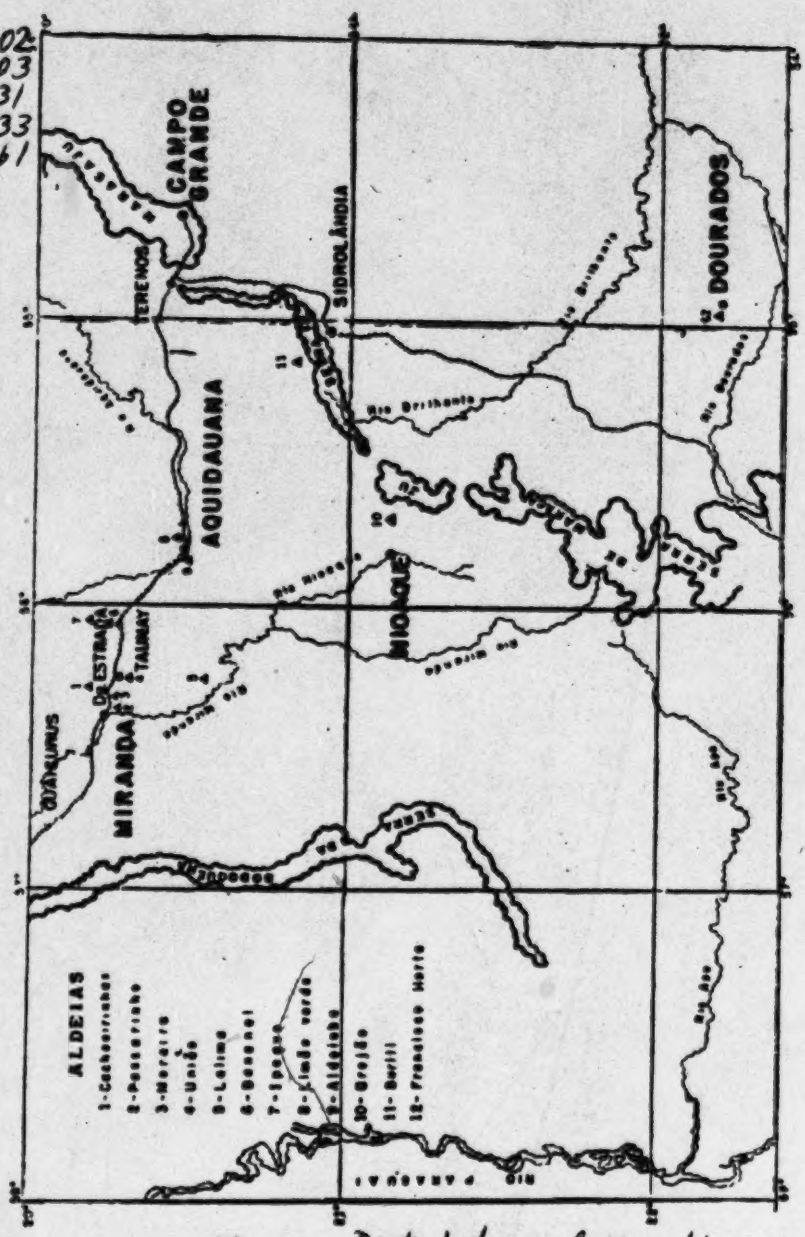
102
131



Map 1. Location of the region occupied by the Terêna Indians.

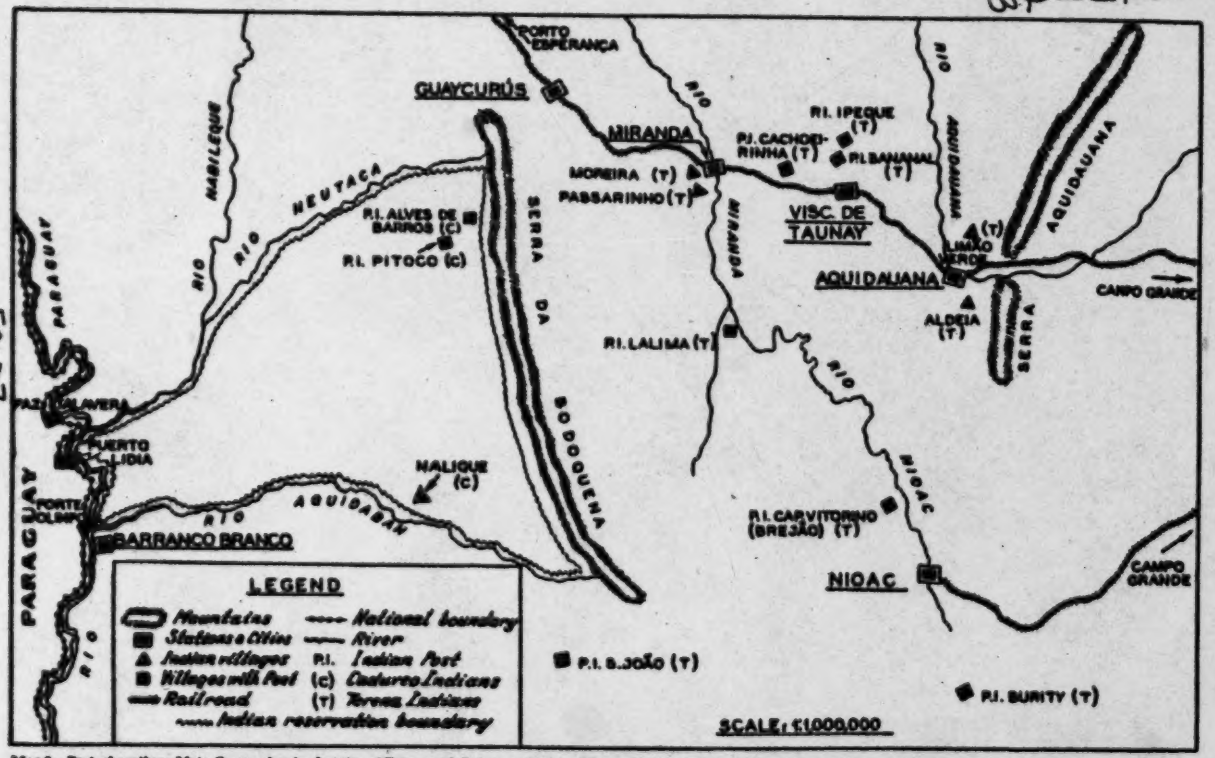
3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

102
103
131
133
361



Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas.

M
G
103
102
131
361
162
133



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 800; Cachoeirinha, 600; Ipegue, 354; Cap. Vitorino, 183; Burity, 470 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 185 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 3,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 150. (For P. I. Ipegue on map, read P. I. Ipagua.)

[p.7]

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will 162
434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 434
464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

/13 cont./

114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/71 cont./

175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

135. Ibid.

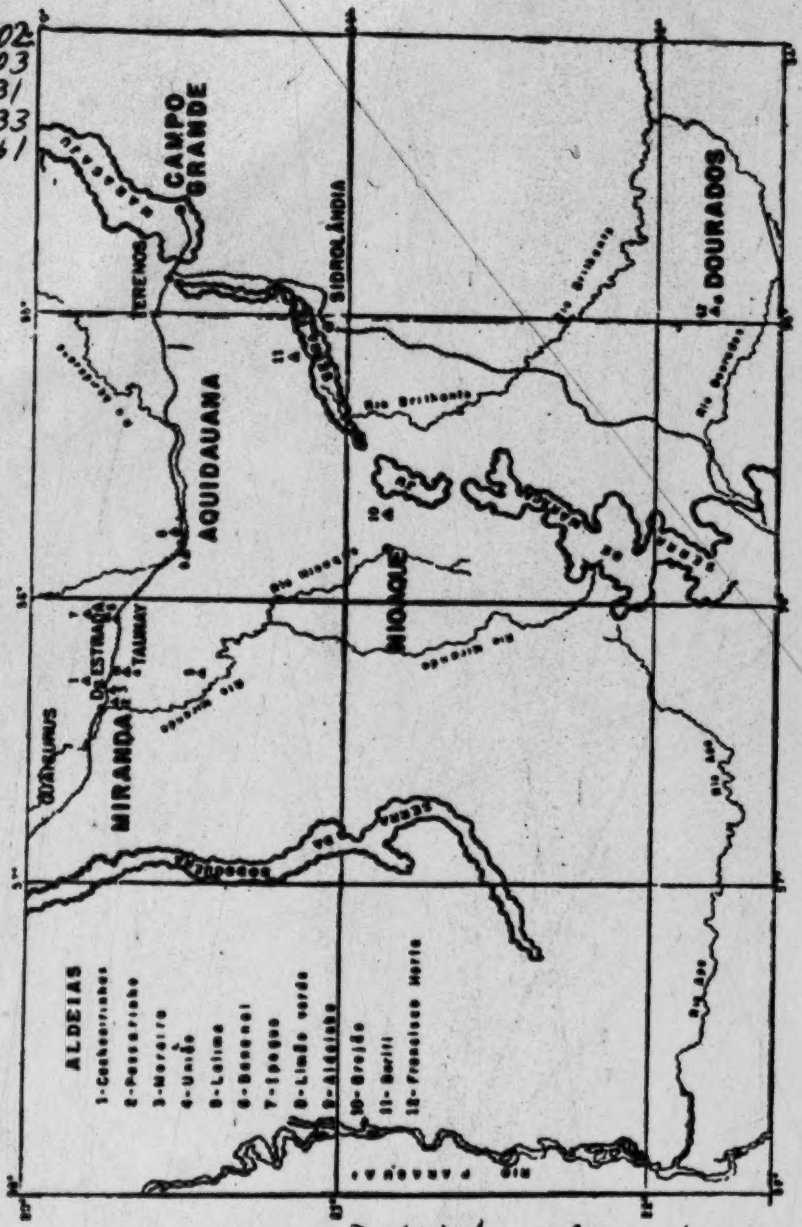
103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikũ, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikũ; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[621] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

102
103
131
133
361



Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas.

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[529] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphêytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas
[342] show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

chupu--manioc
hianketi-soparo--long-eared yellow maize
huati-soparo--a white variety of maize
ilomei--digging stick made from the wood of the "palo santa"
imóheve--anklets
imotáki--bracelets
ipuhicoti-hiuka--birth
itishovoti--moiety council meetings
kali ita'aka--a small calabash which is a symbol of moiety chieftainship
kuati-soparo --a mixed-color ear of maize
nakóti--necklaces
nimake--a large bag made from yulu fibers
nóneovokúti--a central plaza around which Terena houses are built
oneu--the village
ovokúti--Terena house
repenóti--a sleeveless cotton shirt
shipa--maize cake
shiripá--a cotton loincloth

● 104

shumonó--name of a moiety meaning "wild people"
shuna'asheti--war chief; war class
soparo--maize (in general)
suati-chupu--bitter manioc
sukirikionó--a moiety name meaning "gentle people"
unati ashé--moiety chief
veri--a small bag made from yulu fibers

kauti--war captives
koipinapati--spirits of the dead
koixomuneti--doctor-sorcerer
machatichane--field laborers
naati (naati-atte)--chiefs
shunachati--warriors
waherê-txané (maxati-txane)--people

/19/

G
Gi
M
101

I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

G
[104]
[113]

1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

G
C
101
175

3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G
565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to re-
G [104] fer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané),
M 565 and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

M
565
631

59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [654] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[62] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[491] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

• [104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

[P. 2-A]

Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the immediate relatives and following of the Guaná woman and could be exercised only by himself and his close relatives, the purely political aspects of the relationship are diminished. The suggestion made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to certain Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kinship bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held a superior position because of the prestige arising from their military power. The Guaná, as a whole, however, maintained their political and economic autonomy.

G M 105 648 M [554]

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis on warfare had already led to the development of rank based on war honors and the possession of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a distinction was made between those who received this position through birth and those who received it through favor. Between these two chiefly grades and the slaves were the great body of hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing particularly strange in the fact that the warlike Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a functional relationship between the Mbayá desire to capture women and children and the Mbayá practice of infanticide.

M 554 565 [567] [622] [727] M 847 727 567

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo today explain these practices by saying that a mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse while nursing her child and rather than forego sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her husband a woman avoids having children. The Caduveo go further and explain that they had, in the past, to capture women and children in order to maintain their numbers. One would expect that powerful sanctions would be necessary to enforce compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo make no explicit mention of the consequences resulting from the breaking of this rule. It may be that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by the economic circumstances which, among a nomadic hunting people, make numerous small children a burden upon their parents. The distinctions of rank, the possession of war captives as slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be-

M 834 [847]

G M 174 648

[P. 2-B]

As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in. G M 105 174

In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose. M 178 105 M [648]

On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point G 105 M G [648] G [161]

[P. 4-B]

Terena
Mbaya SK11 M G 105 [511]

Compared from the point of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo.

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

M 142 M [123] M [144]

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Lab-

[P. 5-A]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from 582
marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally mo- 595
nogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young 591
couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or 606
father-in-law avoidance.

The above is a general description of the social 105 ●
organization of the Terena while they were in the 177
Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom [847]
of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin.

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent 105
settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of 177
organization resembling that of the Mbayá. [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class
organization was the first to disappear. The ap- 105
pointment of captains or village chiefs first weak- 177
ened and finally abolished the positions of the 182
moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were
forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the [616]
fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulat-
ing marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew
weaker, an individual being able to marry his
opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite
moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, there- 105
fore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 [162]
Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the [648]
local groups, or villages, are established on defined
areas of Government land. Contact between the
members of the different villages is maintained [628]
through intermarriage, visiting between relatives
and friends, football matches between the principal
villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the fol- [594]
lowing structural elements: The basic unit is the
individual family, which carries on the primary
economic activities associated with the rearing and
training of the young. The extended family is [596]
no longer a defined house group although bilateral
kinship ties are strong, very much after the Bra-
zilian pattern. Young married men live either [591]
with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same
house, but in most cases they sooner or later build
their own houses on the same lot. Politically the [648]
village is organized around the Post with the [361]
Brazilian manager exercising authority through
his police force and the Terena village chief, or
headman. In the principal villages the people [771]
are organized into two religious groups, Catholics
and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger [576]
villages are organized into football teams and, in
Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

Native dances like the Shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

Ga [621] "The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

Guato SP15
Guana SK7
Mbaya SK11
Guaicuru
Guachi SP14

/549 cont./

M 105 175 few horses, some wool-bearing animals, birds, and pigs. Take wives and children away from the Chamococos as well as the Enimás on the neighboring Paraguay. Weave fine ponchos, hammocks, carrying bands, and belts. Proud, inclined to drunkenness and thievery.]

/550/

G 105 175 7. Guanás. Village near Albuquerque and half a league from Cuyabá.

131 [162] 8. Guanás Kinikináos. About 800 in Village I in Matto grande three leagues west of Albuquerque, Village II 200 near Miranda.

9. Guanás Terenas. Live settled in the vicinity of the garrison city (presidio) Miranda.

10. Guanás Laianas. The same.

G 105 175 [Report 1858: Guanás and Kinikináos in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho under the excellent Brother Mariano de Bagnaia, who departed on vacation and remained in S. Paulo. They had a schoolmaster, a music teacher, and a master tailor. Terenas and Laianas in the Aldea da Villa de Miranda.

Report 1861: The Kinikináos lived in the judicial district of Albuquerque, three leagues from the city, in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho long before the establishment of the Directoria. The latter sought to create order through the mission of Frei Mariano. For the Terenas, Laianas, and Guachis -- numbering 2500 -- a settlement was established on 30 April 1860 one league from the Villa de Miranda. (This contradicts the report of 1858.)]

Gi 105 175 11. Guaxis. A tribe almost extinct. Conditions similar to those of the Guanás and Guaycurus of Miranda, where they likewise live.

GO 105 175 [131] GO [501] 12. Guatós. On the right Paraguay bank and on the lagoons of the upper mouth of the Paraguay-merim to a little below Escalvado, also on the S. Lourenço and Cuyabá mouth. During the rainy season in the flooded campo region. Build small and low huts, during the day remain in the canoes, which are very well constructed, are small and fast. Sometimes one sees a

2: Oberg, Kalervo. The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 9, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1949.

Pp. vi, 72; 24 end plates; 4 maps; 2 charts.

HRAF copy.

/Omitted from file: pp. 52-68 and plates 12-24 containing data on the Caduveo./

/This brief monograph outlines the changes in Terena culture resulting from contact and interaction with the Caduveo, other Indians who are culturally different from the Terena, and eventually with Brazilian culture. The changes in social structure are presented through discussion of the economy, kinship, social stratification, religion, recreational activities, and life cycles of Chaco days and present-day Terena in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil. Case histories of various individuals representing different occupational groups and intensive data on the village of Bananal are included "in order to obtain more intimate

2: Oberg, Kalervo.

understanding of present-day Terena." However, there is little explanation of the sampling or other research techniques used. The author simply indicates that the present-day data is based on field work, while the data of the historical period was taken from Spanish, Portuguese, and French documents, in addition to the Handbook of South American Indians.

The sections on economy and religion are more adequately covered than the other sections. This source provides a useful way to orient oneself to the culture and especially to place future research in its historical and changing context. /

Field date: 1946-47
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

3: Oliveira, Roberto Cardoso de. O Processo de Assimilação dos Terêna /The Process of Assimilation of the Terena/. Preface by Darcy Ribeiro. Museu Nacional, Serie Livros, I. Rio de Janeiro: Museu Nacional, 1960.

Pp. 166; frontispiece; 14 plates; 2 figures; 2 maps; bibliography; index. /HRAF MS: pp. i-iii, 1-219/.

University of Wisconsin: F2520.1.T45.04. DLC: F2520.1 T45055. DLC card no.: 64-51762.

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

/This source attempts to record and interpret the processes of social interaction between Terena and Brazilian society, with the ultimate goal of determining the operative socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the more specific process the author calls assimilation. In recording these processes of social interaction the author has adopted the following methods: (1) the reconstruction of pre-European tribal life based on information provided by the old men of the tribe in conjunction with the facts of daily life actually observed; (2) the comparison of different communities where European-Indian contacts have been extensive; and (3) the collection of "case histories" to show the extent and nature of contact change. The author gathered his data for the study from approximately eight months of relatively discontinuous field work, four of which were spent in the aldea of Cachoeirinha, a 'representative' Terena community, and the remainder in eleven other Terena aldeas, including Aldeinha, a Terena suburb of the city of Aquidauana, and in the Brazilian cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana and Miranda. The information gathered from the above is organized for presentation into eight chapters which give a brief identification of the Terena as a Guana subgroup; the Mbaya-Guana "symbiotic" relationship which existed for many years; a brief account of the traditional Terena-Guana culture; a study of the Brazilian settlement pattern in southern Mato Grosso, and their effect on the modification of the regional native situation;

3: Oliveira, Roberto Cardoso de.

a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each Terena local group (as obtained from older Terena informants and supplemented by documentary research), with a comparative examination of these data in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables so as to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior: acculturation and mobility as two facets of the assimilation process: and finally the mechanisms of assimilation themselves which the author bases in part on the theory of Daniel Glaser which includes the situation of "segrated," "marginal," "desegrated," and "assimilated" as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum" by means of which the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. The author's conclusions to this study are summarized on pages 216-219 of the text.

It should be noted in this source that most of the data presented pertain to the Terena living in their native aldeas or to the urbanized Indians, with only scant information on the "detribalized" Terena living on the Brazilian farms or fazendas.

The bibliography and index will be found only in the foreign text, cat. 116, pp. 155-160 and 161-166 respectively./

Field dates: 1955-1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1966-1968

4: Baldus, Herbert. Die Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno /The Succession of the Chiefs among the Terena/. Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. 4, Pt. 2, pp. 38-42. Stuttgart: E. Schweizerbart'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1944.

Yale: Xd21 E84 4. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-8/.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Shelton Hicock.

/This is a study of the succession to chieftainship of the Terena living near Miranda in the southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. The field work was undertaken by the author in February 1934, with the assistance of a native informant, José Correia (Kalapité or Nakilí being the native name), chief of the village of Mureira, whose family history pertinent to the office of chief and prior to his succession to chieftainship presumably provides the basis on which the author establishes his criteria for his "order" of succession. It is interesting to note that in this "order" of succession it is the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons that inherit the office, and in the succeeding order always the oldest of the chief's eligible relatives (see category 116; p. 6).

In addition to the primary focus of this study the author also presents incidental data on such aspects of Terena ethnography as names and naming, eschatology, conception and pregnancy, marriage regulations and arrangements, and kinship terminology and relationships./

Field date: 1934
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1968

5: Rohde, Richard. Einige Notizen über den Indianerstamm der Terenos /Some Notes on the Terena Indian Tribe/. Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 20, pp. 404-409. Berlin, 1885.

Yale: E10 G415 1885. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-7/.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Shelton Hicock.

/This work consists of some scattered ethnographic notes on the Terena Indians living west of the Brazilian city of Miranda toward the Bolivian border. Most of the notes deal with the material culture of the people--pottery making, basketry, clothing, weaving, trade with Miranda, etc., but there is also some information on marriage customs, religious festivals (the festival of the seven stars and the Mainu), and political organization. This latter aspect is particularly interesting since Rohde seems to have been one of the few Europeans to have commented on and actually met a supreme chief of the Terena. Later sources in this file indicate that there may have been a "paramount" chief at one time, but apparently this portion did not exist at the time of these works were written, for in practically all instances their immediate concern was with chieftainship at the village level./

Field date: 1884
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1966-1968

6: Oliveira, Roberto Cardoso de. Marriage and Terena Tribal Solidarity: An Essay in Structural Analysis. American Indigena, Vol. 21, pp. 233-252. Mexico: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1961.

HRAF copy.

/This article is a structural analysis of the Terena marriage and social stratification systems, based on field work in 1955-58, under the auspices of the Indian Protective Service and the Division of Anthropology of the National Museum of Brazil. The author considers the Terena marriage and social stratification systems as two major structural elements which have promoted social solidarity among the Terena people and made the survival of Terena culture possible despite a history of relocation from Paraguayan Chaco to Brazilian Mato Grosso.

Since there are no written data of pre-nineteenth century Terena, Oliveira gathered his ethnographic data through interviews with older Terenans, by evoking their memories of tribal society, which has long since ceased to exist.

This social anthropological study of Terena is one of the few studies of Terena based on field work., It was originally written in Portuguese and has

6: Oliveira, Roberto Cardoso de.

been translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman. Although some misspellings and typographical errors can be found, the data seem reliable and interesting. /

Field date: 1955-1958
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

7: Bach, J. Datos sobre los Indios Terenas de Miranda /Data on the Terena Indians of Miranda/. Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina, Vol. 82, pp. 87-94. Buenos Aires, 1916.

Yale: Argentina A61 65 81-82. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-10/.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Muirden.

/This source is composed of numerous brief ethnographic notes concerning the Terena living in the vicinity of Miranda in southern Brazil. The notes were gathered by the author during his visit to them in the last decade of the 19th century. Some of the more lengthy items of information concern marriage, birth, death, the chieftainship, population figures and names of several Terena villages (aldeas), games, dances, and a brief listing of Terena vocabulary.

The editor notes that after Bach turned over his notes to them in 1898, he set out on a new trip to the Mato Grosso and was never heard from again./

Field date: 1896
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Businessman-5
Processed in 1966-1968

SK7 Guana

Oberg, Kalervo. Terena Social Organization and Law. American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 50, pp. 283-291. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1948.

HRAF copy.

/This source has not been processed since the identical material may be found in 2:Oberg, this file./

Schmidt, Max. Guana. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 35, pp. 324-336, 560-604. Berlin: Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Verlag von A. Asher & Co., 1903.

Yale: Nk10 z37 v. 35.

/This source is essentially a comparative vocabulary of the Guana language collected from a number of published sources. Therefore, it has not been processed for the SK7 Guana file.]

SK7 Guana

Taunay, Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, Visconde de. Entre os Nossos Indios. Chanés, Terenas, Kinikinaus, Guanás, Laianas, Guatós, Guaycurús, Caingangs [Among our Indians. Chanes, Terenas, Kinikinaus, Guanas, Laianas, Guatos, Guaycurus, Caingangs]. São Paulo - Cayeiras - Rio: Editora Comp. Melhoramentos de São Paulo, [1931].

Pp. 134; 3 plates.

Library of Congress F2520.E88.

/Pages 7 through 80 contain short notes on the Indians of the southern Mato Grosso during the middle 1860's, principally on the Terena, Guaycuru and Guana, as well as a Guana vocabulary. Since much of this material is picked up in other sources on the Terena this source has not been processed./

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO.
1946. Terena religion. Acta Americana, vol. 4, pp. 214-222. 113

ABARA, FÉLIX DE.
1923. Viajes por la América Meridional. 2 vols. Madrid.

BACH, J.
1916. Datos sobre los indios Terenas de Miranda. An. Soc. Cient. Argentina, vol. 82, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT.
1937 a. Ensaios de etnologia brasileira. Bibl. Pedag. Brasil., ser. 5a, vol. 101.
1937 b. Tereno-Texts. Anthropos, vol. 32, pp. 528-544.

BOGGIANI, GUIDO.
1945. Os Caduveo; com pref. e um estudo histórica e etnográfica de G. A. Colini; tradução de Amadeu Amaral Júnior, revisão, introd. e notas de Herbert Baldus. São Paulo.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE.
1850-59. Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, de Rio de Janeiro à Lima, et de Lima au Para. Vols. 1-6. Paris.

CHARLEVOIX, PIERRE FRANÇOIS XAVIER DE.
1757. Histoire du Paraguay. 6 vols. Paris.

COMINGES, D. JUAN.
1892. Exploraciones al Chaco del Norte. Diario de la segunda expedición realizada en octubre y noviembre del año 1879. *In* Obras escogidas de Don Juan Cominges con su biografía por el D. Matias Alonso Criado. Buenos Aires.

HAY, ALEXANDER RATTRAY.
1928. The Indians of South America and the Gospel. New York.

[P. 69-A]

[pp. 52-A - 68-B are not Processed]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LOUKOTKA, ČESTMIR.

1960. Contribuciones a la lingüística sudamericana. Vocabularios inéditos o poco conocidos de los idiomas Rankelche, Guahibo, Piaroa, Toba, Pilagá, Tumanahá, Kaduveo, etc. Rev. Inst. Etnol. Univ. Nac. Tucumán, vol. 1, pp. 75-106. 113

1962. Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la vie et du langage des Kaduveo. Journ. Soc. Amér. Paris, n. s., vol. 25, pp. 251-277.

MÉTRAUX, ALFRED.

1946. Ethnography of the Chaco. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, Julian H. Steward, Editor. Vol. 1, The Marginal Tribes, pp. 197-370. (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 1.)

PRADO, FRANCISCO RODRIGUES DO.

1908. Historia dos indios cavalleiros ou da nação Guaycurú. Rev. Inst. Hist. Geogr. Brasil, vol. 1, pp. 21-44. Ed. 3. Rio de Janeiro.

RHODE, RICHARD.

1885. Einige Notizen über den Indianerstamm der Terenos. Zeit. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin, vol. 20, pp. 404-410.

RIVASSEAU, EMILIO.

1941. A vida dos indios Guaycurús, quinze dias nas suas aldeias (sul de Grosso). (Bibl. Pedag. Brasil., ser. 5a Brasiliana, vol. 60.) 2d ed. São Paulo.

SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, José.

1910-17. El Paraguay Católico. 3 vols. Buenos Aires.

SCHMIDT, MAX.

1908. Guaná. Zeit. Ethnol., vol. 35, pp. 324-336, 560-604.

TAUNAY, ALFREDO DE ESCRAGNOLLE DE.

1913. Entre os nossos indios; chanás, terenas, kinikinaus, guanás, laianas, guatós, guaycurús, caingangs. São Paulo.

[p. 69-B]

[p. 70 is blank]

3:Oliveira--11 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

/19/
G
Gi
M
101

I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

G
[104]
[113]

> 1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

> 2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil (3).

G
C
101
175

> 3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

/27 cont./
114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
175 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

[113]

21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

[167]

by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

M 565 631

the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree; and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

G [631] [171]

G M 565 563 171

We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss below.

G M [113]

60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

[text continues on p. 47]

/82 cont./
Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are
[491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are
[496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 The first accurate census data available compel us to
621 deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over
166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and
161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a
162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around
621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 146. Consulting the 1921
166 report of the Mato Grosso
621 Inspetoria, we read: "The
[13] Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/. Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea, [166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The [648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any 175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the 621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922, 648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso. [162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among [166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further [162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175
621
648
423
[113]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 [464] if it were not for the fact that some families had left to work on fazendas. (154) But the population did not cease growing,

[113]

154. The Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, for the year 1937, says the following: "Before (1937) the number of inhabitants was greater, but some families left in search of work, in order to acquire such staples as food and clothing. The lack of agricultural implements contributed to the departure of these families." And it cannot be said that the departure of Indians from Buriti was a minor affair, when we see that already in 1926 there were in that community 450 persons living in 52 houses, according to the Relatorio da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for that year. We see that from 1923 to 1926, in three years, the population of the aldeà grew by 30 individuals; and from 1926 to 1937, aside from the population dropping slightly, we see quite a big increase in the number of ranchos: from 52 to 91--

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

182
571
[648]
[828]
[628]

REFERENCES

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949—"Mudança Cultural dos Terena" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo, pp. 271/379.

BACH, J.
1916—"Datos sôbre los indios Terena de Miranda" in *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, LXXXII, Buenos Aires, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1937—"A successão hereditária do Chefe entre os Tereno" in *Ensaios de Ethnologia Brasileira, Coleção Brasiliana*, pp. 70-85.
1950—"Lendas dos índios Tereno" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo, pp. 217-232.

BALDUS, HERBERT e EMILIE WILLEMS
1939—*Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia*. Companhia Editora Nacional.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE
1949—*Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul*. Coleção Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editora Nacional, São Paulo (vol. II).

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1922—*De la Division du travail Social*, 4° édit., Paris, Alcan.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1936—*We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London.
1954—"Social Organization and Social Change", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 84, pp. 1-20.
1955—"Some Principles of Social Organization", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 85, pp. 1-18.

113

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

●113 HAY, ALEXANDER RATTRAY
1928—*The Indians of South America and the Gospel*, New York.
LEVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE
1949—*Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté*. Press Universitaire de France.
1954—"Social Structure", in *Anthropology Today* (ed. Kroeber), pp. 524-553.
LEVY, J. MARION, JR.
1952—*The Structure of Society*, Princeton University Press.
MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1951—*Outline of South American Cultures*, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven.
NADEL S. F.
1957—*The Theory of Social Structure*. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
OBERG, KALERVO
1948—"Terena Social Organization and Law", in *American Anthropologist*, vol. L nº 2, pp. 283/291.
1949—*The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso*, Brazil. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication nº 9, Washington.
OLIVEIRA, ROBERTO CARDOSO DE
1957—"Preliminares de uma pesquisa sôbre a assimilação dos Terêna", in *Revista de Antropologia*, vol. 5, nº 2, pp. 173-188.
(a) 1958—"Urbanização sem Assimilação: Estudo dos Terêna Destribalizados", in *Resumo das Comunicações à X Reunião Anual da Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência*, pp. 16-18.
(b) 1958—"Aspectos Demográficos e Ecológicos de uma comunidade Terêna", *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, nº 18, N. S., Antropologia. Rio de Janeiro.
1960—*O Processo de Assimilação dos Terêna*. Museo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
PARSONS, TALCOTT
1952—*The Social System*. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.
1952—"The Study of Kinship Systems", in *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. pp. 49-89.
RIBEIRO, DARCY
1957—"Culturas e Línguas Indígenas do Brasil", in *Educação e Ciências Sociais*, nº 6. Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais. Rio de Janeiro.
SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, JOSÉ (P)
1910—*El Paraguay Católico*, con sus principales provincias convertidas a la Santa Fé y vassallage del Rey de España por la predicación de los misioneros celosos de la compañía de Jesús, en gran parte arruinada por los mamelucos del Brasil y retablecidas por los mismos misioneros —año de 1770. Ed. Hermanos, Buenos Aires, vols. I and II.
SCHMIDT, MAX
1917—"Die Arusaken. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Kulturverbreitug." Studien zur Ethnologie und *Soziologie* (Manuscript translation to be found in National Museum).
TAUNAY, ALFREDO D'ESCRAGNOLE
1931—*Entre os nossos Indios*. Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo.

7:Bach--1 X-5 (1896) 1916 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/87/

Data on the Terena Indians of Miranda

J. Bach (1)

114 1. The notes that we publish at the present time were handed over to me by the trader, Mr. J. Bach, in the year 1898, before he set out on a new trip to north Mato Grosso. Since that time no word has been had of him, not even in the bosom of his family; there is no doubt that he has perished in the course of his exploration. We believe that we are complying with the wishes of the one who has disappeared by publishing his notes on the little-known natives of Brazil. It has been necessary to correct these notes, which were written hastily, but no change has been made either in
197 content or arrangement. We note in passing that the Terena Indians belong, from the linguistic point-of-view to the Guaná Indians, and these in turn are of the Moxo-Aruak linguistic group.

[113] (See: Max Schmidt, "Guaná," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. XXXV, pp. 324-336, 560-604. 1903). (Robert Lehmann-Nitsche.)

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

[P. 2-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

M 142
M [147]

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

G 141

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organizing and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

G 122
[114]
G [128]

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau* has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers [648] [797] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative 121 177 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
121 the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

/12 cont./

/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/12 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

/14 The study of this process, however, first called for a
/21 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

/13 cont./

114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

/14 cont./

/2/ had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investi-
[14] gation in view of the short time available. Our stay in
[12] Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each
[000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical sampling, in fact. (c) The collec-
[2b] tion of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

/15 cont./

/28 while at the same time giving an idea of the type of culture change brought about by acculturation, in the face of the socio-cultural changes resulting from social mobility; finally, VIII) "The Mechanisms of Assimilation"--where are examined, on the basis of "case histories," the factors that facilitate /16/ assimilation and those that hinder or impede it, concluding with a brief recapitulation of the basic theses of the work.

/14 We cannot close this introductory note without mentioning that this research was carried out through the stimulation of Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, when we were working under his direction in the Secção de Estudos (Museu do Índio) of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Our reading of his yet unpublished work, "A assimilação dos índios no Brasil /The Assimilation of the Indian in Brazil/," was basic to the formulation of our central research problems, while at the same time our association was a factor that contributed much to the success of our research, both in his courses on ethnology, in which we had the opportunity to participate as his assistant, and in the daily observation of his indigenist activities during the years 1954 to 1956. With his acceptance of our invitation to write a preface to the present work, Prof. Darcy Ribeiro is once more lending his stimulus and support to our work, incurring our sincere gratitude.

Aside from Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, Prof. Oracy Nogueira and Dr. Joaquim Mattoso Câmara Jr. read the manuscript. The first five chapters, ready since 1957, were read by Dr. Florestan Fernandes, our former professor of sociology, who introduced us to the systematic study of the social sciences when we were studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of the University of São Paulo. We thank them all for their suggestions, of which we made use of only those that seemed pertinent, this being the reason why we are solely responsible for the ideas expressed here. To our colleagues in the Divisão, Maria Heloisa Fenelon Costa and Dalton Moreira de Araújo, we wish to give thanks for the collaboration they were always ready to offer, especially to the latter, who accompanied us on our last trip into the field and helped us

/16 cont./

114 administer questionnaires and carry out interviews among the urbanized Terêna.

122 We are deeply grateful to the employees of the 5.ª Inspetoria Regional of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, particularly to Messrs. Luiz Martins da Cunha and Américo Antunes de Siqueira, heads of the Cachoeirinha Native Post, our hosts, respectively, in 1955 and 1957-58, who, with their families, put us up for several months in their home, in the midst of one of the largest and most beautiful Terêna Indian

123 /17/ aldeas. We wish to thank and pay homage to the Terêna population in the person of my fondly remembered friend, José Timóteo, "Captain" of Cachoeirinha, who died early in 1958, and to whose memory we dedicate this work.

122 To Dr. José Cândido de Melo Carvalho, Diretor-geral of the Museu Nacional, and Prof. Luiz de Castro Faria, Diretor of the Divisão de Antropologia, our gratitude for having financed the final part of this research, as well as having made its continuation possible when we entered the institution which they direct. /Page 18 is blank./

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

G
464
[463]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
[172]

G
464
648
[101]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
114
177

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

/20 cont./

114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the re-
quirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand,
as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned,
we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
175 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that
the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example,
is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where
Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden
age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not

5. 1946:206.

find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[Text continues on p. 16]

/22 cont. /

175 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, in so far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [640] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [797] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to [82] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived 121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among 177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that 178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/25 cont./

/101/ The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyênó," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology. (14)

14. Cf. the works of Metraux, Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

and /26/ adopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology [114] faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the [174] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

/27 cont./

174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

[131]

19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 The testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect,
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[197] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/27 cont./

114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
125 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

[113]

21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos índios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

[148]
[167]

by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

114
121
128
[171]

29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terena and up to recently the Kinikinau) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layana). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

/30 cont./

114
121
128

would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

175
648

The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175
648
M
[651]

Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some

G
[512]
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or captains married according to their fashion Guaná women caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

G
[566]

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

/33 cont./

M 175 648

Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

G M 175 648 [162]

treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

M G 114 175 648

39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

M G 175 648

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 221 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [554] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
567

63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Waherê-Txané, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

142 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

114
565

class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahere-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the
565 warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle
555 and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally
701 translated, would mean killer.. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group,
[567] whether they were Naati or Wahere-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not
[171] explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[128] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[296] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

/47 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555
563
565
616

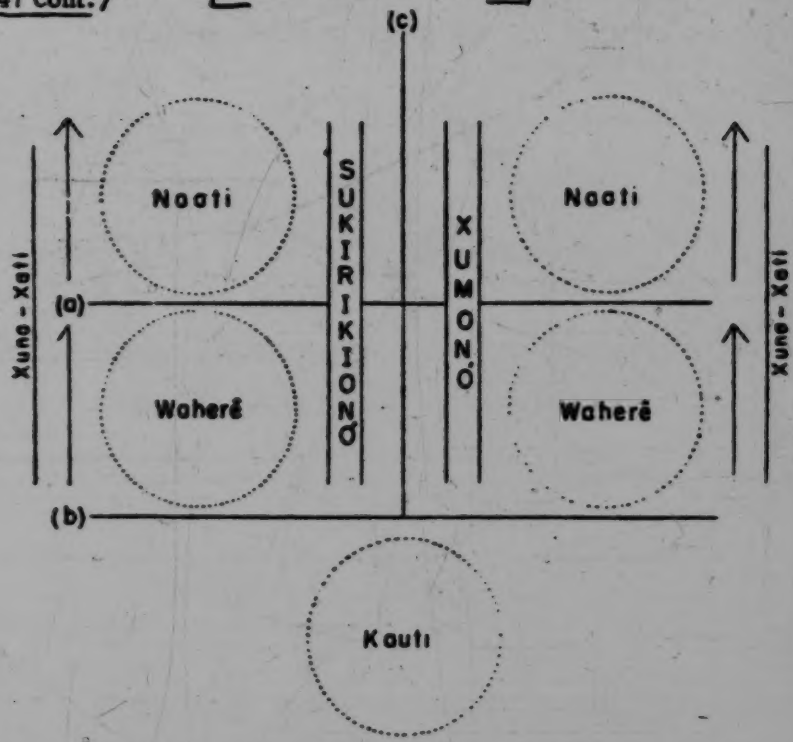


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú....* (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[121]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
671

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 526 565 178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 [526] [178] [114] [534] Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP7
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But
771 much greater--still according to the same source--was the re-
821 spect they showed for the "small constellation which they
[796] called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that
[17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a
[789] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux,
1944:294.

Terêna, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

776 J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these
●[114]
[82]

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

796 [346] /51 cont./ In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with [431] their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalú-rco) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate. Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

796 [114] festivities were carried out among the Terêna whom he visited at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182
619
571
462
[714]
largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

[222]
[223]

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

796
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[301]
[302]

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

90. "The cerimonial life
796 of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was par-
ticularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

G /69 cont./
B
466
178
B
657

And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keeping the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be said that there has not been a marked change since the time when the native laborer became the object of special attention on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
797

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G
[184]

/71 cont./
175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminiků, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminiků; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim
Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a
former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain
range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain
told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Naliki's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Naliki's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construír lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division of Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [117] *Assimilation of the Terena*), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population, which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16-18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect,.... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5-6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29-30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [997] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the [929] presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[12] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[199] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

582 [587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

835 773

601

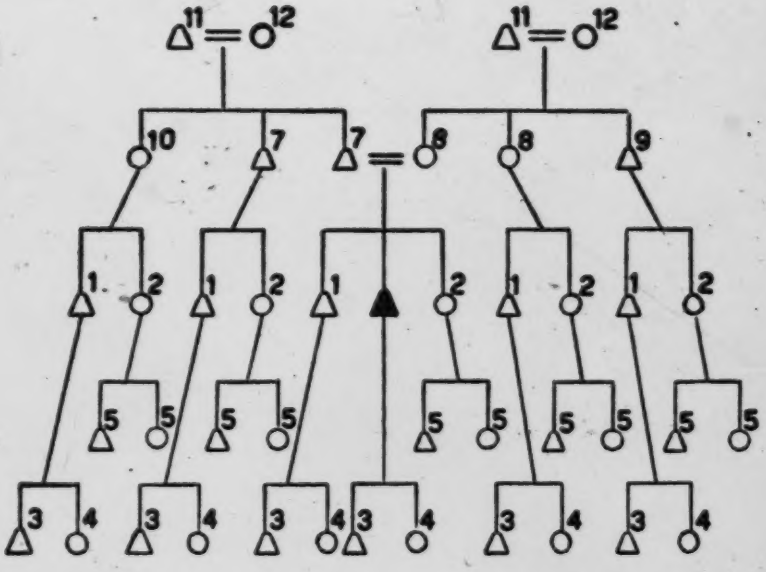


Figure V

(1) Andi, (2) Mongetxá, (3) Djé-á, (4) Inziné, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Keno, (9) Kungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onso. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Keno and Mongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Keno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

[114]

835 773

man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

[587]

/87/

Data on the Terena Indians of Miranda

J. Bach (1)

114 1. The notes that we publish at the present time were handed over to me by the trader, Mr. J. Bach, in the year 1898, before he set out on a new trip to north Mato Grosso. Since that time no word has been had of him, not even in the bosom of his family; there is no doubt that he has perished in the course of his exploration. We believe that we are complying with the wishes of the one who has disappeared by publishing his notes on the little-known natives of Brazil. It has been necessary to correct these notes, which were written hastily, but no change has been made either in
197 content or arrangement. We note in passing that the Terena Indians belong, from the linguistic point-of-view to the Guaná Indians, and these in turn are of the Moxo-Aruak linguistic group.

[113] (See: Max Schmidt, "Guaná," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. XXXV, pp. 324-336, 560-604. 1903). (Robert Lehmann-Nitsche.)

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas
[342] show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

/92 cont./

535 orchestra of drums and flutes. In front of the dancers are lo-
[622] cated two pairs of caciques, who witness the dance. They are accustomed to take part in the dance from the smallest Indian to the oldest; couples join up man with man and woman with woman, the men to the right and the women to the left of the music; when they arrive in front of the caciques, each pair is obliged to salute; the dance goes on in this way for three-
[114] quarters of an hour. I witnessed this dance in Agachy, when 48 couples took part, all of whom danced keeping time well with the music.

In the second dance the pairs of men form an arc in front of the music, but with their backs to it. The couples of women pass through the middle of the arc, and when they come out of it they split up, one to the right and one to the left, reuniting in front of the caciques. In this way the dance went on for half an hour, the men passing once more before the caciques
[114] for the defile. It was also in Agachy that I witnessed this dance.

[114] The third dance, which I saw right there, was similar to the first, but the dancers carried in their hands bunches of flowers and branches of wild plants, with which they saluted when they passed in front of the caciques.

[114] This fourth dance was witnessed by me in the aldea of Santa Ana. In front of the two pairs of caciques and four musicians with their drums and flutes, 22 couples formed up, men and women in equal parts. The dancers carried in their hands a piece of tacuara /a kind of bamboo/ more than one and one-half meters long. In files, the men to the /93/ right and the women to the left, and taking double steps to the rhythm of the music, they alternately struck the tacuaras against one another. This provided a pleasant sight; they did it so well and with such cleverness they seemed to be true artists. This dance lasted an hour and a half, without respite, leaving the dancers, on finishing, completely exhausted.

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version

773 [115]

93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each [616] went his way." It seems that we are in front of a myth that reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

> master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

G
466
173
128
[115]
[754]

Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

B
624
625

"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131)

131. Idem:83-84.

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

● 115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
170 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
PUBLICATION NO. 9

THE TERENA AND THE CADUVEO OF SOUTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL

by

KALERVO OBERG

Prepared in Cooperation with the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE · WASHINGTON : 1949

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. · Price 60 cents

[Title Page]

[p. i]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

000

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
Washington 25, D. C., May 6, 1948

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil," by Kalervo Oberg, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 9 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. FOSTER, *Director.*

DR. ALEXANDER WETMORE,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

[P. ii]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

000

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	1
The Terena	6
Terena economy in the Chaco	6
Habitat	6
Shelter	8
Clothing and ornaments	9
Collecting, hunting, and fishing	9
Agriculture	10
Domestic animals and birds	12
Manufactures	12
Building	13
Property and inheritance	13
Organization of labor	13
Present-day economy of the Terena	13
General description	13
Sources of income in a typical village	15
Life histories	17
An employee of the Indian Post	17
Farmer	18
Silversmith	18
Shopkeeper	18
Carter	19
Basket maker	19
Stockkeeper	19
Shoemaker	20
Mason	20
The village of Bananal	20
Clothing and ornaments	23
Agriculture	23
The daily round	26
Social organization	27
Moieties	27
Social classes	28
Law	29
Kinship terminology	30
Recent changes	33
Summary	37
The Terena—Continued	PAGE
The life cycle	38
Birth (ipakiati-kiaki)	38
Puberty	39
Marriage (kependi)	39
Burial	40
Modern changes	41
Religion	41
Religious beliefs	41
Shamanism	43
Present-day religion	45
Secular entertainment	47
Dances and games	47
Football	51
Horse racing	51
The Caduveo	52
The Mbayá in the eighteenth century	52
Social organization	52
Economic life	54
Life cycle	54
Shamanism	55
The Caduveo today	56
Economy	59
Kinship terminology	60
Life cycle	62
Myths	63
Religion	63
Dances and games	64
Caduveo pottery	65
Pottery forms	66
Manufacture	66
Ceramic decoration	67
Bibliography	69
Index	71

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7 Terena

600

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

(All plates at end of book)

(*Terena*)

1. Views of Bananal village.
2. Churches.
3. Schools.
4. House types.
5. Economic life.
6. Terena physical types.
7. Terena physical types.
8. Dancer and shaman.
9. Dances.
10. The old and the new religion.
11. Sports.

(*Caduveo*)

12. Scenes on Paraguay River.
13. Mode of travel and Caduveo chief.
14. Physical types.
15. Jugs and pitchers.
16. Bird-shaped jugs and jar.
17. Cups and bowls.
18. Jars.
19. Pitcher and jug.
20. Jugs.
21. Decorated calabains.
22. Caduveo designs.
23. Caduveo designs.
24. Caduveo designs.

MAPS

	PAGE
1. South America, showing area of study	vi
2. Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing the location of Terena and Caduveo villages	7
3. The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay)	21
4. The village of Alves de Barros	57

CHARTS

1. Terena kinship terms	31
2. Caduveo kinship terms	61

[p. iv]

[p. v contains no textual material]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

102
131

Map 1.—South America, showing area of study.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

The Terena and the Caduveo Southern

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far. 121

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes re- 127 128

[P. 1-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant. 127 128

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century. 101 175 648 [181]

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati- 101 175 [131]

[P.1-B]

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

G 175 101 [131] G 175 161 M 131 M 161 M 101

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

M G 105 114 566 G M 105 621 648 63

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

G M 648 105 G [562] [622]

[P. 2-A]

Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the immediate relatives and following of the Guaná woman and could be exercised only by himself and his close relatives, the purely political aspects of the relationship are diminished. The suggestion made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to certain Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kinship bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held a superior position because of the prestige arising from their military power. The Guaná, as a whole, however, maintained their political and economic autonomy.

G M 105 648 M [554]

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis on warfare had already led to the development of rank based on war honors and the possession of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a distinction was made between those who received this position through birth and those who received it through favor. Between these two chiefly grades and the slaves were the great body of hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing particularly strange in the fact that the warlike Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a functional relationship between the Mbayá desire to capture women and children and the Mbayá practice of infanticide.

M 554 565 [567] [622] [727] M 847 727 567

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo today explain these practices by saying that a mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse while nursing her child and rather than forego sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her husband a woman avoids having children. The Caduveo go further and explain that they had, in the past, to capture women and children in order to maintain their numbers. One would expect that powerful sanctions would be necessary to enforce compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo make no explicit mention of the consequences resulting from the breaking of this rule. It may be that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by the economic circumstances which, among a nomadic hunting people, make numerous small children a burden upon their parents. The distinctions of rank, the possession of war captives as slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be-

M 834 [847] G M 174 648

[P. 2-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. G M 174 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing. M 177 648 231 554 M [727] [567]

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders. G 231 177 554 648

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began M 648 175

[P. 3-A]

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory. M 648 175

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government. M [101] M [131] M [162]

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . . G 175 131 G [241] G [161] G [648]

[P. 3-B]

In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469). 175 648

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding. [131]

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return. 175 361 [648]

The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo. 175 648

[P. 4-A]

As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in. G M 105 174

In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose. M 178 105 M [648]

On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point G 105 M G [648] G [161]

Terena Mbaya SK11 M G 105 48 [511]

Compared from the point of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo.

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

M 142 M [123] M [144]

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Lab-

[P. 5-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

M 142
M [147]

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

G 141

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organizing and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

G 122
[114]
G [128]

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174 241
by direct investigation the exact nature of the
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the
Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as
being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking
tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly
agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174 241
Yúrikoyuwakái taught the people to practice agri- 539
culture:

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuwakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomo'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopiloóti;* the war club, *pulú'oi;* the bow, *ahobió;* arrows, *ahumó;* and the spear, *oulkó.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopdo.* *Yúrikoyuwakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [227]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to as-
sume that they were agriculturists in pre-Colum-
bian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is
understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food planta, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only
the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long
drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable [132]
surplus not necessary in a region where annual
rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that
depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and
collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic cus-
toms seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and
raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlisa decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

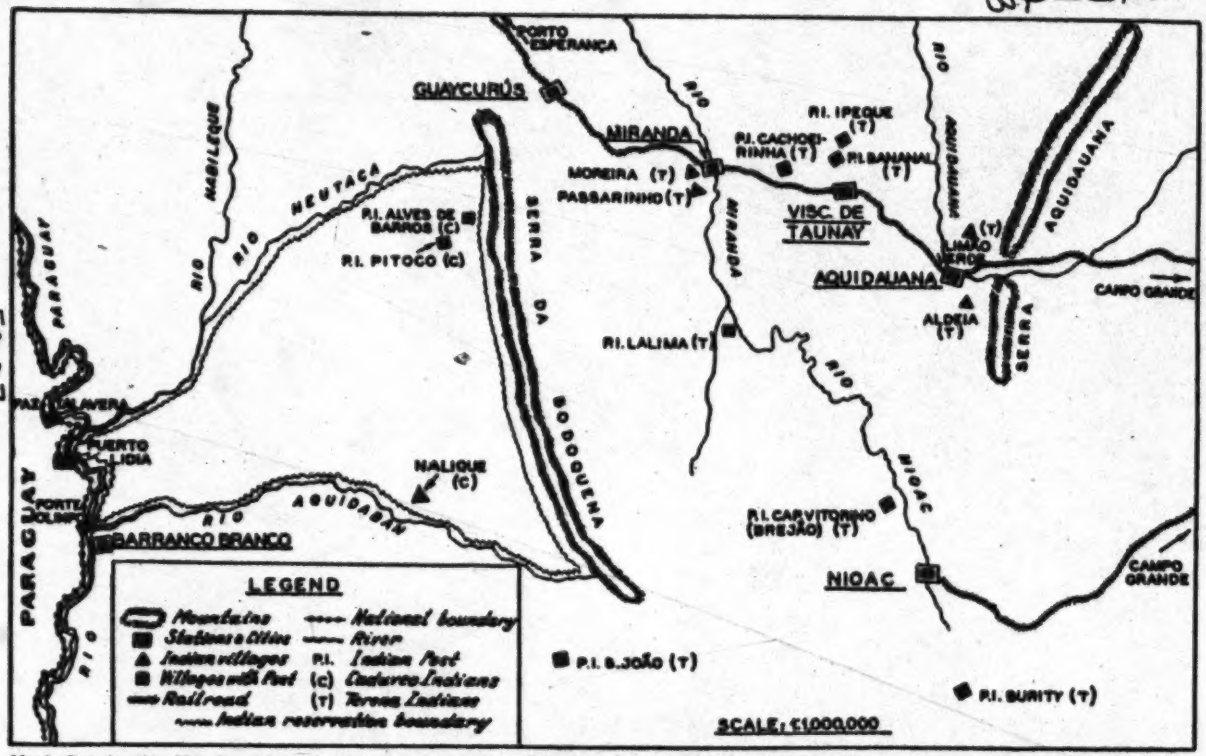
Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[Text continues on p. 8-A]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

M
G
103
102
131
361
162
133



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Cadiueo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 800; Cachoeirinha, 600; Ipegue, 504; Cap. Vitorino, 108; Burity, 470 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 185 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are housed in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 3,000. The population of the three Cadiueo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Naliqueo is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Cadiueo. The total population is estimated at 150. (For P. I. Ipeque on map, read P. I. Ipegue.)

[p. 7]

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanches Labrador, 1910-17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [826] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275-276.]

1/ [Work published in 1910-17, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-A]

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure. 342 [178] [824]

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.] [354] [252] [352] [513] [248]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.] [513]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*. 114 352 513

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve*.
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's re- [531]
quest to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of
mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262]
March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire. 226 [221] [227] [252] [251]

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps. 411 [224]

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur- 224 [177]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [323]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [789]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [33]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 24 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared [132] of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times [412] of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilomo'i*, made from the wood of the [412] "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516] ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177] to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden 407] plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until [824] the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They [181] have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit [516] down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. 241 The clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, caré, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

months later, depending upon the type and the conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also prepared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize were also dried and stored in the house to be later crushed in a mortar and used for making porridge. 243 [252] [273] [251]

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October. 244 [262]

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared. 244 252 [412]

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March. 244

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two. [252]

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October. 262

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimaká*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *kopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was 648
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 177
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits, customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [797]
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts affected the life of the Terena more intimately and directly. The missionaries taught the people to wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments, and amusements became integral parts of Terena economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian world. The Indians became acquainted with the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor and trade became essential elements in Terena economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 231
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick- 262
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [324]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[3] today has a popu- 162
lation of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 434
mately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[3] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [797]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From [434]
what has been said it can be seen that wages form
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad. 434 463 489 494

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy. 434

It must be remembered that the Terena produce the staple food products themselves while living at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure: 241 433 511 511

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr. $
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90, 00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85, 00
1 pair of pants	45, 00
1 pair of shoes	120, 00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50, 00
Total	390, 00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228, 00
Underclothing—6 m. at Cr. $9,00	72, 00
1 pair of sandals	15, 00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50. 00
Total	365. 00

[P. 16-B]

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 795 [197]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Ñohilu*), is 58 years old. [551] His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. [342] His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. [795] He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. [797] He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikihí*) is 47 years old. [551] He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. [795] He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. [212] He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. [191] He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [583] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352] tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [513] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [797] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 [159]
years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the [551]
Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Por- [212]
tuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and [191]
he now lives with his six children, who help him [592]
cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes [342]
covered with palm fronds, which also cover the
roof. There are only one large bench and a rough [352]
platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner
are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of [353]
material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, [241]
and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few
orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and [231]
a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years
of age, having to flee with his father from the [166]
Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian
farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming
to Bananal he has never left the village. Today
he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. [285]
Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the
time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros [435]
apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can
sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from
Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His [551]
native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was
born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha.
He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild [592]
and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-
walled house. There are a table, some benches, [352]
and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two
Indian boys help José and during the time live
with him.

He has land outside the village on which he [241]
grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns [231]
about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows,
bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chick-
ens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some [438]
milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells
meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian [231]
farms where he learned to take care of livestock.
He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [194]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and
repairs harness for people in the village and for [282]
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [197]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

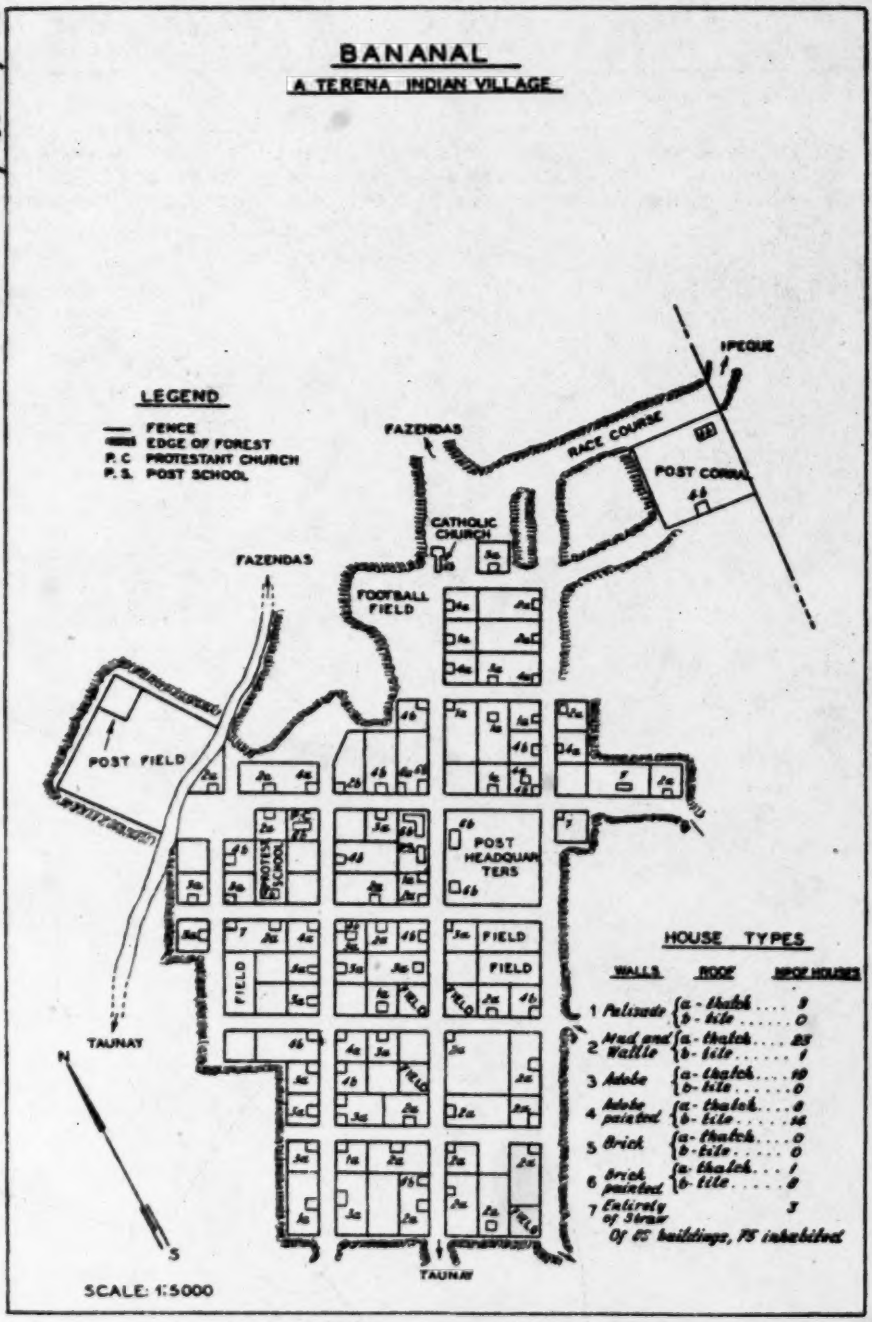
The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[Text continues on P. 22-A--Analyst]

311
342
361
368
102



MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).
(For Ipegue on map, read Ipegue.)

[P. 21]

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177]
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	28
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 351
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Bamana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *verí* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young chil- [854]
dren are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of [412]
food products. In the preparation of the land, the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Bananal Village]

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but 241
provide excellent shade for humans and animals
alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along [134]
the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have
washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper.

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and 244
article of trade of the Terena it is also the prin- 262
cipal crop. About half of the total cultivated land [241]
is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety.

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

[Bananal Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244
this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262
overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252
the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252
until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244
is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women 252
clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412
roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252
cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177]
they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

[P.24-B]

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over 252
boiled beans and other foods. [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair [439] quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay.

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large 251
cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal 262
mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care.

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is 249
next in importance to manioc as a food and cash [262]
crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar."

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the [494] village in oxcarts.

The three principal products obtained from 257
sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden

[Banana] Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in 257
a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole.

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual [272] custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar.

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely sec- 243
ondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop 243
is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted 252
before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use.

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main 249
types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white 252
variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes

[Bananal Village]

are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven. 244 252

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat. 244 [262]

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice. [262] [252]

Rice (nakati).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast. 243

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. [262] [252]

[P. 26-A]

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 500

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

[Banana] Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house 512
puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté 272
calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat [264] [262] whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available.

After breakfast the men take their tools and go 512
to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry 462
or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry [482] them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at [415] drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are [521] engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter.

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return 512
to their houses where the women have prepared 264
a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits [262] apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk [272] after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. [461] Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock.

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, 512
drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the [264] evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. [262] Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. [517]

[P. 27-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discus- 517
sing their crops and activities of the day. The
women remain at home but men gather in small
groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some
time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors
return to their respective houses and retire for 512
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked,
covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the
mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets
are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing
their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for
axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and
mats. During this period the women spin cotton
yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew
clothes for themselves and their families. As
everywhere in the world, the women have such
constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking,
washing, and taking care of the children. The
older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little
by little learning the common duties and tech-
niques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were di-
vided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was
called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa"
in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild
people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these
moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they
exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to
settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of
a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made
from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat
shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was
no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena
people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 881 565 622 [292] [567] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [239]

[p. 28-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[Chaco Period]

601

In the paternal generation there are two terms for ego's father—the referential term *sa'a* and the vocative term *ta'ata*. There are two terms for mother—the referential term *ĕno* and the vocative term *mĕme*. Father's brother is termed *poisa'a* (literally, other father). Father's sister is designated by the descriptive term *mokechansa'a*. Mother's sister is called *poiĕno* (literally other mother) and mother's brother is designated by the descriptive term *ayoĕna*. In addition to these terms for the siblings of parents, the Terena appear to have terms corresponding to uncle and aunt, for father's brother and mother's brother can be termed *eungo* and *lulu*, and father's sister and mother's sister can be termed *ongo*. A completely satisfactory explanation of these uncle and aunt terms cannot be made until more is known about the language and culture of the Terena. They may be respect terms for mother's brother and father's sister which are extended to male and female relatives of the parental generation in the manner in which *ta'ata* and *mĕme* are extended to all older people in the father's and mother's generation.

In ego's generation, male speaking, there are two specific classificatory terms for brother—*enjovi*, older brother, and *andi*, younger brother. Both these terms are extended to male parallel and cross cousins on both the father's and mother's side. A man calls his sisters and female parallel and cross cousins *mongecha*. These terms are reversed when a woman is speaking. In addition, there is a more general term for brother, *lele*, which can be used to designate men of one's own generation of more distant relationship. The term *cucuná* is used for designating a middle brother.

In the children's generation there are terms for son, *djeá*, and daughter, *inziné*, which are extended, male speaking, to the sons and daughters of brothers. Sisters' children are termed *nevongé*, sex being shown by the addition of *hoyeno* (male) and *seno* (female). When a woman speaks the terms are reversed.

There is just one term, *amori*, for grandchildren. *Hoyeno* and *seno* may be added if necessary.

In the parent's generation both classificatory and descriptive terms can be used for affinal relatives. Father's brother's wife may be called *meme* or *yenolulu* (uncle's wife), and mother's sister's husband may be called *ta'ata* or *imaongo* (aunt's

[P. 30-B]

[Chaco Period]

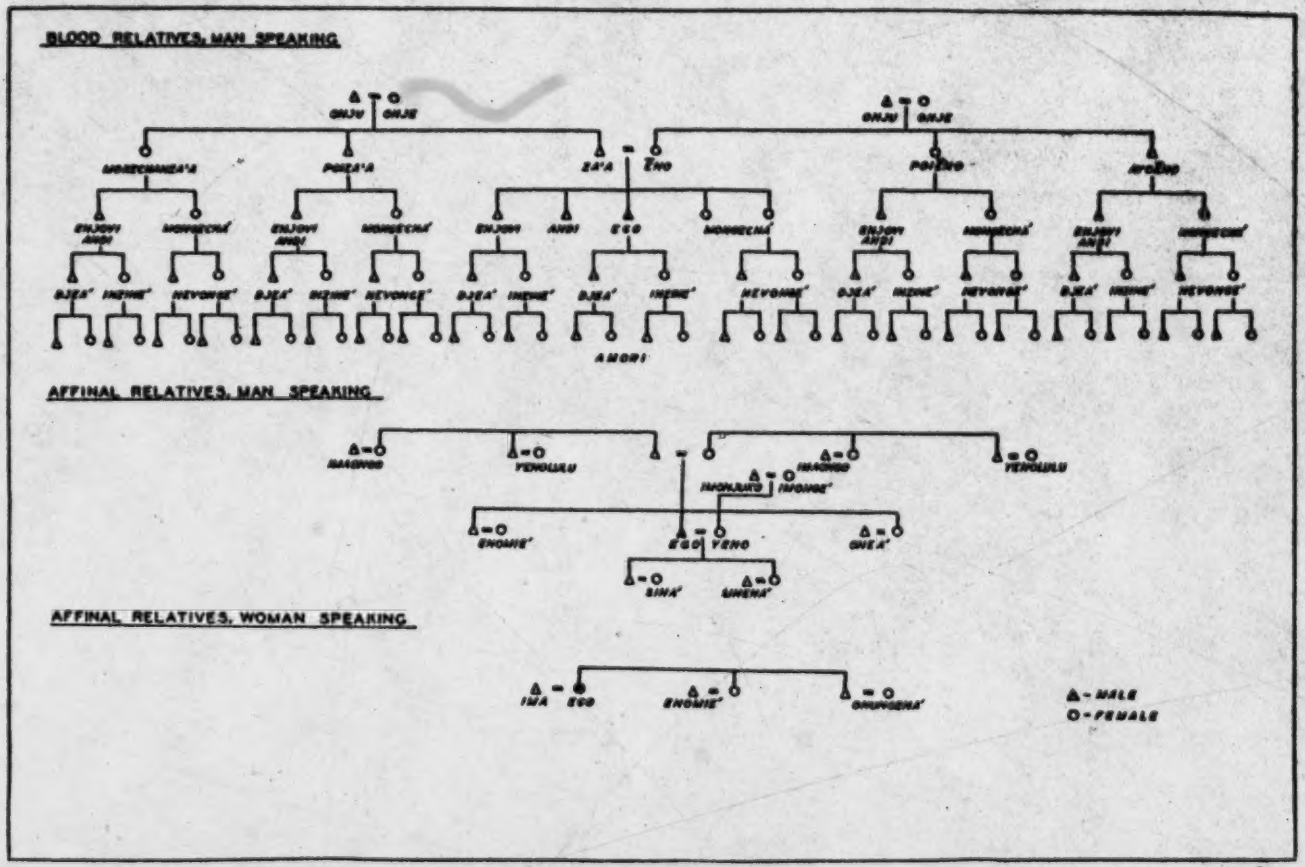


CHART 1.—Terena kinship terms.

[P.31]

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *enungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 582 595 591 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. 105 177 [847]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [797] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 829

[POST CHACO Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. 101 829 [177]

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos." 101 177 829

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization 101 177 182

[p.35-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

101
177
182
648

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of [673] unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another [681] reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional [682] headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the 177 182 Indian Service makes a stable community life 191 possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena 177
remains the language of the village. Among 182
themselves the Terena, young and old, use their 191
own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained.

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which 177
have led to the integration of the Terena as a 182
group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indian- 648
ism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service.

As the manager is the highest authority and 177
social leader in the village, it follows that status 554
among the Terena is measured in relation to the 648
patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission sta- 797
tion. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684]
the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648]
sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organised form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [971] [526]

Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 195 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 881 622
This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565
father and in the presence of all the members of
the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied [292]
the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion
did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584
tween their children while the children were still
young. The parents of the boy would take presents
to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents
accepted, they would take their girl to the house
of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day
or two. When the girl returned she was consid-
ered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage tak-
ing place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *koyenóne*, [567]
was rather an elaborate performance. On going
to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and
mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led
a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave
was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*.
Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents
were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The
yuhokóti remained standing until he made his
speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying,
"*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to ar-
range about your girl). The girl's father, if he
agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All
right, I shall receive you). The messenger then
sat down and the parents discussed the marriage
of their children. When arrangements had been
completed the boy's parents left their gifts and
departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585
ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574
ents invited relatives and friends and built a spe-
cial shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which
the dances were performed. Much food and drink
were prepared for the guests. When the guests
had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom
and his parents. When the groom arrived he said,
"*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To
this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye
eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my
son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585
mock on which the bride was already seated. The
groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hové koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [293]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 197 585 [198]

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belong-
ings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet fac-
ing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not per-
mitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living. 775

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows: 776 773 776 773 539

In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Lívéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Lívéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

Yúrikoyuvakái was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.

The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hivoé*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm. 539 773 776

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *pulá'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopáe*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life. 773 776

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihiaiumé*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story: [821] 539 773 776

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itáaka*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [753] [761]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance.

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body.

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him."

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 759 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 132

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [062] [063] [774] [787]

During 756
the following night the novice was expected to have 774
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 787
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the grave- [775]
yard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took 756
the form of a snake, later making it disappear 796
into his mouth; or he would take a small plant 789
from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part 796
of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans with- 756
drew to appear again dressed in red mantles called [292]
haráramototi. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a 756
position of extraordinary prestige. This high 554
status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with 756
a Christian community for over a century and [197]
Protestant missionaries have been active in Ba- [797]
nanal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú 756
for instance, explained that he learned his shaman- 775
ism from his father who was also a shaman. He [789]
said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

[P. 45 - A]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he [787] sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789] with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776] spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273] did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

Shamanism is still an important part of Terena 771 756
belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An interesting feature of present shamanism and one [177] which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéa'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of 771
missionary activity among the tribe from the date 177
of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were 797
baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant mission- 797
aries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today. 797

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages. [648]

In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place. 797 776 796 177

During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place. 796 177

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 197 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 791 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 529 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

although they no longer perform them. As one 535
would expect, the ceremonial season opened at 527
harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, [178]
enabling the people to remain in their villages.
The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome [262]
change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots,
fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to
the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize [243]
was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*.
This masked dance was organized by one of the
moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took
place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank [554]
the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the 527
Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, 526
selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *ehiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvomunéti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [24]

performed when the occasion demanded and were 527
accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition 526
to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everáni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation 522
of a European court scene with a king or prin- 527
cess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the 536
moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden [177]
walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[Post Chaco Period]

every night so that every sequence can be executed more or less automatically. The two leaders demand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period. 535 527

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau," are at once [177]

177
apparent. While it is true that the body paint- 527
ings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and 535
the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian
origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the Euro-
pean tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used [534]
is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchú*
but a European-type drum suspended in front
by a strap around the neck. The manner in which
the sticks are used is European in appearance.
There is no singing, so common in Indian dances.

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an ac- [533]
cordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet.

Usually a man invites people to a dance at 535
his house and arranges for the music. About 7 527
or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during [578]
dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the [177]
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

They usually win when playing on their own field. 526
The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, [527]
and Bodoquena are played on special holidays only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day.

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the 541
Terena indulge is horse racing. There are no fixed 525
dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races.

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO.
1946. Terena religion. Acta Americana, vol. 4, pp. 214-223. 113

AZARA, FÉLIX DE.
1923. Viajes por la América Meridional. 2 vols. Madrid.

BACH, J.
1916. Datos sobre los indios Terenas de Miranda. An. Soc. Cient. Argentina, vol. 82, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT.
1937 a. Ensaios de etnologia brasileira. Bibl. Pedag. Brasil., ser. 5a, vol. 101.
1937 b. Tereno-Texte. Anthropos, vol. 32, pp. 528-544.

BOGGIANI, GUIDO.
1945. Os Caduveo; com pref. e um estudo histórica e etnográfica de G. A. Colini; tradução de Amadeu Amaral Júnior, revisão, introd. e notas de Herbert Baldus. São Paulo.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE.
1850-59. Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud, de Rio de Janeiro à Lima, et de Lima au Para. Vols. 1-6. Paris.

CHARLEVOIX, PIERRE FRANÇOIS XAVIER DE.
1757. Histoire du Paraguay. 6 vols. Paris.

COMINGES, D. JUAN.
1892. Exploraciones al Chaco del Norte. Diario de la segunda expedición realizada en octubre y noviembre del año 1879. In Obras escogidas de Don Juan Cominges con su biografía por el D. Matías Alonso Criado. Buenos Aires.

HAY, ALEXANDER RATTRAY.
1928. The Indians of South America and the Gospel. New York.

[P. 69-A]

[pp. 52-A - 68-B are not Processed]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LOUKOTKA, ČESTMIR.

1960. Contribuciones a la lingüística sudamericana. Vocabularios inéditos o poco conocidos de los idiomas Rankulche, Guahibo, Piaroa, Toba, Pilagá, Tumanahá, Kaduveo, etc. Rev. Inst. Etnol. Univ. Nac. Tucumán, vol. 1, pp. 75–108. 113

1933. Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la vie et du langage des Kaduveo. Journ. Soc. Amér. Paris, n. s., vol. 25, pp. 251–277.

MÉTRAUX, ALFRED.

1946. Ethnography of the Chaco. *In* Handbook of South American Indians, Julian H. Steward, Editor. Vol. 1, The Marginal Tribes, pp. 197–370. (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 1.)

PRADO, FRANCISCO RODRIGUES DO.

1908. Historia dos indios cavalleiros ou da nação Guaycurú. Rev. Inst. Hist. Geogr. Brasil, vol. 1, pp. 21–44. Ed. 3. Rio de Janeiro.

RHODE, RICHARD.

1885. Einige Notizen über dem Indianerstamm der Terenos. Zeit. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin, vol. 20, pp. 404–410.

RIVASSEAU, EMILIO.

1941. A vida dos indios Guaycurús, quinze dias nas suas aldeias (sul de Grosso). (Bibl. Pedag. Brazil., ser. 5a Brasiliana, vol. 60.) 2d ed. São Paulo.

SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, JOSÉ.

1910–17. El Paraguay Católico. 3 vols. Buenos Aires.

SCHMIDT, MAX.

1908. Guaná. Zeit. Ethnol., vol. 35, pp. 324–336, 560–604.

TAUNAY, ALFREDO DE ESCRAGNOLLE DE.

1912. Entre os nossos indios; chanés, terenas, kinikinaus, guanás, laianas, guatós, guaycurús, caingangs. São Paulo.

[p. 69-B]

[p. 70 is blank]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

INDEX

000

Abortion, 2, 38, 55
Agriculture:
    crops
        cultivation of, 11-12, 24-26, 60
        list of, 11-12, 14-15, 60
    labor, 11, 60
    magic, 10
    methods, comparison of, 4, 23, 60
    myth, 6
    preparation of land, 11, 24, 60
    selection of land, 10, 23-24, 60
    tools, 23
Animals, domestic, 12, 15
Attitudes:
    between Terena and Brazilians, 38
    Caduveo, 58
Avoidance:
    father-in-law, 32, 62
    food, 10
    mother-in-law, 32, 62
Bags, 12, 22
Basketry, 12, 22
Beds:
    covering, 27
    floor, 8, 54
    hammocks, 8, 22
    platforms, 8, 22
Berdaches, 63
Birds, domestic, 12
Birth:
    practices, 38, 62
    pregnancy, 38
Burial:
    Caduveo, 68
    Mbayá, 55
    Terena, 40-41
Calendar:
    of agriculture, 28-36
    of economic activities, 9
Cattle:
    Caduveo, 58
    raiding of, 18
    riding of, 12, 60
Change (culture):
    in customs, 37
    in economy, 14-15
    in social organization, 32-38
    stages of, 4
    summary of, 37-38
Chiefs:
    Caduveo, 58
    in Brazil, 32
    moiety, 27-28
        description of, 28
        succession of, 28-29
        symbols of, 27
    war, 28-29
        abolition of, 32
        marriage of, 40
Classes:
    break-down of, 33-34
    description of, 28
    Mbayá, 53-54
Clothing, 9, 23, 54, 59
Cotton, 12, 26
Crimes, punishment of, see Law
Dances:
    bate-pau, 33, 49-50
    corn dance, 48

[p.71-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

INDEX

000

Dances—Continued
etakúliga, 64
modern, 50–51
noboki-suano, 64
shaman dance, *see* Shamanism
Education:
Caduveo, 58
Terena, 41
See also Life histories
Endogamy, *see* Moieties
Feathers, 9, 12, 54
Fire:
making of, 12–13
myth of, 42
Fish:
Caduveo, 59
Terena, 10
Foods:
collecting of, 9
eating and drinking, 54
preparation of, 9–11, 24–27
See also Life histories
Games:
Caduveo, 65
everani, 49
football, 33, 51
horse racing, 51
lála, 49
mock fight, 48
piritóti, 48
Geography:
Bananal, 20
Caduveo territory, 56
Chaco, 6
Guaná tribes, 2
Hair:
cut, men and women, 22, 59
plucking of, 9
style, 9, 59
Homosexuality, 68
Horses:
adoption of:
by Guaná, 3
by Mbayá, 3, 54
influence on social organization, 29
racing of, 51
use of, 12
Houses:
contents of, 9, 22–23, 54
description of, 8, 20–22, 54
temporary, 8
Hunting:
dependence upon, 59
magic, 10
method of, 10, 59
weapons of, 10, 59
Infanticide, 38
Caduveo, 62
Mbayá, 2, 53
Terena, 32
Inheritance, 13
Kinship system:
Caduveo, 60–62
Terena, 30–32
type, 32
Kinship terminology:
Caduveo, 60–62
Terena, 30–32
disuse of, 34

[p.71-B]

000

Labor:
communal, 13
division of, 11, 13, 27
Lands:
Indian, 14, 52, 56
grants, 14
title to, 14
soil type, 20, 60
Law:
Crimes, punishment of:
adultery, 29-30
immorality, 30
incest, 30
murder, 29
theft, 30
witchcraft, 30
enforcement of, 29
Indian Service, 35
Life histories, 17-20
Magic:
agriculture, 10
birth, 38
hunting, 10
Marriage, 2
arrangement of, 39, 62
ceremonies, 39-40, 62-63
endogamy, 27
Mbayá, 55
of war chief, 40
of widows and widowers, 40-41
prohibitions, 62
rules of, 32, 34, 62
Mbayá tribes, 2
Menstruation, 39
Migration:
Terena into Brazil, 13
Terena into Chaco, 1-6
Missionaries:
attendance at birth, 39
role of, 14, 38
Moieties:
break-down of, 33
ceremonial license, 28
description of, 27-28
endogamy, 27
in Brazil, 32-33
succession of chiefs, 28
Money income:
Caduveo, 58, 60
Terena, sources and expenditure, 15-17
Mortar, use of, 22
Myths, 6, 63
Naming of child, 38-39, 62
Ornaments, 9, 23, 54, 59
Ownership:
collective, 13
individual, 13
land, *see* Lands
Painting:
body, 9
face, 59
hides, 67
pottery, 12, 67
Physical types, 5
Political status, 2
Population, see map, 7
Posts, Indian, 4
Caduveo, 58
functions of manager, 34-36, 58-59
importance of, 34
Terena, 20
Pottery:
decoration of, 12, 67
forms, 66
manufacture of, 12, 66
use of, 22

[p. 72-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

000

INDEX

Prostitution, 63
Puberty:
Caduveo, 62
Mbayá, 54–55
Terena, 39
Religion:
Caduveo, 63–64
conflict of, 33, 47
culture hero, origin of, 42
present day, 45–47
spirits, evil, belief in, 42–43
See also Myths, Shamanism, and Life histories
Resources:
in Brazil, 13–14
in Chaco, 6, 9
Saddle, 12, 60
Serfdom, Mbayá-Guaná, 53
Settlements, 3–4
Shamanism:
at birth, 38
at death, 40
beliefs, 43
Caduveo, 63–64
dance, 44–45
functions, 43–44
Mbayá, 55–56
present day, 45–46
training, 44–45
See also Life histories and Religion
Slaves:
Caduveo, 52
capturing of, 13
disappearance of, 33–34
status, 28
use of, 13, 53
Social organization:
Caduveo, 52–54
changes, 32–38
classes, 28
break-down of, 33–34
disappearance of slavery, 33–34
moieties, 27
Status:
Terena legal, 35
Terena social, 35–36
Symbiosis, 1–2
Teeth, filing of, 59
Temperatures, Chaco, 6
Tobacco, 12, 26
Travel, *see* Life histories
Twins, *see* Infanticide
Umbilical cord, 38, 62
Utensils, 22
Villages:
Caduveo, 59
description of, 8
typical Terena, 20
Wage work:
Caduveo, 60
Terena, 14
Warfare:
cessation of, 32
influence of, 4
description of, 28–29
Mbayá, 3, 53
war chief, 28
selection of, 28
Water supply:
Caduveo, 59
Terena, 20
Weapons:
of chase, 10, 59
of war, 28
Weaving, type of loom, 12, 26

[p. 72-B]

361

231
492
291

PLATE I.—Views of Bananal Village (Terena). a, Post buildings and main street. b, A Terena gaucho.

[End Plate 1]
[P. 73]

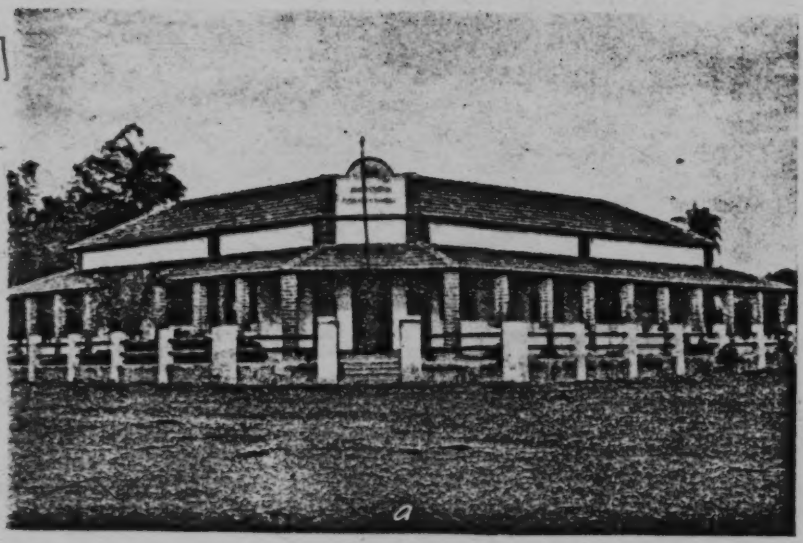
346

PLATE 2.—Terena churches. a, Protestant church. b, Catholic church.

[P. 74]

[End Plate 2]

346
[648]



[997]

PLATE 3.—Terena schools. a, Government school. b, Protestant mission school.

[P. 75]

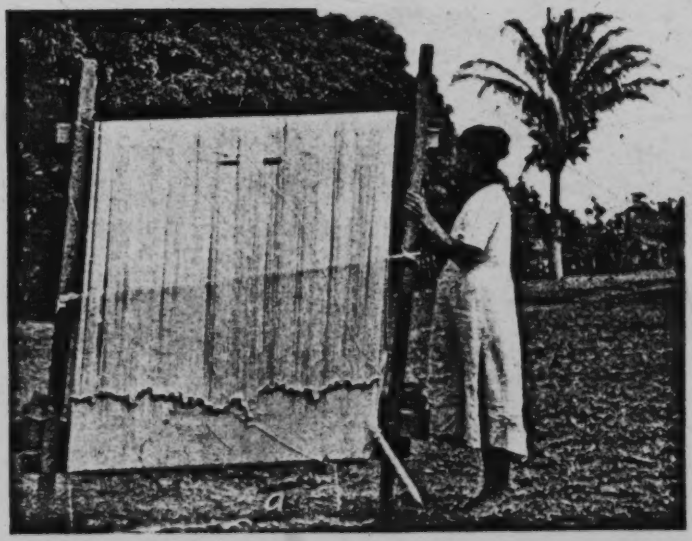
[End Plate 3]

342

PLATE 4.—Terena house types. a, House with stake walls. b, House and cooking shed.

[End Plate 4]
[P. 76]

286
291



342
417

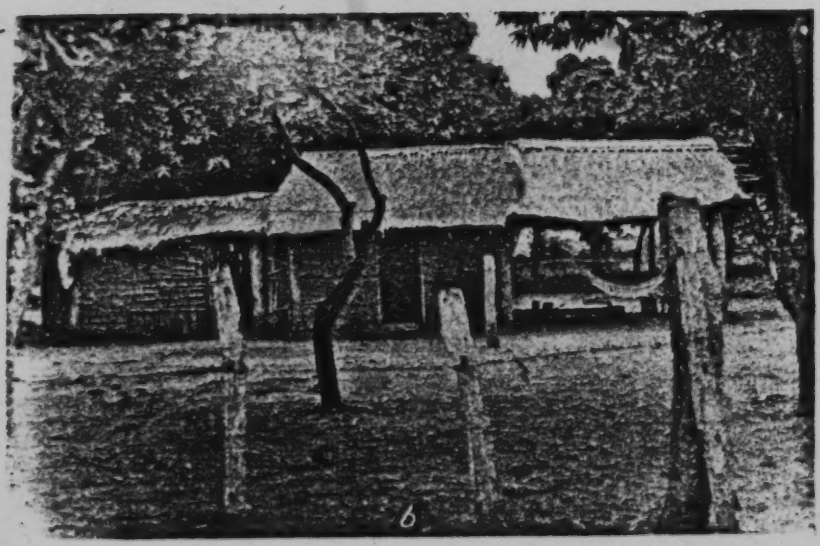


PLATE 5.—Economic life of the Terena. a, Woman with loom. b, Adobe house with adjoining shade.

[P. 77]

[End Plate 5]

142
291

Plate 6.—Terena painted figures. a, Man. b, Woman and child.

[End Plate 6]

[p. 78]

142
29
302

PLATE 7.—Terena physical types. a, Girl b, Old woman. c, Young boy. d, Man and boy.

[End Plate 7]

[p. 79]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

756
292
302
534
293

535
301
292

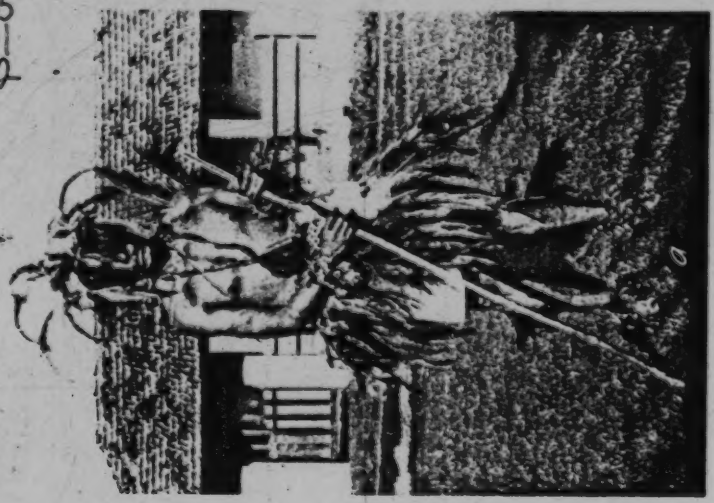


PLATE 8.—Terena dancer and shaman. a, "Pato-pau" dancer dressed in river bushes. b, Shaman with half fowls (rattle) and Al'peke (blue macaw feather helm).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

535

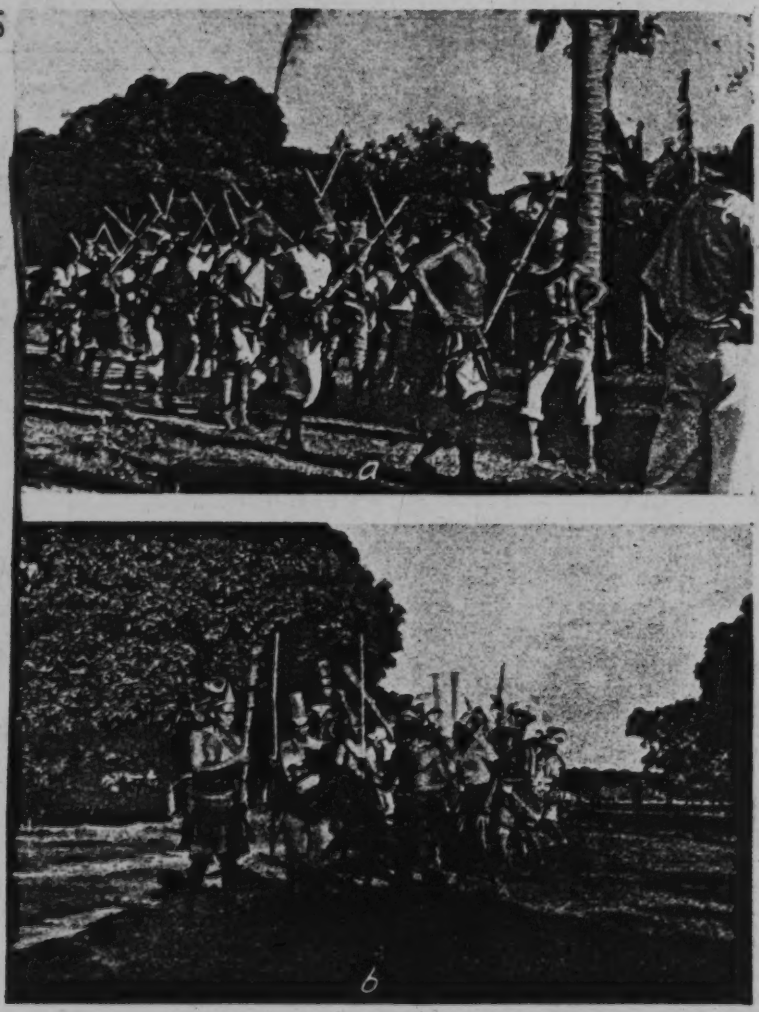


PLATE 9.—Terena dances. a, The "Bate-pau" dance. b, The "Bate-pau" dance.

[End Plate 9]
[P. 81]

756
755
342

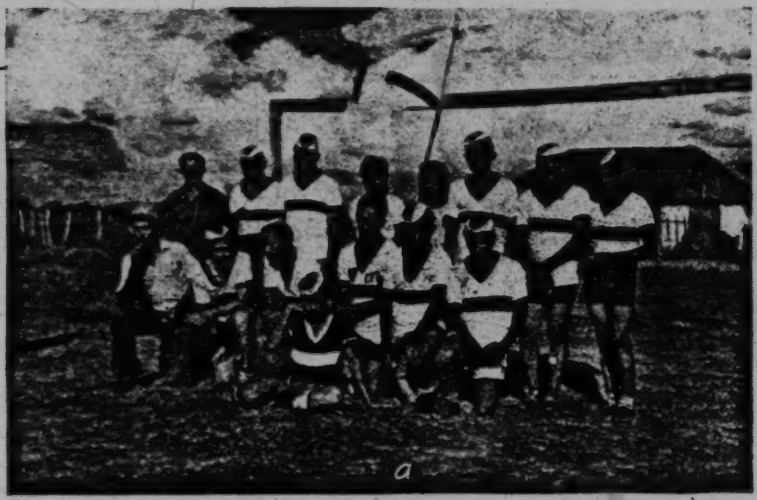
796
177

PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shamans dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated banner.

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

526
292



541

PLATE 11.—Terena sports. a, Football game. b, A crowd gathered for a horse race.

[p. 83]

[End Plate 11]

chupu--manioc
hianketi-soparo--long-eared yellow maize
huati-soparo--a white variety of maize
ilomei--digging stick made from the wood of the "palo santa"
imóheve--anklets
imotáki--bracelets
ipuhicoti-hiuka--birth
itishovoti--moiety council meetings
kali ita'aka--a small calabash which is a symbol of moiety chieftainship
kuati-soparo --a mixed-color ear of maize
nakóti--necklaces
nimake--a large bag made from yulu fibers
nóneovokúti--a central plaza around which Terena houses are built
oneu--the village
ovokúti--Terena house
repenóti--a sleeveless cotton shirt
shipa--maize cake
shiripá--a cotton loincloth

shumonó--name of a moiety meaning "wild people"
shuna'asheti--war chief; war class
soparo--maize (in general)
suati-chupu--bitter manioc
sukirikionó--a moiety name meaning "gentle people"
unati ashé--moiety chief
veri--a small bag made from yulu fibers

3:Oliveira E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

000

The Process of Assimilation of the Terena
[O Processo de Assimilação dos Terêna]

Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira

Rio de Janeiro: 1960
Museu Nacional

Translated from the Portuguese by A. Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

3:Oliveira--i E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Table of Contents

000 Preface 1
Introductory Note. 5
I. The Terêna, a Guaná Subgroup 11
II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction 26
III. Profile of the Traditional Culture 43
IV. History of Interethnic Relations 71
V. Present-day Configuration of the Terêna Local Groups 101
VI. Socio-Cultural Variations among Terêna Communities 142
VII. Acculturation and Mobility 160
VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation 185
Bibliography Cited /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 155-160/

3:Oliveira--ii E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/frontispiece/

302
323

Terêna woman making pottery. (1955)

000 /The following list of illustrations was prepared at HRAF/
There are 15 unnumbered plates as follows:

1. Frontispiece, which follows the table of contents
2.
3. } following p. 40 in the foreign text
4.
5. } " p. 55 " " " "
6.
7. } " p. 72 " " " "
8.
9. } " p. 88 " " " "
10.
11. } " p. 104 " " " "
12.
13. } " p. 112 " " " "
14.
15. } " p. 136 " " " "

Figures occur in the text as follows:
Fig. 1. on p. 45 in the foreign text.
Fig. 2. " p. 47 " " " "

Maps occur in the foreign text as follows:
Map 1. on p. 21.
Map 2. " p. 72.

191

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging
177 into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations.
[114] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de
[122] Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative
177 possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which
619 traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the
177 greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups
101 that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers
[648] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the
[797] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative
121 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various
177 forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./
121/ of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121/ because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
121 the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

/12 cont./

/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/21 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

/14 The study of this process, however, first called for a
/21 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

/13 cont./

114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

/14 cont./

/2/ had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investi-
[14] gation in view of the short time available. Our stay in
[12] Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each
[000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical
[26] sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

/15 cont./ With reference
123 to the techniques used, from "participant observation" to the
125 use of questionnaires, we decided to mention them whenever necessary, thus endeavoring to make clear to the reader the origin and method of collecting the data analyzed.

128 As for its structure, the essay is divided into eight
[127] chapters: the first four were written on the basis of a bibliographic investigation, while the last four represent an attempt to describe the present situation of the Terêna and to interpret the process of socio-cultural change on the basis of the formulation of the problem of their assimilation with the regional neo-Brazilian population. Obviously they constitute the most important part of the work, as an introduction to which the first four chapters were written, namely: I) "The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup"--which aims to identify the population studied; II) "The Nature of Intertribal Interaction"--in which we attempt to analyze the type of relations between the great Guaná and Mbayá-Guaikurú groups; III) "Profile of the Traditional Culture"--which is a brief account of the pattern of the ancient Terêna-Guaná culture; IV) "History of Interethnic Relations"--a study of the waves of settlement in southern Mato Grosso on the part of our society and the consequences of that pioneering process
[127] in the modification of the regional native situation; V) "Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups"--a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each local group (with the aid of the oldest informants in the community) and of whatever could be subjected to quantification, these methods being combined with bibliographic sources (chiefly SPI reports); VI) "Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities"--a comparative examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables, in order to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior; VII) "Acculturation and Mobility"--as two facets of the assimilation process, they provide the title for the most theoretical chapter in this work, in so far as it deals with a formulation of the conceptual system (used in the interpretation of a process)

/15 cont./

128 while at the same time giving an idea of the type of culture change brought about by acculturation, in the face of the socio-cultural changes resulting from social mobility; finally, VIII) "The Mechanisms of Assimilation"--where are examined, on the basis of "case histories," the factors that facilitate /16/ assimilation and those that hinder or impede it, concluding with a brief recapitulation of the basic theses of the work.

114 We cannot close this introductory note without mentioning that this research was carried out through the stimulation of Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, when we were working under his direction in the Secção de Estudos (Museu do Índio) of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Our reading of his yet unpublished work, "A assimilação dos índios no Brasil /The Assimilation of the Indian in Brazil/," was basic to the formulation of our central research problems, while at the same time our association was a factor that contributed much to the success of our research, both in his courses on ethnology, in which we had the opportunity to participate as his assistant, and in the daily observation of his indigenist activities during the years 1954 to 1956. With his acceptance of our invitation to write a preface to the present work, Prof. Darcy Ribeiro is once more lending his stimulus and support to our work, incurring our sincere gratitude.

Aside from Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, Prof. Oracy Nogueira and Dr. Joaquim Mattoso Câmara Jr. read the manuscript. The first five chapters, ready since 1957, were read by Dr. Florestan Fernandes, our former professor of sociology, who introduced us to the systematic study of the social sciences when we were studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of the University of São Paulo. We thank them all for their suggestions, of which we made use of only those that seemed pertinent, this being the reason why we are solely responsible for the ideas expressed here. To our colleagues in the Divisão, Maria Heloisa Fenelon Costa and Dalton Moreira de Araújo, we wish to give thanks for the collaboration they were always ready to offer, especially to the latter, who accompanied us on our last trip into the field and helped us

/16 cont./

114 administer questionnaires and carry out interviews among the urbanized Terêna.

122 We are deeply grateful to the employees of the 5.ª Inspetoria Regional of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, particularly to Messrs. Luiz Martins da Cunha and Américo Antunes de Siqueira, heads of the Cachoeirinha Native Post, our hosts, respectively, in 1955 and 1957-58, who, with their families, put us up for several months in their home, in the midst of one of the largest and most beautiful Terêna Indian

123 /17/ aldeas. We wish to thank and pay homage to the Terêna population in the person of my fondly remembered friend, José Timóteo, "Captain" of Cachoeirinha, who died early in 1958, and to whose memory we dedicate this work.

122 To Dr. José Cândido de Melo Carvalho, Diretor-geral of the Museu Nacional, and Prof. Luiz de Castro Faria, Diretor of the Divisão de Antropologia, our gratitude for having financed the final part of this research, as well as having made its continuation possible when we entered the institution which they direct. /Page 18 is blank./

/19/

G
Gi
M
101

I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

G
[104]
[113]

1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

G
C
101
175

3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G /19 cont./
C
101
175

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G
175
[361]
[648]
[162]

C
161
[361]

G
Ki
M
161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

G
Gi /20 cont./
M
161

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]
G
[172]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

/20 cont./

114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the requirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand, as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned, we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
175 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example, is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not

5. 1946:206.

find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[Text continues on p. 16]

/21 cont./

102
131

Map 1. Location of the region occupied by the Terêna Indians.

/22 cont./

175 of minor importance except of course for the former's famous statement, when he compared Guaná-Guaikurú relations to the state of subordination prevailing at the time in his own country between feudal lords and peasants.

[131] The 19th-century bibliography, even prior to Castelnau, becomes far more useful for the study of the Terêna, since it reveals the presence of Guaná groups in the region now centered on the city of Miranda, the present area of the greatest con-
175 centration of Terêna local groups. From the information left
177 us by Almeida Serra (1803), Hercules Florence (1825-29), and indirectly by Alincourt (1828), we can form a good idea of the interethnic and tribal contacts in that area and of the relative isolation of the Terêna population. And this lack of data on the Terêna, at the time, is explained by Castelnau's statement (1845), according to which, up to that time, those Indians had maintained "very few relations with the whites." And he adds: "They are a warrior people who retain in their entirety the customs of their ancestors." (6)

6. 1949, II:301. (The dates in parentheses refer to the time when the travelers were near the groups mentioned and not to the dates of publication of their works.)

175 From Castelnau on the bibliography is more satisfactory, and none of the chroniclers fails to supply--although in varying degrees--data on the Terêna. From Elliot (1844), through Leverger (1847), Francisco Lopes (1848-49), Alves Ferreira (1846-50), up to Taunay (1863-64) and Bach (1896), all of them--and especially the last two--are lavish with information of great interest to the study of contact situations between the Terêna and the national society, even though, let it be said in passing, only Bach and in second place Taunay provide ethnographically relevant material. In a strict sense, in the

/22 cont./

178 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, in so far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [148] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [297] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[829] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/24 cont./

121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[13] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
125 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/25 cont./
10/ parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among them-
175 selves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the

[128]

10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

12. 1809, II:86.

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

13. 1898:471.

/25 cont./

/01/ The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyênó," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology. (14)

14. Cf. the works of Metraux, Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

and /26/ adopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology
[114] faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the
[174] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

/26 cont./

101 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not
174 consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guaná subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás," which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the Guaná subgroups as a whole. (16) A /

101

16. The distinction made by Sanches Labrador between the tribal designations and the names attributed to the Aruák groups by the Guaikurú, permits us to set up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

101 This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a
648 Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--owing to the enormous Guaikurú influence throughout the area--the "Choarâna" seem to have been known in the 18th century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).
101 Already in the following century, the
[648] Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the remaining "Choarana" seem to have been called also by the generic name "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and "Chualas," which are added to the

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. 2/A

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century A
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

2/A [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

/27 cont./

174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

[13]

19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this The respect,
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[97] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/27 cont./

114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
175 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

[113]

21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

[168]
[167]

by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/28 cont./

175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[167]

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/29 cont./

121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná(26) show
241

26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses."(27) Already by this
648

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors."(28)

28. Ibidem.

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

114
121
128
[171]

29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

/30 cont./

114
121
128

would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

175
640

The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups. --For a discussion of the concept, see

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175 Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
648 subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
M Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
[65] been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
G kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
[562] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
G captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
[566] caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyoloła women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G M 175 648 [10] /31 cont./ their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko. "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

M 565 648 175

G M 175 648 431

34. Idem:267.

G [288] offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not offered such presents, even though they are provided with food during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends and acquaintances." (35)

M [565] [574]

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 648 To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the 17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese. (36)

G [439]

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 648 Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

A /32 cont./
174
648

37. "Worthy of note in the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, through colonization is the fact that it has nothing to do with political power, being based on a purely economic-administrative foundation.... We thus find an automatic explanation, in this type of colonization, for the extraordinary phenomenon that political power is not found in the hands of the Aruáque men in various South American regions, in spite of the obvious predominance of their culture and their economic-administrative system." And in a footnote (no. 165) the author adds: "...this also occurs among the Guanás, who formerly lived in Mbayá territory, so that they appeared partly as allies, partly as vassals and people under the protection of the Mbayás."

G
175
648

A
174
648

--"In such cases," warns Max Schmidt, "we must not conclude at the outset that we are dealing with a later subjugation of Aruáque tribes by other groups, as so many tend to do. Only where such a domination by means of force is proved by definite historical facts must it be taken into account. In all other cases, to judge by the spirit

/32 cont./

A 174 648

of the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, it is more logical to admit that political power never lay in their hands." (Cf. 1917, Ch. 4.)

A 174 648

according to which these tribes, when they establish relations with the populations of neighboring tribal groups, manage these relations in such a way as to lead to a condition of economic dependency.

G M 175 648

Let it be emphasized, therefore, that the information left us by 18th-century chroniclers are very important because they reveal, in our opinion, actual contact situations between the Guaikurú and the Guaná. They prove a Mbayá-Guaikurú hegemony that already existed in pre-Colombian times, probably immediately following the settlement of those Aruák groups in the Chaco. If there already existed a certain military superiority on the part of the Guaikurú over the Guaná and other Chaco groups, this became more pronounced when those Indians adopted the horse and changed it into a weapon of war, already in the times of the Spanish conquest. Once this superiority had been established and made concrete, it does not seem correct to state that it must have acquired identical characteristics in relation to all Chaco groups, indiscriminately. With the exception of the other Guaikurú groups, such as the Payaguá, or groups such as the Mokovi, Abipon, and Toba, it was the Txikíto, the Guaxi /Guachi/, the Guató, and especially the Txamakôko, the most frequently attacked tribes, which, when vanquished, saw their /33/ members made into captives.(38) Meanwhile, the Guaná groups were

M 175 648 [77] [192]

M [0]

G [175] [648]

38. We use this term in its most general sense, keeping all the variations that might exist in the relations of dependency of captured

M
175
648

/33 cont./

Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

G
M
175
648
[162]

treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

M
G
114
175
648

39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

M
G
175
648

/33 cont./

M
G
175
648

some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

G
M
175
648

Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

M
G
[651]
[43]

/33 cont./

G M 175 648 [651] [431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G M 175 648 574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M [562] [622]

G M 175 648 361

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

G M 175 648 361 G [162] G M [363]

/34 cont./

fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

G M 175 648 563

The chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

G M 175 648 M 727 G 829

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

G M 175 648 131 M 563 adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

G M 175 648 571 case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a

M [563] [622] Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

45. 1910, II:256.

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

G M 175 648 [57] 622 [582]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

G M [101]

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words.

G [191]

The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

000 136 cont.1

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

M 175 648 563 197 G 175 177 M G [17] This shows the intensity of the process of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [181] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

G M 175 648 M 221 563 [581]

/371/

The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy throughout the Paraguay basin.

G M 175 648 571

We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná subjection: "According to the best informants I could get," he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

G
M
175
648
571

/37 cont./

very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

G
M
[172]

53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

G /38 cont./
M
175 and adherence to norms."
648 E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
571 /Cited in English./

G extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, charac-
M
175 terizing an entire period in which relations between representa-
648 tive parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous
571 forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation,
177 which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G
121 Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of
128 the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural
G complexes analyzed.
126 Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture,
[127] no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G
[173] 55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

[Traditional Culture]

/39 cont./ almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/121/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 631 [17] /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 101 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G
565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to re-
G [104] fer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané),
M 565 and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

M
565
631

59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

M
565
631

the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree; and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

G
[631]
[171]

G
M
565
563
171

We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss below.

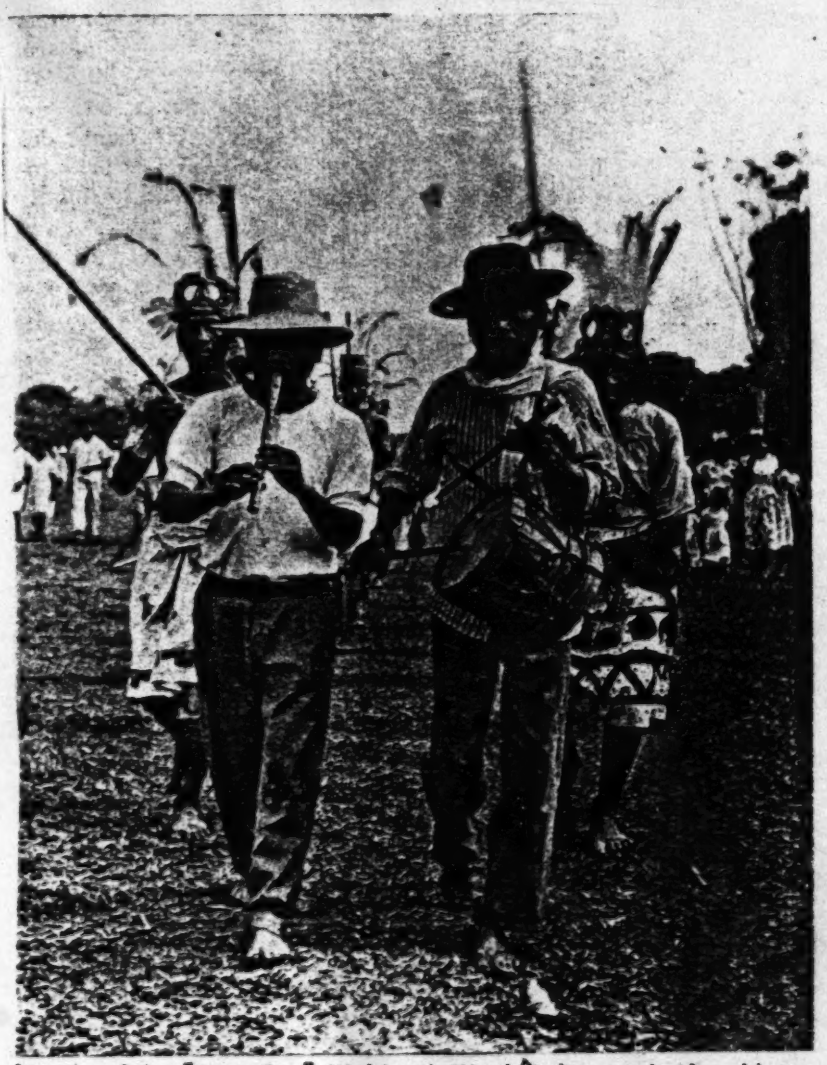
G
M
[113]

60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

[Text continues on p.47]

3:Oliveira--46a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

291
534
535



Parade of the "Bate-Pau" (Kohixoti-Kipahê) dancers in the aldea streets, with the fife and drum in front. (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--46b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

142
301
535

Terêna dancers dressed and adorned for the "Bate-Pau."
(Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [554] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
567

63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Wahere-Txané, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114
565

class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahere-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the
565 warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle
555 and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally
701 translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group,
[567] whether they were Naati or Wahere-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not
[171] explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

/21

66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 178 565 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 178 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terena communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

171
462
177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462
273

The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the

462

weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both

[177]

sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their inte-

177

gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the

178
648

existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably

462
565

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

177 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was
178
648
462
565

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175]
[128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on
178 removing women from farm
462 work is explained, on the one
562 hand, by the important role
565 they played in Guaná culture,
171 which was organized basically
[591] around matrilocal extended
[596] families, despite the fact that
the Terêna today, are bilocal;
on the other hand, by the
attempt to parallel Guaykuru
women, who "throughout the
period of their marriage enjoy
the position of ladies....
It reverted to the husband's
care to provide the game and
other provisions to feed the
family." (Labrador, 1910;
II:26.)

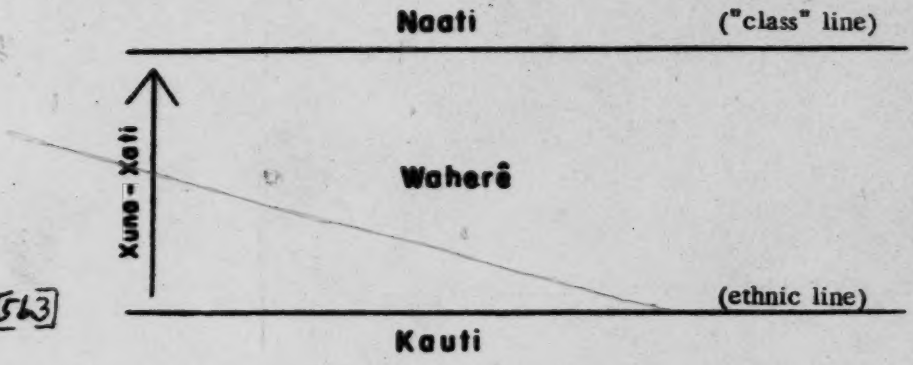
178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can
555 be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin
565 as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have
[72] become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of
[631] captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this
manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way
as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group
a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we
have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever
compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like
the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by
means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension
was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the
Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives,
who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e.,
the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different
565 ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local
[563] group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could



[563]

Figure 1. Threefold, asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited
[565] to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumoné and Sukirikioné.

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[173] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden".--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[178] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

/47 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555
563
565
616

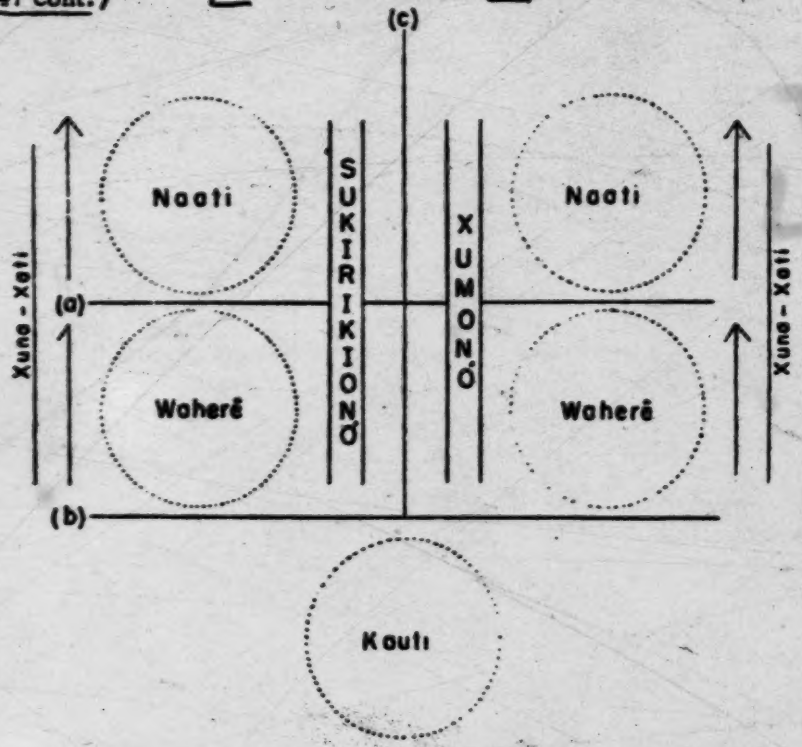


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
616 We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
796
571

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 *Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques*
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 431 565 568

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Wahere-Txané.

616 796 526

Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616
796
526
565
178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of
535 Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining
[526] only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by
[178] the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race
[114] of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and
[534] witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
587
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[62] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But

771 821 [796] much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that [171] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a [789] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 [114] [821] J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

796 [346] /51 cont./ In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalú-rco) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate. Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

[431]

796 [114] festivities were carried out among the Terêna whom he visited at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[292] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati
and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature,
and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[273]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182
619
571
462
[714]
largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

[222]
[223]

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

796
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[301]
[302]

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

796 90. "The cerimonial life
171 of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both 773 children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version [115]

93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each [616] went his way." It seems that we are in front of a myth that reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

/54 cont./

773 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties.
616 Compare the figures of Taipuvuké and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoé, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terêna food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe." (95)

95. 1950:224.

There is no doubt that Pitanoé and Taipuyukê are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyukê (or Pitanoé) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there
[184] arose another. But the first was the master." (96) As is seen,

96. 1949:349.

despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

/55a/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/55b/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/57/

G
H
175
648
[167]

IV. History of Interethnic Relations

At the end of the 18th century, when the Guaná groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

H
175

97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

G
H
175
648

The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

H
175

98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacaria and Xeres. There, in those campos,

3:Oliveira--72 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2

H
175

/57 cont./

the members of one bandeira headed by Salvador Moreira, founded an encampment and set up farming for sustenance. Around 1660, Braz Moreira, brother of that bandeira chief, rebelled, along with some men from Sorocaba, and punishment was called for. A deposition dated July 28 of that year was drawn against the rebel for insubordination, at the encampment itself. The incident, documented by the scribe Antônio Alvares Maciel, shows, for the historic record, the fact of the effective possession of the Vacaria glebes by the bandeirantes (the italics are ours). In the foothill region of Mbotetei (Miranda), Pascoal Moreira and André Zuniga, in the course of three lustrums, between 1678 and 1695, had held their own in their stockaded campos, with their fleet of canoes engaged in the traffic of /Indian/ captives. The Portuguese 'uti-possidetis' was being secured on these glebes." (Op. cit., p. 49.)

G
H
175
648

Paraguay basin, on the other hand they did serious injury to the indigenous populations. In the struggle that ensued between the "Paulistas" and the Jesuits /58/ and Spaniards for the expansion of their empires, the Indian got the worst of it: drawn

G H 175 648 /58 cont./

into every camp, often fighting fellow Indians, he was the most despoiled, of his goods, his lands, his people. The pastoral wave, however, came to attend to more productive occupation, although it also represented a constant threat to the tribal groups that stood in its way.

H 175 167

Let it be clear that we are speaking of a specific pastoral wave, national in character, and representing the natural expansion of the neo-Brazilian society. There is no doubt that the area formed by the tributaries of the left bank of the Paraguay (even where it is today Brazilian territory) was partially occupied by livestock, chiefly "baguá" livestock, the same variety of cows and horses the first heads of which were brought by D. Alvar Nunes Cabeça de Vaca in 1543; and the inroads to which they were subjected by sorties of the Guaikurú provoked the Spaniards, who were virtual owners of those herds, (99) to make minced meat of them.

M 175 648 233 721

99. Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra tells us the scope of the slaughter carried out by the Spaniards among the Guaikurú. The chronicler tells us that from 1793 up to 1803, the date when he was writing, the Guaikurú created havoc in proportion to the Spaniards' advance with their fazendas, pushing them back or even destroying them and coming into possession of 20,000 horses, some cows, etc. The Spaniards then organized two slaughtering expeditions in 1796, killing the famous Guaikurú "captain," Queimá, ten other "captains," and 300 Indians; in 1797, another even larger /expedition/

M [327]

3:O liveira--74 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2
Mbaya SK11

/58 cont./

M
175
641
233
721

was led by Col. José Espinola to the Mondego River and recaptured 6,000 animals--which shows what large herds these Indians had come to own. (Cf. 1850(b):383.)

000
M
175
167

make minced meat of them. Only after the Paraguayan war did that area begin to be occupied by the pastoral wave coming from the "triângulo mineiro."

Nelson Werneck Sodré makes a deft analysis of this penetration: "Along the valley of the national river (the São Francisco) the significant touching of vaqueiros /vaqueros/ and bandeirantes took place. The one were in search of gold and were headed north. The others came looking for grazing lands and were headed south. Minas Gerais, already made into a capitania, separated from São Paulo, was to become a big distribution center, an outstanding condensation of populations and herds....Fording the first of the Paraná headwaters, the herds entered the western lands at the end of the 18th century. This was the beginning of the pastoral conquest, which would extend, uniformly, through almost all the territory known in the cycle of the bandeirantes and the cycle of the monções /name of the old bandeiras who set out in exploration in the interior, going down the Tietê and other rivers/ and to which pastoral conquest and expansion /59/ would give new lines, in their steady advance." (100) But the region actually occupied

100. 1941:58-59. In 1837, in a speech made at the opening of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Mato Grosso, José Antônio Pimenta Bueno said: "The initial opening of the Pequeri road has been for

H
175
167

/59 cont./

us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

G
H
175
167
G
[101]

But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

H
175
167

101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant. -- On the right bank of the

159 cont. / On the right bank of the

H 175 167 G [3 4]

Miranda, through the years, since its foundation in 1797, there survived only the fort of the same name, surrounded by some aldeas of Guanás, Quiniquinaus, and Guaxis.--In the Vacaria region, the beautiful campos of native forage stretched to the horizon, like a green, softly billowing ocean dotted with small spots of thickets.... These campos were to remain isolated from civilization for many years. At the same time, during the third decade (of the 19th century), on the banks of the Parnaíba and in the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraguay River, the settlement of those vast lands isolated in the heart of Brazil began." (Mário Monteiro de Almeida, op. cit., pp. 227-228.) See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

G H 175 167 H 233

We believe that only in the mid-19th century, shortly before the Paraguayan war, did the Guaná become conscious of the consequences of this pastoral frontier. Up to then, the bulk of the regional livestock--as we have said--seems to have come from Paraguay. And one might rightfully assume that this wave did not present a favorable demographic index for permanent settlement: the size of the glebes and the extreme mobility of livestock rearing, along with a sparse population, would hardly have presented

G /59 cont./
H conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up
175 "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient
167
H
233
[361]

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

G
[137]
[136]

technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

G It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the
H Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and
175 Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented
167 population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the
648

H
175
167

103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

/60 cont./

H
175
167

been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces.--The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

G
H
175
167
648

close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

HP
[175]
[167]

G /60 cont./
H
HP offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,
175
167
648

104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

HP
175
167

G
H
[177]
HP
[648]

G
H
HP it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence,
175 was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna.
167
648

G H HP 175 167 648 G [173]

/61 cont./

a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

G H 175 648 H 567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

G H 175 167 496 H [653]

The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

3:Oliveira--81 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2

G /61 cont./
H
175 Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the
167 rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and
496 stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that
G we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic in-
[170] crease brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil.(107)

H
175
167
496
162
361

107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

/61 cont./

H 175 167 496 162 361

idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

G 175 177 /62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)

G [101] [361]

108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

G [162]

cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

G [361]

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
172 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/62 cont./

175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
[162] 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

/63 cont./

175 177 797 [184] been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later,

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikináus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

/63 cont./

175 neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were
177 much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.
[797] Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of informa-
[622] tion on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the
[184] caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region
are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their
[178] leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward
[797] a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

/64 cont./

175
177
287

the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terêna groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

/64 cont./

175 177 797 had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 177 797 184 [10] Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna communities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

[361] 117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175 648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/65 cont./

175 648 184 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While [427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on [439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[464] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

/66 cont./

175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./
121

Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

G
B
170
648

Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

B
[653]

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

G
[361]

G
[162]

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikináu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

G /67 cont./
B taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even
175 after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the
648 Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members
B of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service.
657 While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the
G Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904,
[361] and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

H
175
648
K
175
177

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

H
[712]
[592]

3:Oliveira--95 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil JL 2

/68 cont./

H
175
648
G
175
177

goods, and of all the plans made with the aim of helping them (Cf. Almeida Serra, 1850:391-93; Alincourt, 1857:362-63), the authorities of the Colônia did not succeed in developing a help-oriented policy, no matter how rudimentary. Here is what the president of the province of Mato Grosso said in 1837: "...for the catechizing and civilizing of the Indians, I do not trust any armchair plans or directives made without any experience or reliable knowledge of the customs, disposition, and characteristics of each of the tribes. In order to domesticate the nations I mentioned, we had to go to tremendous expense, and where the Lower Paraguay is concerned, the only spot where we met with some success, the aid of favorable occurrences /was needed/; insofar as, surrounded by enemy nations and subjected to the forts and military forces which we have maintained there at all times, they had no recourse other than to accept our repeated

/68 cont./

H 175 648 G 175 177 [597]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B G 464

G 241 256

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /68 cont./
241 make hammocks and various
286 fabrics.--In their aldeamentos
G
295 /villages/ they plant orange
trees, lime trees, lemon trees,
citron trees, and guava trees.
G
231 They raise cows and horses
463 and they are excellent
vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros,
464 "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also
465 prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough
to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466 130. Idem: 83. "They are
426 frequently exploited by the
fazendeiros.--It is hard to
find a Terêna camarada
who does not owe his master
the very hairs on his head.--
They once told me that a
rich fazendeiro is in the
habit, at the beginning of
each year, of gathering his
Terêna camaradas and tell-
ing them his settlement of
accounts. To each he re-
peats the amount of his
debt, along with facetious
comments. After confront-
ing them with their debts,
he closes the episode with an
extraordinary act of generosity.
He subtracts a substantial per-
centage from their respective

G
B
466
426

/69 cont./

debts, so that they will not be overburdened during the new fiscal year.--The poor Indians, convinced that their master is a well of kindness, leave happy and in the evening give themselves up to the usual amusements, so that the new debt starts growing at once; the debt is reopened with the consumption of alcohol to celebrate the master's generosity.--Actually, the wretched camaradas owe nothing to the usurer; first of all, because their services are not paid what they are worth, but at a reduction that benefits the master alone; secondly, because in the sales made by the master to the camaradas, the latter are cheated to such an extent that they never manage to get back to their feet in their trading relations with him.--Whence a new type of slavery, whose preservation is upheld by the state police whenever one of these camaradas, tired of putting up with a bad master, gathers the courage to leave him and seek out a new life."--And the report adds: "No 'camarada' with an account can leave his

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

> master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

G
466
173
128
[115]
[756]

Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

B
624
625

"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131.)

131. Idem:83-84.

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
797

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G
[184]

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[162] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering
[103] perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/71 cont./

175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

135. Ibid.

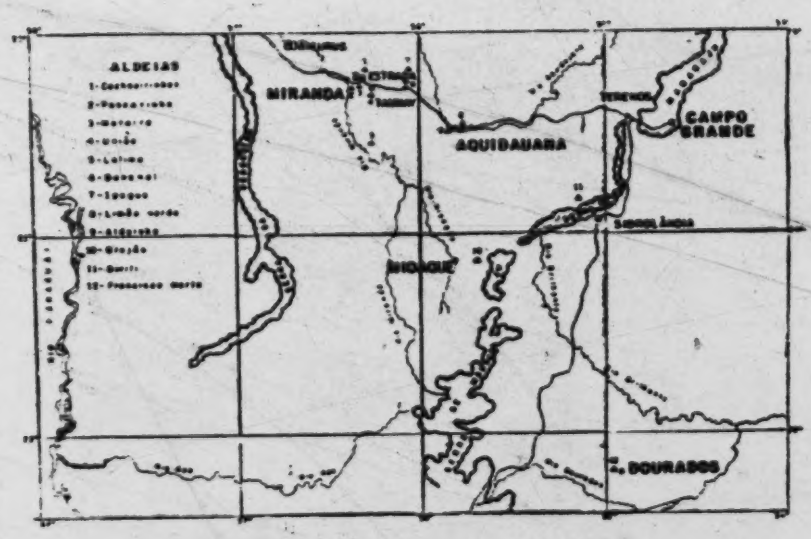
103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikũ, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikũ; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[621] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

/72 cont./

000

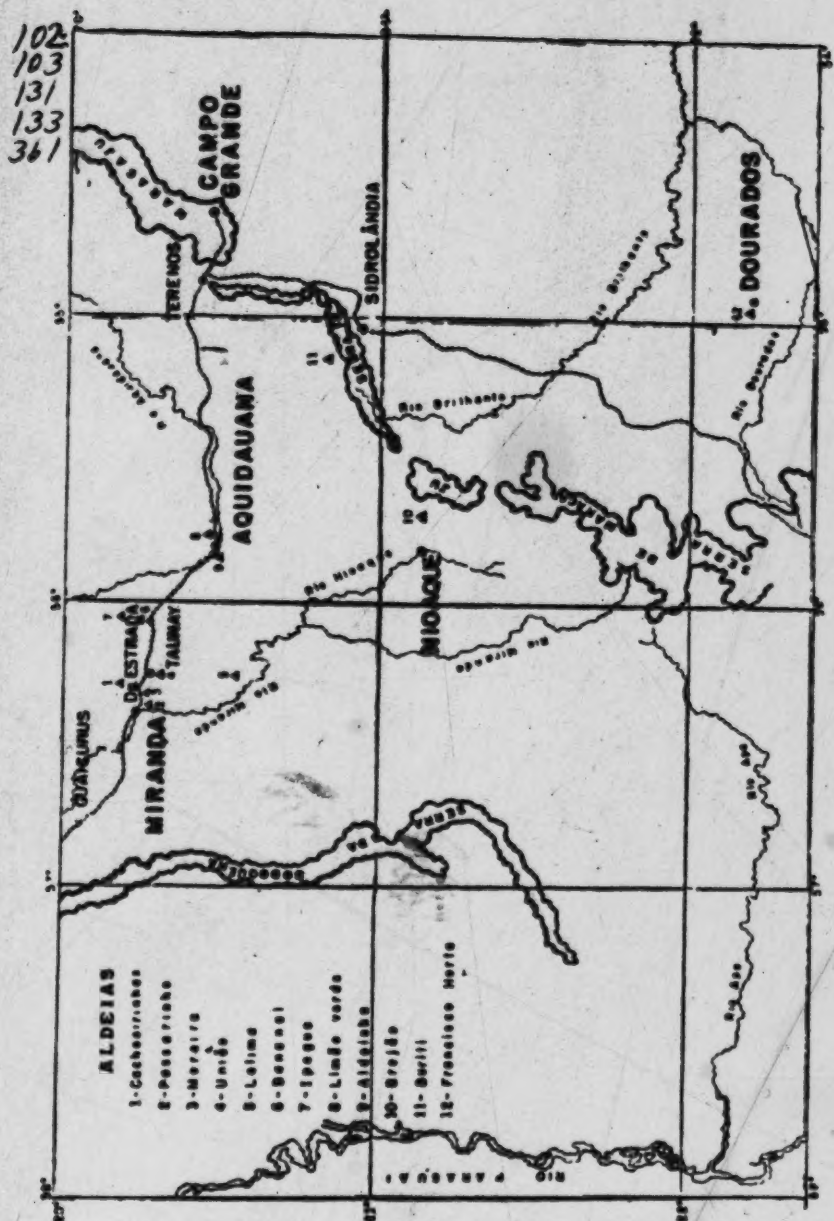


Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the
166 time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no
361 matter in how precarious a fashion. Some of these places
178 were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção
648 aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the
[657] remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

[Text continues on p. 104]

3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena



Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas.

3:Oliveira - 103b 4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layana

/72a/
142
292
301
302
756

Gonçalo, a Layâna survivor and the most highly regarded Koixomuneti in Cachoeirinha. (1955)

3:Oliveira--103c E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layâna
/72b/
292
301
534
756

Gonçalo at "work." (1955)

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

797 138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas.

798 The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

/76 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361] 140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[162] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[491] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648 439 366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 628 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 578 166 [592] União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a [622] [872] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." 159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.

[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which

[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./
361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikináu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
621 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço
162 de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[34] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikinãu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./

Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 621 The first accurate census data available compel us to deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 166 621 [113]

146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [578] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[368] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[24] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
175 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

3:Oliveira--126a E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88a/
142
291
302
294
352

Terêna girl working on her trousseau. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

5

3:Oliveira--126b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/
142
291
302
326
413
352

Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is 101 829 Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [247] [462] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldeà itself with offers of employment.

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children....This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea, [166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The [648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso. [162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among [166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further [162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."

872
628

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited

[341]
[875]

to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 they erected a spacious shed
628 and left there a teacher, at a
346 salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a
875 month, recruited from the
Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--
neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu
survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia,"
Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements.
It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia,"
but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close
contact and intensive trade relations with the native com-
munity. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc
flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/,
and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the
statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community
plants for its own consumption the following species: rice,
/sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in
the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in
Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[346] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that
on the reservation there is no building that might be called
a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private
homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics.
As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts
to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture
change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[01] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175
621
648
423
[113]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 621 648 423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 621 [162] [166] [648] 175 361

probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate, up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 if it were not for the fact that some families had left to work
621 on fazendas. (154) But the population did not cease growing,
[464]

[113]

154. The Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, for the year 1937, says the following: "Before (1937) the number of inhabitants was greater, but some families left in search of work, in order to acquire such staples as food and clothing. The lack of agricultural implements contributed to the departure of these families." And it cannot be said that the departure of Indians from Buriti was a minor affair, when we see that already in 1926 there were in that community 450 persons living in 52 houses, according to the Relatorio da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for that year. We see that from 1923 to 1926, in three years, the population of the aldea grew by 30 individuals; and from 1926 to 1937, aside from the population dropping slightly, we see quite a big increase in the number of ranchos: from 52 to 91--

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[43] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

G Gi 177 [872] G Gi [797] G Gi [366] Gi [464]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

G Gi 797 G [795] Gi [771] [114]

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

G Gi 798 621

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians.

G Gi [795] [619]

From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

[Francisco Horta]

G 197 cont. /

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

/2/ groups and, as intermediate situations, are the tribes that maintain "intermittent contact" and those with "permanent contact" with the national society. These four situations were conceptualized by Darcy Ribeiro (1957:7-14) through the examination of the "behavior" of the Brazilian indigenous groups over the last 50 years, in terms of the manner and rate of survival, the decharacterization or disappearance of their languages and cultures." (Idem:5.) The criterion used was "the systematic comparison of the situation in which the Brazilian indigenous groups were found at the turn of the century, with the situation in which they are found today, in terms of the degree of integration into the national society and, correlatively, the preservation or loss of cultural and linguistic autonomy." (Ibid.) Thus, "integrated" are the groups that "having experienced all of the constraints mentioned and having managed to survive, reached the 20th century isolated in the midst of the national population, into the

/98 cont./

121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

62/ assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna com-
648 munities characterized above, it is seen that their components
177 continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive
[128] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of
[128] socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[144] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/101 cont./

184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648
621

159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea.--It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/101 cont./

648
621

unperceived by the communities that were not fortunate enough to get a post which, for better or for worse, would supervise life in the reservation. Although this is not in accordance with the administrative norms of the S. P. I., it has not been possible to avoid this distortion to which a large part of the superintendents are subject. The most obvious case is that of União aldea, which, because it is not a reservation but a private spot acquired by the Indians themselves--, does not receive the slightest amount of help; and even, it can be said, is regarded quite unfavorably by the great majority of S. P. I. officials.

648
621
433

In aldeas where the S. P. I. is located, the impression is conveyed of very slight concern with the communal economy, i.e., that of the Indians themselves, which is neglected in favor--of what we shall call--the post economy. We shall not here go into the merits of this "policy," since we do not /102/ know to what extent it reflects the directives furnished by the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, or the regional one, the inspetoria, in Campo Grande. The truth is that there is very great concern over the production of the post, i.e., that resulting from labor financed by the S. P. I, whether it relates to farm plots, to cattle-raising, or to the extraction of wood or angico bark. This labor is ordinarily carried out by the

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the 184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could 511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities, 434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas 464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/104 cont./

797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were
798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain aldeas, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the
621 non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect,
798

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, op. cit.

is the aldea of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these aldeas, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of
177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It
797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

3:Oliveira--151a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7-
Terena

/104a/

142
291
301
302
516
152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

3.Oliveira--151b E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
/104b/
142
291
302
854

Young Terena woman with her child. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/105 cont./

797 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldea routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.
797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!
621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[177]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[798] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

108 cont./

798 829 [273] thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do [212] not take life seriously!" It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" [292] have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

771/128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided
621
797
795
[665]
[128]

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621
795
511
[184]
[182]
[648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
167 If we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/111/

VII. Acculturation and Mobility

/177 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with,
/167 in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

/21/ Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

/111 cont./

/2/ (Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen, 1954:437.) Not all, however, emphasize the group, but rather consider assimilation as "a gradual process by which the individual comes to share the expectations of another group and slowly acquires a new set of definitions /cited in English/." (Merril and Eldredge, 1957:42.)--Actually the two concepts correspond to two different aspects of the process of assimilation which was recognized by sociologists such as Ogburn and Ninkoff (1950) and Osborn and Neumeyer (1936)--and which here too we shall take into account, introducing only one observation as to the difficulty of verifying the correspondence between the concept and the reality which it claims to embrace, especially insofar as the second conceptualization is concerned; in this connection we use the term assimilated as the opposite of segregated (and, in certain cases, isolated) to indicate two extreme "conditions" set up on a continuum; this

/111 cont./

121

> in accordance with Glaser (1958:34), according to whom "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically... /cited in English/." And Glaser concludes with the admonition that "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him desegregating" (p. 32). /Cited in English./

assimilation, like acculturation, /112/ can also mean a "condition" as opposed to a "process"; in this case, the context in which they appear will suffice to elucidate them as a dynamic category (process) or a static one (condition), as we see in these respective examples: "assimilation--or acculturation--has led the Terêna groups to a radical change in their behavior...," and "not yet assimilated--or sufficiently acculturated--, the Terêna remain a people with a tribal consciousness strong enough to differentiate them from the regional population and to prevent their classification as a national variant or subculture...."

[177] [619]

We deem it fitting to underscore here this difference between the concepts of assimilation and acculturation--as "process" and as "condition"--in order to overcome an obvious ambiguity which incidentally has already been pointed out by Ralph Beals. (173)

173. 1953:627-628.

/112 cont./

/121 Since this work by Beals, there has been a reformulation of the concept of acculturation (and its derivatives) on the part of a group of specialists in the social sciences, who drew up a document, in 1953, as a substitute for the "memorandum" of 1936 by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz. (174) In this

174. 1936:149-152.

document, acculturation was defined as "a culture change initiated by the conjunction of two or more cultural systems." (175)

175. Social Science Research Council, 1954:974.

In causal terms, the document adds, "acculturative change can be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it can be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological and demographic modifications induced by a cultural shock; it can be delayed by internal adjustments, following an acceptance of foreign patterns or features; or it can be an adaptation /two plates occur here/ /113/ in reaction of the traditional ways of life." (176) In this work, we have made use of this concept of

176. Ibid.

acculturation insofar as it has proved useful to an understanding of the consequences, in the cultural sphere, of the mechanisms of social, interethnic, and tribal interaction. At the basis of this, of course, there lies an implicit criticism of the theories of acculturation, insofar as they tend to regard cultural systems in themselves, often losing sight of the population or social group that bears them. (177) The emphasis given to behavior--

177. The approach of the British social anthropologists,

[text continues on p.164]

3:Oliveira--163a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/112a/
142
291
302

Old Terêna of Cachoeirinha. (1957)

3:Oliveira--163b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Kinikinau

/112b/
137
142
291
302

Kinikináu survivor of the "Paraiso" local group, now living in Cachoeirinha. (1958)

/113 cont./

/2/ which basically objectifies changes that occur in behavior, seems safer to us, even though we must acknowledge the importance of acculturation theories in any detailed study of socio-cultural change.

as it was defined in the previous chapter--averts this danger, and at the same time permits us to deal with the process of acculturation in the terms proposed above.

Following this initial operational formulation of acculturation, the concept will become more precise when we compare it with that of social mobility, in the sense in which both /terms/ were used by Richard Adams, in his research on ladinización in Guatemala. (178) By Adams, social mobility

178. 1956:213-244.

is understood as a process of change "undergone by an individual when he gives up the customs of his own class or ethnic group in order to become a member of another class or ethnic group." (179) Here two forms of mobility are combined:

179. Idem: 214.

horizontal (for Adams, equivalent to physical mobility), and vertical (in the already traditional concept of Sorokin). As the counterpart to this, the acculturation process is defined as "the change which a community or entire society undergoes as it becomes culturally more similar to another. It refers to the change in customs of all the members of a group, to the extent that these customs serve less and less to differentiate

/113 cont./
121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./
184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple

178 756 755

ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical

178 796 [177]

practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the [619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [177] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
[60] tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
[582] ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/119 cont./

/121/ of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
/162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the
appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the
investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and
Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with
one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view
of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time
available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac,
the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna
families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher
than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families,
comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[621]

190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at
least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already men-
tioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how wide-
ly the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we
made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--
that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families,
a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried
out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of
individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which
add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to
162
369
125

191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 In order to
125 study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much
369

192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121/ than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in
125 absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must
369 be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals,
162 not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

369 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these
162 three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/121 cont./

369
162

As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next
162 chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the
582 preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population,
167 as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding
167 the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that
369 they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming
621 more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[161] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/124 cont./

369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as [128] those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

369 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to re-
619 main faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to
177 their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification,
369 along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national [561] structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the [619] assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

/124 cont./

*177 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain
369 regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the
369 following proposition: Assimilation is more viable, progressively,
184 beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities. And as a corollary, we have then: Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves. Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating
/2/ assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis

196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

/125 cont./

/2/ occurs in accord with the continuum referred to above."
"This means that a person cannot change from a pattern of segregated identification to one of assimilation without, first, becoming marginal and, then, desegregated. Meanwhile, the change can occur in either direction of the continuum. To change from desegregation to marginal and to segregation, [128] is common." (197) Although we are not adopting this scheme

197. Idem:35.
"Ethnic identification refers to a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby to relate himself to others." (Idem:31.)
/Cited in English./

in its totality--for many of the results of its application are open to question--, it is a useful tool for the aims we have in mind, since, wrought from the analysis of situations involving minorities (ethnic, religious, and national), it is more refined and it strengthens our criterion for measuring assimilation by the pattern of ethnic identification. (198)

198. We defined assimilation, at the beginning of this chapter, as the process whereby one ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing its cultural peculiarity and its ethnic identification. See also footnote 172.

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from [123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave [571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Where- [829] as on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/126 cont./

*177 them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of
369 life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the
[571] city, raise their children there, or build up their families there.
[8-9] On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in
[464] the regional economic structure--since they are active in the
labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and
[361] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated
[186] in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in com-
munities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi-
[571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined
with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain
circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to
its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.
/Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

/21 In the examination in which we are engaged, with re-
/128 spect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most
explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we
indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate with-
in it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry
forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself
of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural
factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those
that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call
convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna
369 population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the
[181] most important factors in the assimilation process, especially
when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration,
better recreation, and better education for their children.

/129 cont./

*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[494] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
[556] for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[44]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
518
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/131 cont./

369 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to
*177 the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the
511 greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market
181 is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a
369 *177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

*177 2. Military service is another important factor, but
701 which, of course, applies only to the male population. It
464 presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences,
554 supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

*177 From this desire to travel and to know new places--al-
701 ready pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal
181 peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could
[171]

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

/133 cont./

*177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
562 indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 [571]

situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557

The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
668 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
[175] of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
[851] the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
[551] adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
[178] At present, with the probable exception of the population that
[369] still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
[184] structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
[795] fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
[171] have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
797 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[821] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
797 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
771 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[285] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
297 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
77/ developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
795 [829] Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
[186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant
ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more
effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--
ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority,
but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group conscious-
ness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated
in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of
individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already
examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely
be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding
individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of
the group toward change (far greater than the present conserva-
tive mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the soi-
disant Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
797 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

/136 cont./

*177
797

Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way
797 decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or
*177 national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the
648 Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/
[721] as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas,
[P29] invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

3:Oliveira--196a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136a/

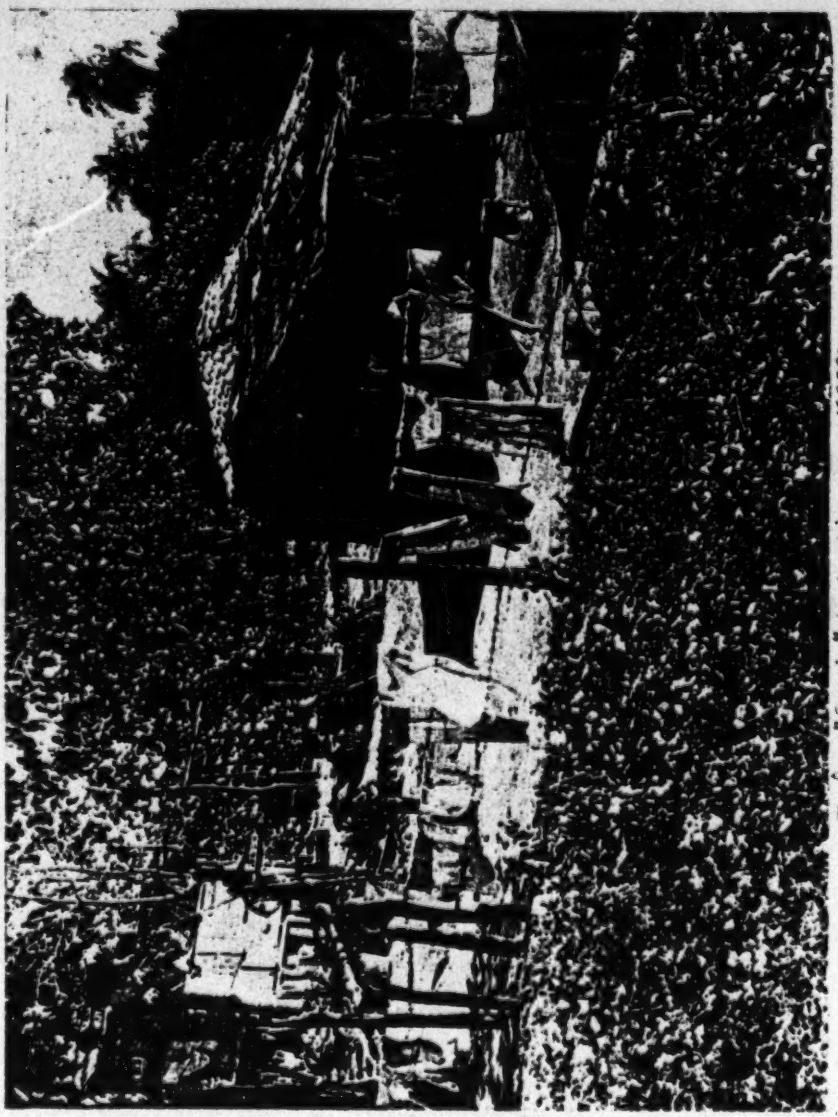
142
292
301
302
756
*177

Young Terêna, Koixomuneti apprentice, wearing around his neck an image of the "Sacred Heart." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--196b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136b/

342
351
296



Terêna "favela" in Aquidauana. (1958)

/137 cont./
175 *177 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local
648 "colonels," who invaded and robbed their aldeas.

*177 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of
666 democratic life in the country, the political parties began to
648 seek out the Terêna aldeas with the aim of gaining electors among those who might perchance know how to sign their names. To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical relations with the "civilizado," at least while the election propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39 electors (including nine women) in one of the aldeas alone, namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União, taken together, the number of electors could not have reached
123 50. In the other aldeas, unfortunately, we were unable to find
*177 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that
666 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan
648 activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha, a community where we remained for a long time, from making such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the com-
*177 munity for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the
666 Terêna aldeas (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political
648 parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often /138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
367 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/138 cont./

*177 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something
656 that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which
369 are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way)
829 and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened"
[859] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[169]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
66 *177 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*777 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 484 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. [178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [142] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[129] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[826] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

/141 cont./

rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself, such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is concerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G
563
184

into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

G
*177
563
369
B
563
G
[191]

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/--the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros," (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

G /143 cont./
*177 some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I.,
563 which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without
369 any positive results, according to the information we got.
B This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside
563 his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

G Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable
*177 to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it
191 facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his
369 area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not
G speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people
[561] who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they
[648] lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15
G and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in
[184] those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./

*177 But in the cities,
191 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
369 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
561 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/145 cont./

*177 648 175 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 648 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S. P. I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped" *177 648 829 464 162 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

G /146 cont./

*177 The segregated condition to which the aldea population
178 is subjected stimulates the emergence of psycho-social
648 mechanisms that work counter to assimilation: it strengthens the "tribal we," decreases the possibilities of interethnic contact, and marks the position of the Indian socially as a ward. Let us examine this last aspect of segregation, since the first two--the strengthening of tribal consciousness and the creation of obstacles to interethnic contact--were already dealt with in
G 666 previous chapters. The most flagrant discrimination against
648 the Indian that we had the opportunity to witness bore the
B approval of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios at the time of
657 the 1955 elections. In that year, at the end of September, thus on the eve of the elections, the Inspetoria Regional (IR-5) with headquarters in Campo Grande and responsible for the supervision and articulation of the native posts /147/ of southern Mato Grosso, along with the central administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decided to withdraw the Indians' voting certificates on the grounds that regional politicking would be prejudicial to the Indians' interests and to their administration. It considered--with some reason--that, if the Indians were to vote, the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially the superintendents, would eventually become electoral leaders, as had already happened in some aldeas; the result of this would be a future wrangling over the posts of native-post superintendents, since they would come to represent political power, electoral importance. Very well. Such were the reasons that led the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios--through its inspetoria--to take an attitude that clashed with the basic principles of a native policy oriented toward guaranteeing to the Indian the securing of rights he would prove
G ready to enjoy. Once literate, and in most cases, a reservist,
[641] the Indian elector automatically ceased to be a ward (despite the sui generis nature of this wardship)--and the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, interpreting in a positive way the protectionist policy, would have no other recourse than to insure

/147 cont./

the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient.... But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Purutuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered
369 by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining
571 the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were
[511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life
[565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be
369 considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna
565 and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions,
[511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

/149/

*177 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for
369 both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point
585 that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic
[511] reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

162
175

162
619
369

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.)

*[177]
[563]

This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[574] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[62] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/150 cont./

*177 182 571 off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginalization (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy, making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" /condition/--which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

> 211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English./ As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

It should be made

*177 128 clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

/151 cont./

*177 128 society might be described. Thus, it will not be idle to recall here the words of Talcott Parsons when he warns that even if one does not know the laws that govern a process, it is always possible to "describe it" in terms of its initial and final moments--and possibly to make inferences about its intermediary stages--until one reaches empirical generalizations about it. (212) This was the procedure we followed, aided by

212. "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it. --A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons 1952:201). /Cited in English./

[12] a minute examination of the data gathered in the field. We believe that through the analysis of the socio-cultural factors that operated in a convergent or divergent manner in the assimilation process, we succeeded in indicating the bases on which the psycho-social mechanisms operate.

*177 178 Conclusions

I. The Terêna, as the last Guaná subgroup to enter into continuous and systematic contact with Brazilian society,

/151 cont./

*177 naturally suffered much less damage than the Exoaladi, Layâna,
178 or Kinikinâu, whether physically (depopulation) or culturally (deculturation). This explains their survival of the vicissitudes they underwent after the war with Paraguay, with their captivity, the disorganization of the local groups, and their dispersal through the fazendas that were forming. With the creation of the native reservations, they even had the strength to reorganize into aldeas, to face /152/ the epidemics and the competition with the regional neo-Brazilian population, because they still made up a rather numerous and highly integrated group.

II. While the majority of the Terêna had gradually returned to aldea life, a minor contingent remained on the fazendas, where they settled, entering a process of detribalization. Today, we find the following picture: some are permanently settled in the "colônias" of those fazendas that granted them better treatment, equivalent to that given the neo-Brazilian countryman; others went on moving from fazenda to fazenda, following the harvesting cycles and the availability of work. Nevertheless, this detribalized population continues to identify itself, on the whole, as belonging to a definite ethnic group and to be recognized by the Terêna "community" as a component of it. The occurrence of interethnic marriage leads, through cross-breeding and family disorganization, to individual assimilation; in a sense, this assimilation becomes easier to be carried out in the rural zones than in the urban areas, in view of the smaller "cultural distance" existing between these zones and the aldeas, in spite of the fact that the cities loom as the most powerful agencies of change.

*177 III. With the progressive urbanization of the neo-
178 Brazilian population nuclei, i.e., with the formation of the
369 cities, both aldea and detribalized Indians became attracted by them to the point that numerous families settled in the urban and suburban areas and came to live there, subsisting on their urban occupations. In spite of being detribalized and urbanized, these Terêna continued to remain connected with

/152 cont./

*177 the aldeas of their origin, (i) identifying themselves with them,
178 (ii) keeping "lots" in them, and (iii) returning to them for
369 secular activites or magico-religious rituals. The assimilation of this urbanized contingent tends to occur in the generations that follow that of the Terêna emigrant, and in accordance with certain conditions, the most important being: family disorganization. Whether in relation to this urbanized contingent, or in relation to the merely detribalized one--mentioned in the previous paragraph--the assimilation mechanisms are the same, their content obviously varying.

*177 IV. Although the analysis in depth to which we subjected
178 only those Terêna classified as aldea /Indians/ and as urbanized
128 /Indians/, was sufficient to give us an idea of the assimilation process, the exclusion /153/ of the detribalized Terêna, that is, those living on fazendas, imposes on this work a serious limitation which we attempted to circumvent through the use, perhaps the abuse, of a very poor set of data, often obtained by means of indirect methods. Nevertheless, the viability of this procedure, defensible from a methodological standpoint, permitted us to deal with the Terêna as a whole, to classify them into objective sociological categories, and to proffer generalizations about them. The manipulation of the concepts of acculturation and social mobility helped us to foresee two basic aspects or conditions of the assimilation process. Finally, the detailed examination of this process, through an examination of the psycho-social mechanisms emerging from it--carried out with the aid of a particular theoretical scheme (Glaser)--led us to understand the dynamic aspects of ethnic identification and their importance to the survival of the Terêna, as groups.

*177 V. The final conclusion reached is that the Terêna
178 population, in spite of being integrated into the regional economic structure, nothing indicates that in the near future it will come to be assimilated by the Brazilian society or by its socio-cultural segments. (213) Perhaps this will not even

/153 cont./

213. Cf. Julian H. Steward, 1955:43-63.

*177 occur some day, if the same conditions persist that led the near
178 totality of this population to remain in aldeas. The assimilation of some detribalized or urbanized individuals, usually sons and grandsons of Indians who left their communities, is not sufficient to permit us to diagnose the Terêna population, as a whole, as being on the way to incorporation into the national society. /The bibliography and index at the end of the work have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

177

[For information on the assimilation of the Terena into Brazilian or neo-Brazilian urban culture, see category 116, pp. 181-182, 184-186, 188-209, 211-219.]

621

/For fissive tendencies displayed by various members of the religious (i.e., Catholic/Protestant) community, see category 798./

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

727
563

/For the role and function of the kauti or war captives in Guana society, see category 565./

3; Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

566
567

/Information on the "slave" or "vassal" relationship of the Guana to the Mbaya people will be found in category 648./

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

O Processo de Assimilação dos TERÊNA

MUSEU NACIONAL
RIO DE JANEIRO
1960

[P.1]

[Title Page]

O Museu Nacional, por tradição, sempre procurou paralelamente à realização de pesquisas, estimular a formação de novos elementos, não só para suprir a necessidade do seu quadro de pesquisadores, como elevar o número de especialistas no País. Um dos modos de se atingir êsse fim é através de uma política editorial objetiva. Nêsse sentido o Museu Nacional lançou duas séries de publicações destinadas a despertar o interêsse para as coisas das ciências naturais e antropológicas, concretizadas na REVISTA DO MUSEU NACIONAL e nos MANUAIS. Agora vence mais uma etapa ao lançar uma nova série LIVROS destinada, além de propagar os resultados da pesquisa, constituir, pelo seu conteúdo, livros de texto para os cursos de extensão universitária e pós-graduação ministrados pelo Museu Nacional.

HAROLDO TRAVASSOS
EDITOR

[P.3]
[P.2 is blank]

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

O Processo de Assimilação dos TERÊNA

[P.5]
[P.4 is blank]

MUSEU NACIONAL
RIO DE JANEIRO
1960

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana

UNIVERSIDADE DO BRASIL
MUSEU NACIONAL

SÉRIE LIVROS

I

[P.6]

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana

1189:80

ÍNDICE

Prefácio 9

Nota Introdutória 13

I — Os Terêna, sub-grupo guaná 19

II — O caráter da interação inter-tribal 29

III — Perfil da cultura tradicional 39

IV — História da relação interétnicas 57

V — Configuração atual dos grupos-locais Terêna 71

VI — Variações sócio-culturais entre as comunidades Terêna .. 99

VII — Aculturação e mobilidade 111

VIII — Os mecanismos de assimilação 129

Bibliografia citada 155

[P.7]

Mulher Terena, fazendo cerâmica (1955)

[facing P. 8]

PREFACIO

Na área de cerrados e matas de beira-rio do sul de Mato Grosso vive um dos maiores grupos indígenas do Brasil, os Terêna, do tronco Guaná, de língua Aruak. Somam umas cinco mil pessoas, o que constitui número vultuosíssimo para uma tribo brasileira, já que a maioria delas não alcança uma décima parte disto.

Quem viaja pela Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil que corta a região, pode vê-los de enxada à mão trabalhando nos roçados, montados a cavalo cuidando do gado de algum fazendeiro, nas turmas de conservação da própria estrada, ou, mais raramente, vendendo abanicos de palha de carandá nas estações.

O difícil é identificá-los como índios, uma vez que se vestem, se penteiam, trabalham e vivem como os sertanejos pobres da região. Um ou outro apresentará uma prega mongólica denunciadora ou uma cabeleira negra — lisa — dura, caracterìsticamente indígena e quase todos falam um português marcado por sotaque especial. De resto, mesmo êsses traços não chamam muita atenção numa área onde se encontram muitos paraguaios e bolivianos com características semelhantes.

Para saber que são indígenas é preciso falar-lhes ou ouvir a gente da região, sempre pronta a identificá-los e a apontar múltiplas singularidades negativas que, a seus olhos, os fazem diferentes e apartados.

Índios, assim, tão pouco indígenas, fogem ao interêsse do etnólogo clássico, interessado precisamente naqueles grupos intocados que melhor conservam as singularidades da cultura tradicional. São, por isso mesmo, muito raros os estudos que os focalizam. Todavia, êles oferecem um interêsse científico igual, senão maior que as tribos isoladas, porque sò-

[P.8 is blank]

mente seu estudo nos poderá levar a uma compreensão melhor do processo pelo qual povos tribais se integram em sociedades nacionais e como e porque resistem, como no caso dos Terêna, a fundirem-se na população regional.

Recomendam-se ainda, os estudos de grupos em grau avançado de integração pela contribuição que podem dar no tratamento de problemas de sobrevivência das populações tribais. Por isso mesmo, a Secção de Estudos do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e o Museu do Índio por ela mantido, enquanto ali trabalhávamos juntamente com EDUARDO GALVÃO *e* ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA, *devotou-se especialmente a esta ordem de estudos. O presente trabalho é fruto dessa orientação e dá uma medida da contribuição que a Etnologia pode dar na formulação e na execução de uma política indigenista cientìficamente orientada, capaz de abrir novas e melhores perspectivas de vida às populações indígenas do Brasil.*

O tema dêsse estudo é a análise das potencialidades explicativas dêsse caso raro no Brasil de uma tribo que fêz pràticamente todo o caminho da aculturação, conservando um montante populacional ponderável, que alcançou um alto grau de participação na vida regional, mas, apesar disso, permanece diferenciada, identificando-se a si mesma e sendo identificada como indígena.

O valor explicativo do caso Terêna é tanto maior porque êles estão divididos em vários subgrupos que apresentam diversas variantes das condições gerais da interação de grupos tribais com a sociedade nacional. Enquanto alguns subgrupos gozaram de certa condição de isolamento e relativa autonomia, outros se viram compelidos a viver junto a tribos que falavam línguas diferentes e tinham culturas também diferentes ou mesmo na contingência de se acomodarem à condição de agregados ou colonos de fazendas particulares. A assistência oficial por parte do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, bem como a atuação missionária, protestante e católica, operaram também em grau, continuidade e formas diversas de grupo para grupo, criando variantes do mais alto valor explicativo. Assim, seu estudo permitiu ver de que modo atuaram sôbre a base uniforme representada pela cultura tribal, as diversas fôrças de compulsão que afetaram o processo de integração dos Terêna na sociedade regional.

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA *não teve uma tarefa simples, mesmo*

porque não haviam muitos precedentes dessa ordem de estudos em que inspirar-se e, ainda, porque seus índios vivem desde há dois séculos tão inteiramente atados à sociedade regional que sofreram tôdas as vicissitudes de sua constituição e instalação na área e exprimem, naturalmente, em seu modo de ser, muitas características que só se explicam pelas experiências particulares que enfrentaram em virtude dessa conjunção. Nessas circunstâncias, ao contrário do estudo etnológico tradicional, despreocupado de análise histórica, teve o autor aqui que enfrentar a tarefa de reconstituir o processo vivido e sofrido pelo qual os índios Terêna chegaram a ser o que êles são agora, de modo a distinguir o que se deve à cultura tribal e o que se deve a situações de conjunção, no seu processo de integração à sociedade nacional.

Em seu estudo vemos os diversos grupos Guaná, inclusive os Terêna, sairem do dédalo das tribos chaquenhas profundamente influenciados por elas, sobretudo pelos seus suzeranos Mbayá-Guaikuru, mas conservando muitas características dos velhos Aruak como o devotamento à agricultura, que anos de convívio com povos de economia rudimentar não fizeram esmaecer.

Em seguida, os vemos, libertarem-se da suzerania Mbaya, para caírem na subordinação, muito mais opressiva, aos néo-brasileiros que se iam instalando na região nos primeiros anos do século XIX. Desde então passam a participar cada vez mais ativamente na vida da sociedade nacional, como a mão de obra que construiu quase tudo quanto se fêz na região e como a principal matriz indígena da população sul-matogrossense.

Êsse papel foi representado principalmente pela mulher Terêna. Tomada como espôsa ou amásia pelos primeiros povoadores, lhes deu filhos que, na maioria dos casos, tanto se identificaram com o pai branco que esqueceram a origem tribal. Só sabemos das exceções e entre essas se contam o MARECHAL RONDON *que tinha uma avó Terêna;* RICARDO FRANCO DE ALMEIDA SERRA, *como comandante-geral das fronteiras com o Paraguai viveu vários anos no Forte Coimbra com uma índia, muito provàvelmente Terêna, de quem teve filhos; e, ainda, o* VISCONDE DE TAUNAY *cujas memórias de publicação póstuma relatam como alguns dos melhores dias de sua vida aquêles que viveu, ao tempo das campanhas do Paraguai, com uma índia Terêna.*

Através dos últimos 150 anos de interação com a nossa sociedade,

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

os diversos grupos Guaná vieram fundir-se, restando, em nossos dias, um apenas, os Terêna, que passaram a reunir todos os sobreviventes da tribo. Hoje vivem como índios-de-aldeia, índios-de-fazenda, índios-de-cidade, integrados na vida regional como lavradores, como trabalhadores urbanos, às vêzes reservistas e até eleitores. Cada vez menos índios. Cada vez mais abrasileirados e, como tal, a braços com os mesmos problemas sociais com que se defrontam as massas rurais e as populações urbanas mais pobres de Mato Grosso. Diferenciados, porém, do sertanejo e do citadino comum por enfrentar problemas específicos de ajustamento que decorrem principalmente da consciência de uma origem tribal comum, das lealdades que os solidarizam uns com os outros e da consciência permanentemente apicaçada pela população regional de que êles são diferentes.

Venho dedicando-me há vários anos ao estudo do processo de aculturação das populações indígenas do Brasil e do papel representado pelas matrizes indígenas na formação do nosso povo. Por esta razão acompanhei com o maior interêsse a pesquisa de ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA *e fui honrado com o convite para prefaciar sua obra. Faço-o com a dupla satisfação, primeiro, a de apresentar um etnólogo que associa o domínio e o gôsto da teoria com a invulgar capacidade de observação direta na pesquisa de campo; segundo, porque seu livro representa uma contribuição relevante a um dos temas fundamentais da Etnologia Brasileira e está destinado a incentivar novos estudos monográficos que, um dia, permitirão tratar em conjunto, com o necessário vigor metodológico, os problemas da integração das populações indígenas na sociedade nacional.*

Darcy Ribeiro

Rio de Janeiro, julho de 1959

NOTA INTRODUTÓRIA

Êste trabalho é o primeiro relatório de nossas investigações sôbre os índios Terêna, realizadas sob os auspícios da Secção de Estudos do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e da Divisão de Antropologia do Museu Nacional.

A pesquisa foi planejada para registrar e interpretar o processo de interação social que, de forma sistemática e contínua, vem ocorrendo entre os Terêna e a sociedade nacional, com o objetivo de descobrir os mecanismos sócio-culturais que têm influído no processo menos geral e mais específico que aqui chamamos de *assimilação* (1).

O estudo dêsse processo, todavia, requereu inicialmente um levantamento geral da região Terêna, indispensável para a escolha da comunidade onde iríamos nos localizar para uma permanência mais longa e durante a qual realizaríamos, em profundidade, nossas investigações etnológicas. Enquanto êsse "survey" consumiu mês e meio e nos rendeu um conhecimento útil, embora superficial, de onze grupos-locais, o tempo restante, dos quatro meses e tanto que estivemos em Mato Grosso nessa primeira viagem, i.é, de julho a novembro de 1955 — foi dedicado à aldeia Cachoeirinha, por ser esta uma comunidade das mais representativas do universo Terêna e escolhida, naturalmente, após a apuração do "survey" em questão. Em 1957, durante os meses de outubro e novembro, voltando ao campo, pudemos revisitar sete das onze aldeias anteriormente estudadas, inclusive Cachoeirinha. No ano seguinte, em julho e agôsto, retornamos a Mato Grosso com o objetivo de observar aquela parte da população Terêna que, egressa de suas comunidades de origem,

(1) Cf. R.C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

vivia em cidades como Campo Grande, Aquidauana e Miranda. Nessa oportunidade, ficamos conhecendo a décima-segunda comunidade Terêna, conhecida pelo nome de Aldeinha e localizada em área suburbana à cidade de Aquidauana. Assim, ao todo, dedicamos à pesquisa de campo cêrca de oito meses, distribuídos de molde a permitir a elaboração de dois trabalhos: um sôbre "O Processo de Assimilação dos Terêna", em seu conjunto, e, outro, referente especificamente, à aldeia Cachoeirinha, nos têrmos de uma "pesquisa de comunidade". Quanto a êste segundo trabalho programado, esperamos algum dia publicá-lo, possivelmente depois de uma nova permanência na aldeia, ocasião em que poderemos verificar os resultados de certas mudanças (2) que já se prenunciavam em 1955 e que pudemos surpreender em 1957 e 1958.

O presente ensaio é, pois, especialmente, o resultado do "survey" acima referido, da pesquisa de reconstrução histórica (iniciada no primeiro semestre de 1955) e de nossa terceira viagem ao campo. Os dados obtidos em Cachoeirinha, nas duas primeiras viagens, superiores qualitativa e quantitativamente aos colhidos nas demais aldeias, serviram de elementos de comparação e contrôle do material restante, uma vez que essas últimas comunidades tiveram que ser submetidas a uma investigação menos sistemática e menos rigorosa, face ao pouco tempo disponível. A permanência em Cachoeirinha nos permitiu, sobretudo, trabalhar na reconstrução da cultura tradicional, sempre apoiados, é verdade, em fontes bibliográficas. Entretanto, o procedimento básico a que recorremos para a observação e registro da interação social entre os Terêna e a nossa sociedade, coincide em vários pontos com o denominado "control groups" mencionado por AUDREY RICHARDS e particularmente indicado para estudos compreensivos na medida em que êle nos permite distinguir a importância relativa de cada variável sócio-cultural em seu complexo (3).

(2) Numa pequena comunicação (1958,b), tivemos a oportunidade de tratar mais longamente de Cachoeirinha, estudando-a do ponto de vista demográfico e ecológico.

(3) "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive — the method of geographical sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change", (1938:58; cf. também Fortes, 1938:67).

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

Com referência às técnicas utilizadas desde a "observação participante" até o uso de formulários, decidimos indicá-las no momento em que se tornassem necessárias, visando, assim tornar claro ao leitor, qual a origem e a forma de coleta dos dados analisados.

Quanto à sua estrutura, o ensaio se acha dividido em oito capítulos: os quatro primeiros, foram escritos à base da investigação bibliográfica, sendo que os quatro últimos representam uma tentativa de descrição da situação atual dos Terêna e de interpretação do processo de mudança sócio-cultural tendo por base a formulação do problema de sua assimilação à população neobrasileira regional. Òbviamente êles constituem a parte mais importante do trabalho, para cuja introdução foram escritos os quatro primeiros capítulos, a saber: I) "Os Terêna, subgrupo Guaná" — que objetiva identificar a população estudada; II) "O caráter da interação intertribal" — onde procuramos analisar o tipo de relações entre os grandes grupos Guaná e Mbayá-Guaikurú; III) "Perfil da cultura tradicional" — que vem a ser uma breve notícia sôbre o estilo da antiga cultura Terêna-Guaná; IV) "História das relações interétnicas" — um estudo dos movimentos de ocupação do sul de Mato Grosso por nossa sociedade e o resultado daquele processo de desbravamento na modificação da paisagem indígena regional; V) "Configuração atual dos grupos-locais Terêna" — registro dos episódios mais significativos da história de cada grupo-local (com o auxílio dos informantes mais idosos da comunidade) e de tudo o que fôsse passível de quantificação, técnicas essas combinadas com o recurso bibliográfico (relatórios do SPI, principalmente); VI) "Variações sócio-culturais entre as comunidades Terêna" — exame comparativo dos dados expostos no capítulo anterior, procurando estabelecer as variáveis emergentes, a fim de indicar o estilo da moderna conduta tribal; VII) "Aculturação e mobilidade" — como duas faces do processo de assimilação, dão o título do capítulo mais teórico do ensaio, enquanto trata da formulação do sistema conceitual (empregado na interpretação de um "processus") ao mesmo tempo em que dá uma idéia do tipo de mudança cultural determinada pela aculturação, em confronto com as mudanças sócio-culturais resultantes da mobilidade social; finalmente, VIII) "Os mecanismos da assimilação" — onde são examinados, a base de "histórias de caso", os fatôres que favorecem a

assimilação e os que a dificultam ou a impedem, concluindo por uma sucinta recapitulação das teses fundamentais do trabalho.

Não poderíamos terminar essa nota introdutória sem mencionar que essa pesquisa foi realizada por inspiração do Prof. DARCY RIBEIRO, quando sob sua direção trabalhávamos na Secção de Estudos (Museu do Índio) do SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS ÍNDIOS. A leitura que êle nos propiciou de seu trabalho, ainda inédito, sôbre "A assimilação dos índios no Brasil", foi fundamental para a formulação dos problemas centrais da pesquisa, ao mesmo tempo que o nosso convívio foi um fator que muito contribuiu para o sucesso de nossas investigações, quer pelos seus cursos de Etnologia de que tivemos a oportunidade de participar, como seu Assistente, quer pela observação cotidiana de sua atividade indigenista, durante os anos de 1954 a 1956. Aceitando o nosso convite para prefaciar o presente ensaio, o Prof. DARCY RIBEIRO vem mais uma vez dar o seu estímulo e o seu apoio aos nossos trabalhos, tornando-se credor de nossa sincera gratidão.

Além do Prof. DARCY RIBEIRO, leram o manuscrito o Prof. ORACY NOGUEIRA e o Dr. JOAQUIM MATTOSO CÂMARA JR. Os cinco primeiros capítulos prontos desde 1957, foram lidos pelo Dr. FLORESTAN FERNANDES, nosso antigo professor de Sociologia, e quem nos introduziu ao estudo sistemático das Ciências Sociais, quando cursávamos a FACULDADE DE FILOSOFIA, CIÊNCIAS E LETRAS da UNIVERSIDADE DE SÃO PAULO. A todos agradecemos as sugestões, das quais aproveitamos aquelas que nos pareceram procedentes, razão pela qual somos os únicos responsáveis pelos conceitos aqui emitidos. Aos nossos colegas de Divisão, MARIA HELOISA FENELON COSTA e DALTON MOREIRA DE ARAÚJO, queremos agradecer a colaboração que sempre estiveram prontos a prestar, notadamente ao segundo que nos acompanhou à nossa última viagem ao campo, auxiliando-nos na aplicação de formulários e na realização de entrevistas entre os Terêna urbanizados.

Estamos sumamente gratos aos funcionários da 5.ª Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, particularmente aos senhores LUIZ MARTINS DA CUNHA e AMÉRICO ANTUNES DE SIQUEIRA, Encarregados do Pôsto Indígena Cachoeirinha, nossos anfitriões, respectivamente em 1955 e 1957/58, que, com suas famílias nos alojaram durante vários meses em sua casa, no centro de uma das maiores e mais belas aldeias de índios

Terêna. À população Terêna queremos agradecer e homenagear na pessoa de meu saudoso amigo, José Timóteo, "Capitão" de Cachoeirinha, falecido em princípios de 1958, a cuja memória dedicamos êste trabalho.

Ao Dr. José Cândido de Melo Carvalho, Diretor-geral do Museu Nacional e ao Prof. Luiz de Castro Faria, Diretor da Divisão de Antropologia, nosso reconhecimento por haverem financiado a parte final da pesquisa, bem como garantido sua continuidade, quando de nosso ingresso na Instituição que dirigem.

I — OS TERÊNA, SUBGRUPO GUANÁ

A região sul do Estado de Mato Grosso, compreendida entre os paralelos 20° e 22° e os meridianos de 54° e 58°, acha-se parcialmente ocupada por Índios Terêna (1) que juntamente com os grupos Kaiwá (2) e Kadiwéu, são os únicos remanescentes indígenas das populações tribais Guaná, Guaraní e Mbayá-Guaikurú que em tempos não muito distantes ocupavam aquela área do Brasil meridional (3). Entretanto, ao contrário dos Kadiwéu e mais do que os Kaiwá, os Terêna vêm tendo sua população sensivelmente aumentada, fenômeno êste que os caracteriza como uma das poucas populações indígenas do território brasileiro a apresen-

(1) A grafia dos nomes tribais obedece à convenção instituída pela 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropolgia (Rio/1953), sôbre a uniformização dos nomes tribais, cujo texto se acha publicado na **Revista de Antropologia**, vol. 2, n.º 2, de dezembro de 1954, São Paulo.

(2) Chamamos genèricamente Kaiwá os grupos Guaraní do sul de Mato Grosso, por constituir êsse subgrupo a maior população Guaraní daquela área, estando os Nandéva em minoria, não aparecendo por isso nas estimativas do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, que os reune, todos, sob o nome Kaiwá.

(3) Dentre as inúmeras tribos ou subtribos a desaparecerem ainda no presente século, podemos apontar os Kinikináu (Guaná) e os Ofaié-Xavante. Os primeiros mantinham ainda uma aldeia, junto ao rio Agaxi, de onde se dispersaram, expulsos de suas terras por um civilizado que as teria comprado do Estado de Mato Grosso; seus remanescentes são encontrados hoje em algumas aldeias Terêna. Dos segundos, foram encontrados alguns remanescentes (dez pessoas) em 1948, por Darcy Ribeiro, que os descreve como um grupo de indivíduos perambulando pela região, sem abrigo certo e sem destino, a sabor da disponibilidade de trabalho existente nas fazendas mais próximas "...é uma tribo que ainda em começos do século contava com um milhar de pessoas e está reduzida, hoje, a êste grupo e, talvez, a uns dois outros nas mesmas condições". (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107).

[P. 18 is blank]

tar índice demográfico favorável (4). Acrescente-se, ainda, o fato dêsse grupo representar relativa importância no mercado regional de trabalho, onde seus componentes exercem as mais variadas atividades produtivas, desde a extração da casca do angico — o que fazem com grande habilidade — até o pastoreio e, principalmente, a lavoura. Essa densidade demográfica a par da capacidade demonstrada em acomodar-se a situações sócio-culturais mais variadas, confere aos Terêna o papel de trabalhadores rurais por excelência, o que lhes tem garantido um lugar na estrutura econômica regional.

Os Terêna representam, pois, um dos subgrupos Guaná ou Txanê que ao lado de outras tribos dêsse grande grupo Aruák, aparecem como aquêles índios que mais contribuiram à formação do Sudoeste brasileiro, seja como produtores de bens para o consumo dos primeiros moradores portuguêses e neobrasileiros naquela região, seja como mão-de-obra aplicada nas fazendas que começaram a proliferar depois da guerra do Paraguai, sem esquecer, ainda, o papel por êles desempenhado naquele conflito, quando foram levados a lutar contra o exército paraguaio.

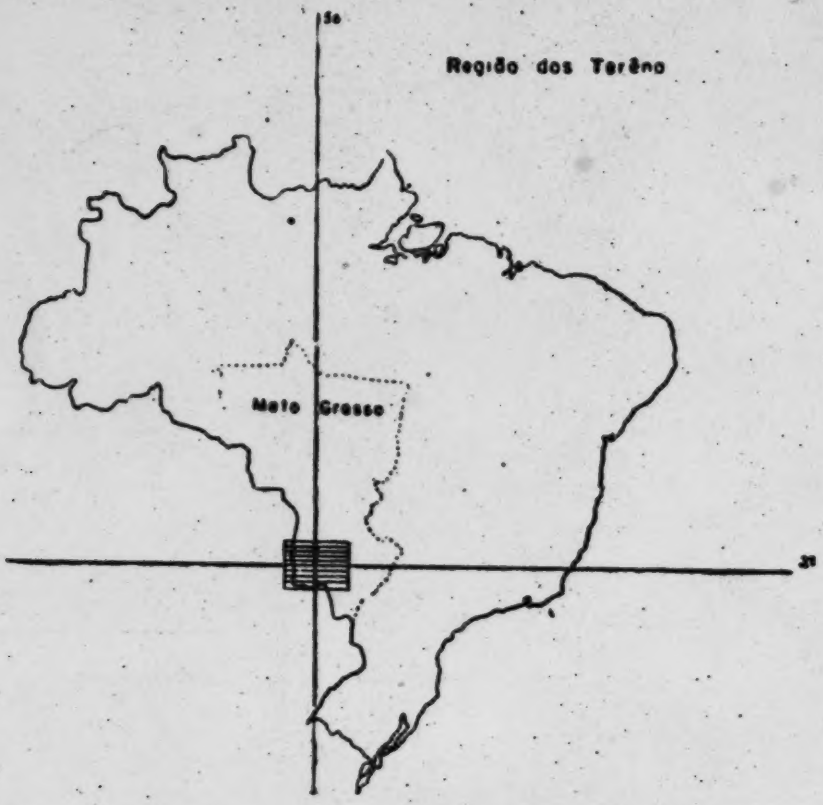
Localizados numa região há algum tempo integrada à economia nacional e há séculos disputada por espanhóis e portuguêses, por paraguaios e brasileiros, é natural que a documentação sôbre as experiências que os grupos Guaná sofreram em contato com a civilização européia venha preencher as necessidades que um levantamento historiográfico das relações entre índios e "brancos" poderia exigir. Por outro lado, no que diz respeito a informações de caráter etnográfico, temos que reconhecer a precariedade dos dados, muito menos ricos do que aquêles relativos aos grupos Guaikurú. Apesar da bibliografia chaquenha setecentista, por exemplo, ser considerada das mais satisfatórias, a ponto de ALFRED METRAUX dizer que o "século XVIII, representa a idade de ouro da literatura etnológica do Chaco" (5), nós não encontramos, em relação aos Guaná, nenhum trabalho do porte do de um DOBRIZHOFFER ou mesmo

(4) As últimas estimativas do S.P.I. dão os Kaiwá com cêrca de 2.500 indivíduos e os Kadiwéu com apenas 200, enquanto os Terêna vêm tendo sua população aumentada com certa regularidade, contando atualmente, em cifra aproximada, com 4.000 indivíduos. (Considerando-se aqui apenas os índios aldeados em Reservas Indígenas).

(5) 1946:206.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

LABRADOR. Êste último cronista ainda nos dá uma descrição muito boa dos Guaná, mas — se a cotejarmos com a parte de seu livro, "O Paraguai Católico", referente aos Mbayá-Guaikurú — concluiremos que ela fica muito a dever diante das magníficas páginas dedicadas aos célebres índios cavaleiros.



Mapa 1 — Localização da região ocupada por índios Terêna

Mas tomemos os Terêna, especìficamente. Veremos que a bibliografia a seu respeito só começa com CASTELNAU, em 1844-45, portanto na metade do século passado. Encontramos ligeiras referências no século

XVIII, através de SANCHES LABRADOR, AZARA e AGUIRRE que não vão além de meras indicações sôbre localização e estimativas censitárias. Já os séculos XVI e XVII nem sequer os mencionam. As Cartas Anuas, por exemplo, tão férteis de informações sôbre os muitos grupos chaquenhos, quase nada nos dizem sôbre a situação dos Terêna no século XVII. E SCHMIDEL e CABEÇA DE VACA, respectivamente de passagem pelo chaco paraguaio em 1535-36 e 1543, sôbre os Guaná limitam-se a umas poucas indicações, de menor importância, excetuando-se, naturalmente, a célebre proposição do primeiro, quando compara as relações Guaná-Guaikurú com a situação de subordinação existente, na época, entre senhores feudais e camponeses em sua pátria.

A bibliografia oitocentista, mesmo aquela anterior a CASTELNAU, torna-se muito mais útil para o estudo dos Terêna, devido ao fato de acusar a presença de grupos Guaná na região que tem por centro hoje a cidade de Miranda, atual área de maior concentração dos grupos-locais Terêna. Pelas informações que nos legam ALMEIDA SERRA (1803), HERCULES FLORENCE (1825-29) e, de uma maneira indireta, ALINCOURT (1828), podemos formar uma boa idéia sôbre as situações de contato interétnicas e tribais naquela área e o relativo isolamento da população Terêna. E essa falta de dados sôbre os Terêna, nesse período, explica-se por um depoimento de CASTELNAU (1845), segundo o qual, até então, aquêles índios haviam mantido "muito poucas relações com os brancos". E acrescenta: "É uma nação guerreira que conserva em tôda integridade os costumes dos seus antepassados" (6).

A partir de CASTELNAU, a bibliografia é mais satisfatória, não deixando nenhum dos cronistas de fornecer — embora de um modo variável — dados sôbre os Terêna. De ELLIOT (1844), passando por LEVERGER (1847), FRANCISCO LOPES (1848-49), ALVES FERREIRA (1846-50), até TAUNAY (1863-64) e BACH (1896), todos êles — e especialmente os dois últimos, são pródigos em informações de grande interêsse para o estudo das situações de contato entre os Terêna e a sociedade nacional, embora, diga-se de passagem, apenas BACH e em segundo lugar TAUNAY cheguem a nos proporcionar material de relevância etnográfica. A rigor, no século XIX,

(6) 1949, II:301. (As datas entre parênteses referem-se à época em que os viajantes estiveram junto aos grupos documentados e não às datas da edição de suas obras).

sòmente CASTELNAU e BACH podem ser considerados bons fornecedores de dados etnográficos, o que limita de um modo extraordinário as possibilidades de uma reconstrução histórica da cultura tradicional à base das fontes bibliográficas (7).

A bibliografia de valor etnológico referente ao nosso século, começa com o estudo de MAX SCHMIDT (1901) sôbre um grupo de remanescentes Guaná próximo à cidade de Cuiabá; trabalho linguístico, com uma inteligente introdução sôbre a história daqueles grupos, com um bom aproveitamento da bibliografia na época disponível. Seguem-se os relatórios da Comissão Rondon (a partir de 1904) e do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (a partir de 1915), de utilidade inestimável para a compreensão dêsses índios, nos primórdios de uma situação inteiramente nova, caracterizada pela instauração de uma política protecionista. A segunda década dêste século assinala a presença do missionário protestante ALEXANDER RATTRAY-HAY (1917-20) entre os Terêna (de Bananal); suas informações etnológicas — apesar de não controladas cientificamente — nos auxiliam bastante à compreensão da cultura indígena e dos efeitos mais imediatos resultantes de um proselitismo religioso em competição com a política protecionista oficial. BALDUS (1934) nos dá um artigo sôbre "A Sucessão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno", elaborado tendo por base os depoimentos do "Capitão" da aldeia Moreira, próxima a Miranda; êsse mesmo etnólogo nos daria um outro trabalho, fruto de sua estada na aldeia Araribá, no Estado de São Paulo (1947), sôbre a mitologia daqueles índios, já naquela época transformada num corpo de lendas, pois havia deixado de ser objeto de crença por parte da comunidade. Finalmente, receberam os Terêna a visita de OBERG e ALTENFELDER (1946-47), etnólogos que nos proporcionaram dois minuciosos trabalhos sôbre o grupo-local de Bananal, embora tendam a generalizar suas conclusões à população Terêna em geral (8).

---

(7) Num trabalho anterior (1957:175-176) tratamos da consistência das fontes primárias setecentistas e oitocentistas no que concerne ao registro das situações de contato interétnico e intertribal, tomando-se os Guaná como um todo; restava agora dar uma idéia do conteúdo das fontes, em sua utilidade para o estudo etnológico dos Terêna pròpriamente ditos.

(8) Altenfelder, apesar de generalizar seu estudo de mudança cultural aos Terêna como um todo, tem perfeita consciência do problema (da representatividade do grupo estudado), quando chega inclusive a sugerir um "estudo comparativo entre as diferentes comunidades de índios Terêna, cada uma delas sujeita a diferentes situações físicas e sociais" (1949:377).

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

O estudo que dêsses índios ora fazemos, focaliza-os como componentes tribais de uma área secularmente ocupada por nossa sociedade, onde várias foram as ondas de povoamento que se sucederam no correr dos últimos trezentos anos. E entre aquêles problemas que mais nos estimulam à pesquisa — e que são objetos dêste nosso trabalho —, estão aquêles referentes ao processo de desbravamento, conquista e fixação de elementos nacionais, na região dos Terêna, suas conseqüências para aquela população indígena, bem como às questões suscitadas pela análise do processo de aculturação interétnica e intertribal, a saber: porque os Terêna, apesar de um contato secular, contínuo e sistemático com núcleos populacionais neobrasileiros, ainda permanecem índios, mesmo depois de integrados à estrutura econômica regional? Quais os mecanismos que têm obliterado os caminhos à assimilação? Até onde isso é verdadeiro à população Terêna como um todo? E poderíamos ainda ajuntar — embora aqui a êle nos refiramos apenas de passagem —, quais os fatôres que levaram os demais grupos Guaná à extinção, com a sobrevivência única dos Terêna?

Iniciemos, pois, por uma ligeira notícia dos grupos Guaná e do lugar que entre êles ocupa a subtribo Terêna. Segundo METRAUX, os grupos mais meridionais, representantes da cultura Aruák, estariam divididos em dois ramos, "cuja história e cultura desenvolveram-se em linhas diferentes: o nome 'Chané' teria sido usados pelas subtribos do oeste, ao longo dos Andes, e 'Guaná' para as subtribos da bacia do Paraguai" (9). Os primeiros teriam habitado a franja noroeste do Chaco, enquanto os segundos ocupavam a região nordeste, pràticamente limitando, em extenso semicírculo, a área cultural chaquenha. São precisamente êstes últimos que requerem nossa atenção, face à sua ulterior deslocação para as terras orientais do rio Paraguai.

Entretanto, os nomes Guaná, Txané e alguns dos designativos aplicados às subtribos Aruák, da bacia do Paraguai, exigem ainda algumas considerações no sentido de melhor nos preparar para a identificação dos grupos referidos pelos cronistas e para o esclarecimento do lugar que teriam ocupado em território brasileiro. SANCHES LABRADOR testemunha que "em várias partes do Paraguai Católico se tem feito menção da nação,

(9) 1946(a):238-39.

comumente conhecida pelo nome de Guanás. Êles a si mesmos se chamam Chanás, nome que compreende tôdas as parcialidades, ainda que estas para distinguir-se entre si, usem outros nomes" (10). Esclarece ainda que o nome Guaná é um pronome da terceira pessoa da língua "Chaná" que quer dizer *aquêle* e que teria se tornado nome próprio de uma nação por êsses equívocos muito comuns na etimologia dos nomes tribais (11). Já FELIX AZARA escreve que "Guaná" significa em sua língua homem ou macho; o que parece ser — comenta êle — mal aplicado a uma nação, mas é sôbre êsse nome que ela é conhecida no Paraguai (12). Finalmente, D. JUAN FRANCISCO AGUIRRE vem com uma terceira versão, ao mesmo tempo que corrobora, com LABRADOR e AZARA, a afirmação de que Guaná não era o nome pelo qual aquêles índios a si mesmos se chamavam. Assim diz êle: "Os Guanás, em seu idioma Chanés, isto é, *muita gente*, habitaram o Chaco..." (13).

As controvérsias que têm lugar entre os cronistas setecentistas, em conseqüência da tradução do têrmo Guaná, não chegam contudo a comprometer a interpretação de que a palavra Guaná realmente não é outra coisa que uma designação especial, dada pelos conquistadores espanhóis, aos grupos Txané da bacia do Paraguai. É provável que o têrmo em questão seja um nome qualquer do idioma de um daqueles grupos, exceção feita dos Terêna, cujo dialeto desconhece tal palavra.

Entre êsses índios, como pudemos verificar quando de nossa permanência em suas aldeias, "Guaná" era uma palavra desconhecida, sem nenhuma ressonância quando proferida pelo pesquisador. Haja vista que, para *homem* ou *macho*, por exemplo, os Terêna têm "hoyêñõ" e para *aquêle* usam "eneponé"; sendo que "txané", para êles, significa *gente*. Todavia, para fugir a qualquer discussão que, nesse terreno, seria infrutífero, devemos seguir a maior parte dos cronistas setecentistas e oitocentistas e aceita a tradição de seu emprêgo pela etnologia (14), ado-

(10) 1910, II:255. — Um esclarecimento: em lugar de citarmos os textos dos cronistas na língua em que foram escritos, optamos por transcrevê-los traduzidos, embora procurando manter o estilo original; acreditamos que isso venha a tornar menos enfadonha a leitura destas páginas.
(11) Cf. Labrador, II:287.
(12) 1809, II:88.
(13) 1908:471.
(14) Cf. as obras de Metraux, Baldus, Oberg e Altenfelder.

tando o designativo *Guaná* para os grupos Aruák-Txané da bacia do Paraguai.

Quanto à identificação dos subgrupos Guaná, a etnologia enfrenta problemas de outra ordem. A variação encontrada, principalmente pelo compulsamento dos cronistas setecentistas e entre êstes e os dos séculos seguintes, leva o especialista a desistir de uma investigação mais acurada, no sentido de estabelecer a posição histórica exata e o lugar geográfico provável que tais tribos ocuparam nas terras orientais do Rio Paraguai.

MAX SCHMIDT apresenta um quadro comparativo dos diversos nomes atribuídos aos grupos Guaná pelos cronistas dos séculos XVII, XVIII e XIX (15). Pela análise daquele quadro e com sua complementação à base de outros cronistas não compulsados pelo autor, podemos inferir que, a rigor, quatro foram os subgrupos Guaná a atravessarem o rio Paraguai, passando para suas margens orientais, onde sobreviveram (não todos, como veremos adiante) até o nosso século. Foram as tribos: *Terêna*, *Layâna*, *Kinikináu* e *Exoaladi*, também conhecida, essa última, por "Guanás", o que tem determinado alguma confusão por coincidir essa denominação com o conjunto dos subgrupos Guaná (16). A tribo

(15) Cf. 1903:328-331.

(16) A distinção feita por Sanches Labrador entre as designações tribais e os nomes atribuídos aos grupos Aruák pelos Guaikurú, nos permite fazer o seguinte quadro:

AUTO DESIGNAÇÃO TRIBAL	NOMINAÇÃO GUAIKURÚ
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

Por êsse quadro vê-se que "Echoaladi" é uma palavra Mbayá-Guaikurú, por meio da qual — dada a imensa influência Guaikurú em tôda aquela região — teriam os "Choarana" ficado conhecidos no século XVIII (Labrador, Azara e Aguirre). Já no século seguinte, diminuía a hegemonia Guaikurú, os remanescentes "Choarana" teriam sido chamados também pelo nome genérico de "Guanás"; os nomes "Chooronós" e "Chualas", que ao designativo "Guanás", respectivamente Taunay (1931:16) e Castelnau (1949: 308) acrescentam, referem-se com tôda probabilidade a denominações de grupos-locais distintos, embora da mesma tribo dos "Guanás" ou Exoaladi. — Quanto à variação encontrada nas denominações dos demais subgrupos Guaná, consulte-se o já referido Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40) e Altenfelder, (1949:271-72 — nota 1), êste sòmente no que se refere aos Terêna.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

"Niguecactemic", referida pelos cronistas setecentistas, parece que jamais chegou a atravessar o Rio Paraguai rumo leste, tendo permanecido mesmo no Chaco até seu desaparecimento. Em fins do século XVIII, seu número oscilava entre 200 a 300 indivíduos, de conformidade com as estimativas de AGUIRRE (17) e AZARA (18), respectivamente. Já naquela época os "Niguecactemic" constituiam um grupo pequeno que o século seguinte, por intermédio dos cronistas compulsados, não mais ouviu falar.

Os demais grupos Guaná acima referidos (Terêna, Layâna, Kinikináu e Exoaladi) teriam atravessado o rio Paraguai, em ondas sucessivas, a partir da segunda metade do século XVIII, e se instalaram na região banhada pelo Rio Miranda, entre os paralelos de 19° e 21° graus de latitude, onde foram encontrá-los os viajantes do século XIX. Parece ser improvável que grupos Guaná tivessem entrado nessa região antes dessa época, como AZARA quer fazer crer (19). Os depoimentos do Padre SANCHES LABRADOR são conclusivos a êsse respeito, quando registra os primeiros movimentos migratórios daqueles índios em direção ao Brasil, entre 1760 a 1767. Acrescente-se, ainda, que o grosso das migrações ter-se-ia dado — segundo MAX SCHMIDT — após 1767, i.é, diz êle, "a migração principal de tôda a massa da população Guaná sòmente se iniciou na época em que os franciscanos substituiram as missões jesuítas" (20).

Não cremos necessário traçar aqui o roteiro dêsses grupos, nem mesmo proceder a uma análise demográfica do conjunto Guaná. É suficiente remeter o leitor ao já indicado trabalho de ALFRED METRAUX, no *Handbook of South American Indians*, para se ter uma idéia retrospectiva da configuração que aquêles grupos tomaram ainda no Chaco. Importa agora indicar apenas o seguinte: os Exoaladi teriam desaparecido

(17) "Diário de Aguirre", 1911, p. 309, apud Metraux, 1946:240.

(18) 1809, II:86-88.

(19) "Na época da chegada dos primeiros espanhóis, ela (a nação Guaná) habitava o Chaco, entre o paralelo 20.° e 22.° de latitude. Ela aí permanece até 1673, enquanto uma grande parte da nação vai se estabelecer a leste do rio Paraguai, ao norte do trópico, no país que se chamava então a província de Ytati; depois ela se estende para o sul". (1809, II:86). A propósito, a objetividade dêste depoimento também é posta em dúvida por Metraux, (1946:239).

(20) 1903:327. — Aquela data, 1767, marca a expulsão dos jesuítas daquela área.

por ocasião da guerra do Paraguai (21); em relação aos Layâna e os Kinikináu — que por êsse tempo deveriam ter, respectivamente, 300 e 1.000 indivíduos (22), atualmente — como já sublinhamos — dêles não se registra uma só comunidade, havendo apenas um número bem reduzido de remanescentes espalhados pelas aldeias Terêna.

Quanto aos Terêna, vamos encontrar outra configuração. A população Terêna que se instalou na região de Miranda, em fins do século XVIII, orçava em cêrca de 3.000 indivíduos, conforme registrou Azara (23). Em meados do século passado, CASTELNAU (24) e TAUNAY (25) assinalavam o mesmo número como sendo representativo da população Terêna regional. Hoje, as últimas estimativas do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios dão como sendo de 3.800 indivíduos o total dos Terêna aldeados. Mas se computássemos as inúmeras famílias espalhadas pelas fazendas da região, e mesmo em cidades, êsse número poderia ascender à casa dos quatro mil e quinhentos ou cinco mil. Como se verifica, os Terêna não sòmente conseguiram manter relativa estabilidade demográfica — o que já seria altamente auspicioso, tendo em vista a paisagem indígena brasileira —, mas ainda chegaram a aumentar de número e seguramente continuam com essa tendência.

(21) Atas Cuiabanas, Arquivo da Diretoria dos Índios, cap. XIV — apud Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; em nota ao pé da página, lê-se que êsses índios (indicados pelo nome de "Guanás") "foram levados pelos paraguaios para Assunção, onde morreram todos".

(22) Atas Cuiabanas, ibidem; ver também Leverger, 1862:222, que estima 800 Kinikináu existentes em 1847, enquanto as citadas Atas orçavam para a mesma época (1848) mais 200 Kinikináu, i.é, em um milheiro.

(23) 1809, II:86-88.

(24) 1949:302.

(25) 1948:267.

II — O CARÁTER DA INTERAÇÃO INTERTRIBAL

Não se pode compreender a cultura dos grupos Guaná sem se atentar para as relações que se estabeleceram entre êles e os grupos Mbayá-Guaikurú. Mesmo para uma pequena notícia sôbre a cultura tradicional dos Terêna, é necessário ter-se em conta êsse aspecto, bem como a dificuldade em que se encontra o pesquisador para reconstruir a cultura tribal, dado que as informações legadas pelos cronistas — como já tivemos ocasião de ponderar, no capítulo anterior — são bastante fragmentárias. Eis a razão pela qual trataremos neste capítulo, e no seguinte, do conjunto Guaná, limitando-nos a indicar os Terêna e as demais subtribos na proporção em que os textos permitirem.

As primeiras informações que se tem sôbre os Guana (26) nos mostram êsses índios possuidores de uma agricultura bem desenvolvida, como se constata pelo seguinte texto de SCHMIDEL: "...neste caminho não achamos mais que roças cultivadas com milho, raízes e outros frutos mais, de maneira que durante todo o ano se tem alimento no campo lavrado. Quando se colhe um roçado, outro já está amadurecendo, e quando êste está maduro, já se plantou num terceiro, para que em todo o ano se tenha alimento novo nas roças e nas casas" (27). Já por êsse tempo, portanto na primeira metade do século XVI, os Guaná estavam ligados aos Mbayá-Guaikurú, numa situação subalterna, como atesta ou-

(26) O presente depoimento refere-se ao ano de 1548; contudo, há também dados referentes a 1543, fornecidos por D. Alvar Nuñes Cabeça de Vaca que podem ser considerados os primeiros relativos aos Guaná, embora sejam muito mais pobres do que os fornecidos por Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

(27) 1944:110; cf. ainda 1837:203.

.ro testemunho de SCHMIDEL, segundo o qual os Guaná seriam "vassalos ou súditos dos Mbayá, da mesma maneira que entre nós os camponeses estão sujeitos a seus senhores" (28).

Êsse depoimento do bávaro SCHMIDEL não é importante apenas por se constituir numa das raras informações que se tem dos Guaná quinhentistas; tôda sua relevância se impõe quando nos esclarece sôbre o caráter não-escravocrata do domínio Guaikurú, ao projetar sôbre as relações intertribais Guaikurú-Guaná o tipo de relações feudais que naquele século tinham lugar em sua pátria. Todavia, é comum ler-se nos cronistas a expressão "escravo", quando se referem à servidão Guaná (29). A inadequação do têrmo torna-se evidente através do que escreve o próprio FELIX AZARA: "À época da chegada dos espanhóis, os Guanás iam, como atualmente, se reunir em bandos aos Mbayás, para lhes obedecer, servi-los e cultivar suas terras, sem nenhum salário. Daí o motivo dos Mbayás os chamarem sempre escravos seus. É verdade que a escravidão é bem doce, porque o Guaná se submete voluntàriamente e renuncia quando lhe agrada. Mais ainda, seus senhores lhes dão bem poucas ordens, não empregam jamais um tom imperativo, nem obrigatório, e tudo dividem com os guanás, mesmo os prazeres carnais..." (30). SANCHES LABRADOR, então, procura explicar as causas dessa servidão:

(28) Ibidem.

(29) O têrmo parece que não é muito feliz, principalmente quando generalizado ao conjunto daquelas tribos Guaná. Pelo que se sabe a respeito dos Kayapó modernos, pode-se dizer que se torna muito perigoso tratar êsses grupos como um todo, sem a necessária diferenciação por subtribos ou mesmo por grupos-locais quando se deseja estudar especialmente u msubgrupo, como é o nosso caso. As diferenças de contato não só interétnico mas também intertribal, com as divergentes experiências que se seguem, constituem talvez o elemento mais explicativo da causa de sobrevivência de alguns grupos (como Terêna e até recentemente os Kinikináu) e a extinção de outros (como os "Niguecactemic", os Exoaladi ou os Layâna). Infelizmente, as fontes não permitem historiar as experiências de cada grupo em particular, experiências essas muitas vêzes de diferente natureza e, por êsse motivo, bem explicativas do desenvolvimento ou desaparecimento de cada um dêles. Por essa deficiência de dados é que somos levados a efetuar êsse apanhado impressionista do conjunto Guaná. Serve, contudo, essa nota de advertência ao leitor.

(30) 1809, II:96-97. — Parece óbvio a inaplicabilidade do têrmo, quando se sabe que o conceito mesmo de **escravo** implica na transformação da pessoa humana em coisa, em propriedade absoluta do senhor, que sôbre ela terá o direito, inclusive, de vida e de morte. Isso — como estamos vendo — não se dava entre os Guaikurú, e mesmo entre ambos e os demais povos chaquenhos, realmente submetidos, pela fôrça de armas, àqueles grupos. — Para discussão do conceito, leia-se Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; em notas de rodapé, êsse autor indica selecionada bibliografia.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

...têm os Guaycurus, de uma a outra margem do Rio Paraguai, criados ou tributários que há tempos lhes fazem pequenos oferecimentos. Até onde pude indagar sôbre a origem dêste seu direito sôbre os Niyololas, como êles chamam a tôda a nação, tudo vai baseado no parentesco, sem que pelas armas ou conquistas pretendam êste domínio..." (31). E noutro lugar, escreve: "Alguns caciques ou capitães Eyguayeguis (subtribo Mbayá-Guaikurú — RCO) se casaram a seu modo com cacicas ou capitãs Guanás. Os vassalos destas, mortas elas, permaneceram num perpétuo feudo, aos descendentes dos maridos de suas senhoras" (32).

Acrescente-se ainda que a própria vassalagem era devida a uns poucos e não a todo grupo Guaikurú, como poderia parecer à primeira vista. Diz ainda o cronista: "Aconteceu que os caciques Eyiguayeguis que se casaram com as mulheres Niyololas, cacicas ou capitãs, tinham por seus os vassalos de suas espôsas; desde então os reconhecem como tais" (33). E, diga-se de passagem, que não fica muito claro se tais vassalos eram Guaná mesmo — e nesse caso tirados do próprio grupo, como conseqüência de um processo de estratificação social — ou se tribos não-Guaná, sejam Guaraní, Guaxí ou Xamakôko. "Por isso — continua Labrador —, os capitães Eyiguayeguis, sòmente êles, têm criados: a plebe Guaycuru não adquiriu direito sôbre aquelas gentes. Daí é que os Niyololas apelidam os caciques Guaycurus e seus parentes de Nossos Capitães; mas o resto da nação e aos que não se acham aparentados com caciques chamam Nossos Irmãos" (34). E a discriminação continua também na oferta de brindes: "À véspera da partida dos Mbayás lhes presenteiam seus criados algum grão para a viagem; um bolo de Nibadana, com que se pintam de vermelho, e alguma manta de algodão, seja branca ou listada de várias côres, que com gôsto tecem os Chanás. Aos Mbayás plebeus não lhes fazem semelhantes presentes, ainda que os alimentam nos três dias que permanecem em seus povoados, os amigos e conhecidos" (35).

Dizer que não havia interêsse por parte dos Guaná quanto às visitas

(31) 1910, II:266.
(32) Idem, I:267.
(33) Labrador, II:266-67.
(34) Idem:267.
(35) Idem:267-268.

periódicas dos Guaikurú é não entender o estilo da interação intertribal. Em princípios do século XVII, para os Guaná a ida dos Guaikurú a suas aldeias não era apenas útil, como ainda desejada. Êles necessitavam de facas, machados e outras coisas mais, que sòmente seus hóspedes podiam fornecer, graças aos assaltos que efetuavam contra espanhóis e portuguêses (36). A propósito, isso coincide com a teoria desenvolvida por MAX SCHMIDT, em seu livro sôbre a expansão dos Aruák (37), segundo a qual essas tribos ao entrarem em relações com as populações de grupos tribais vizinhos, passam a dirigir tais relações de forma a resultar numa condição de dependência econômica.

Acentue-se, pois, que aquelas informações deixadas pela crônica setecentista são muito importantes por revelarem, a nosso ver, as reais situações de contato entre os Guaikurú e os Guaná. Comprovam uma hegemonia Mbayá-Guaikurú que já ocorria em tempos pré-colombianos, provàvelmente logo após a instalação daqueles grupos Aruák no Chaco. Se já existia certa superioridade bélica Guaikurú sôbre os Guaná e outros grupos chaquenhos, ela se tornou mais nítida quando aquêles índios adotaram o cavalo e transformaram-no em arma de guerra, já em tempos da conquista espanhola. Estabelecida e concretizada a superioridade, não parece certo afirmar que ela teria assumido idênticas características em relação a todos os grupos chaquenhos, indistintamente. Exceção feita dos demais grupos Guaikurú, como os Payaguá, ou grupos como os Mokovi, Abipom e Toba, foram os Txikito, os Guaxi, os Guató e notadamente os Txamakôko, as tribos mais atacadas, que vencidas, tinham seus

(36) Cf. Labrador, II:268.

(37) "Digno de nota na expansão das culturas Aruáques, por colonização é o fato de nada ter a ver com o poderio político, baseando-se num fundamento puramente econômico-administrativo. (...) Explica-se assim por si mesmo, nessa espécie de colonização, o extraordinário fenômeno de não se achar o poder político nas mãos dos homens Aruáques em várias regiões sul-americanas, apesar do evidente predomínio de sua cultura e seu sistema econômico-administrativo". E em nota ao pé da página (n.º 165) acrescenta o autor: "...também isso ocorre entre os Guanás, que antes viviam dentro do território dos Mbayás, de maneira que apareciam em parte como aliados, em parte como vassalos e protegidos dos Mbayás". — "Em tais casos — adverte Max Schmidt — não devemos concluir sem mais nem menos tratar-se de ulterior subjugação de tribos Aruaques por outros povos, como tantos tendem a fazer. Sòmente, onde um tal domínio por meio da fôrça é provado por determinados fatos históricos, devemos ter em conta. Em todos os outros casos, a julgar pela essência da expansão das culturas Aruaques, é mais lógico admitir que o poder político nunca estêve em suas mãos". (Cf. 1917, cap. IV).

componentes transformados em cativos (38). Enquanto isso, os grupos Guaná eram tratados como comunidades independentes, com território e chefes prórios; o que não impedia, entretanto, de existirem famílias Guaná entre os prórios Guaikurú, as quais, nas aldeias dêstes, voluntàriamente, ou como resultado de algum conflito intertribal, haviam sido levadas a se engajar no estilo de vida daquele grupo senhorial (39).

Abstendo-nos de entrar nos pormenores dêsse mecanismo de interação intertribal, coisa que não nos facultam as fontes compulsadas nem mesmo a crônica oral dos remanescentes Terêna, o que nos importa aqui assinalar é que as relações entre os dois povos tribais era muito mais de aliança do que de pura e simples submissão dos Guaná (40). Havia inclusive certas regras que presidiam as visitas, fielmente respeitadas pelos hóspedes Guaikurú — para tomarmos novamente aquela situação descrita por LABRADOR. "Visitam-nos cada ano e recebem o preito-homenagem de seus criados. Quando vão a suas povoações, se detêm em cada uma no máximo três dias; seja por não lhes permitir mais

(38) Usamos êsse têrmo em seu sentido mais geral, guardando tôdas as variações que poderiam ser encontradas nas relações de dependência em que ficavam os índios capturados. — Escreve Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, em 1791, numa carta endereçada ao Governador da Província, Capitão General João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, o seguinte: "Com êles (os Guaikurú) estão aliados os Guanãas; os Payaguás, por temor que lhes têm, cuidam muito em lhes não desmerecer a sua amizade. Todos os mais são cotidianamente prêsas suas, que êles reduzem à escravidão". (Ms.)

(39) Herbert Baldus, em sua oportuna e inteligente introdução à versão brasileira de "Os Caduveo", de Boggiani, analisa e classifica as relações Guaikurú-Guaná como do tipo de simbiose, o que nos parece certo e para cuja fundamentação êste capítulo foi escrito. Assim, escreve Baldus: "Esta simbiose continuou ao lado da estratificação e não deve ser considerada, de modo algum, como rudimentos dela. Se bem que às vêzes certos Guaná se agregassem espontâneamente aos Guaikurú como peões, êste fato não levava os Guaikurú a sobrepor-se como camada social aos Guaná que haviam ficado nas suas aldeias. A precariedade do estado de dependência dos Guaná é provada pelo fato de, mais tarde, com a crescente decadência política dos Guaikurú, afrouxarem êles a simbiose, até por fim abandoná-la completamente". (p. 24).

(40) Leia-se, a propósito, um interessante comentário de Egon Schaden: "Nada mais natural, portanto, do que o estabelecimento da interdependência simbiótica, que por muito tempo uniu as duas tribos, de forma tal que os Guaná reconheceram e aceitaram a posição dominante dos Kaduveo" (subtribo Mbayá-Guaikurú)... A relação Kaduveo-Guaná não pode ser caracterizada sem mais nem menos como relação entre senhores e escravos, pois os Guaná, embora obrigados a pagar tributo aos Kaduveo, recebiam dêles também, por outro lado, presentes e, sobretudo, podiam contar com a proteção de seus senhores quando estivessem em perigo de ser atacados por outros índios da região. Os Guaná aceitavam por isso livremente a situação de dependência, que de qualquer maneira se lhes afigurava vantajosa". (1948:204-205).

tempo a falta de pastos para seus cavalos, seja pelo costume de muitos anos. A particularidade que existe neste ponto é que cada capitão Eyiguaegui se aloja em casa de seus criados, sem que outro Mbayá se hospede na mesma casa. Observam essa prática com tanta precisão que, se a capitã Mbayá tem distintos criados que os de seu marido, se separam aqueles dias e cada um vive com os seus, sem o menor sentimento" (41). E mesmo naqueles casos em que populações Guaná acampavam junto aos Guaikurú, como ocorreu, por exemplo, no século XIX, quando um grupo daqueles índios — provàvelmente Exoaladi — se localizou próximo ao forte Albuquerque, mantiveram êles, os Guaná, uma posição peculiar — como se pode depreender dêsse depoimento de RICARDO FRANCO DE ALMEIDA SERRA: "Êstes 600 guanás são os que vivem sôbre si, aldeados e unidos em um corpo nas ditas serras de Albuquerque; e ainda que por essa forma separados dos uaicurús, sempre vivem ligados com êles, e seguindo a sua sorte. Alguns passam para o corpo dos uaicurús, ficando já como tais (i.é, como Guaikurú — RCO) os filhos que entre êles nascem" (42). Mostra o cronista, em primeiro lugar, a independência do grupo-local Guaná; em segundo lugar, a ocorrência de mudanças de alguns componentes Guaná para comunidades Guaikurú, às quais acabam perfeitamente se integrando, como podemos verificar por êsse outro texto: "A soberba e rivalidade dos uaicurús é tal, que se infunde nos mesmos guanás logo que passam a viver, ou nascem entre os altivos uaicurús, tratando os outros com desprêzo, e pública superioridade..." (43). E quanto àqueles Guaná, já citados, que permaneceram próximos aos Guaikurú mas sem abandonar sua comunidade, eis o que observa ainda ALMEIDA SERRA, quando tenta estabelecer uma comparação com os cativos capturados pelos Guaikurú e os Guaná: "Os cativos finalmente se não desprezam dêste estilo (a boa situação que desfrutavam entre os Guaikurú — RCO), antes dêle se glorificam; só os Guaná que vivem separados e sôbre si, e em ranchos próprios e fora das tolderias dos Uaicurús, depois de maior comunicação com os portuguêses, dêle se envergonham...", quando chamados de cativos por parte dos portuguê-

(41) Labrador, 1910, II:267.
(42) 1845:209.
(43) Ibidem.

ses (44). Vê-se que, apesar de se tratar aí de um grupo Guaná notadamente em desorganização, os componentes conservam ainda relativa independência grupal.

Por outro lado, devemos ainda considerar a existência de diferenças sensíveis, de ordem cultural, entre os subgrupos Guaná, diferenças essas evidentemente devidas a contingências histórico-sociais específicas a cada tribo em particular. O caráter ou "índole" — para usar uma expressão corrente entre os cronistas — de cada grupo Guaná seria até certo ponto responsável por suas aproximações, em maior ou menor grau, dos seus aliados e vizinhos Guaikurú. É o que explica, com grande probabilidade, a posição mais reservada dos Terêna, não só em relação aos "brancos" como também em relação a outros grupos tribais. Sôbre êles não se conhece nenhuma situação semelhante àquelas a que já estiveram submetidas certas tribos, como a dos Exoaladi ou dos Kinikináu.

Sôbre os primeiros — os Exoaladi, aliás já referidos acima, nos textos de ALMEIDA SERRA —, testemunha LABRADOR suas características mais belicosas que os demais, quando diz que êles "são considerados como os mais bárbaros e inquietos de tôda a nação" (45). E que essa subtribo Guaná — acrescentava AZARA — já na metade do século XVIII se encontrava "incorporada aos Mbayá e com êles vivia a leste do Rio Paraguai, sôbre colinas situadas cêrca do paralelo 21°" (46). Mas mesmo aí, num caso de união de dois grupos tribais distintos, a liderança na nova comunidade de interêsses não deixou de obedecer às mesmas regras registradas pelos cronistas. É o que se pode deduzir por êsse outro texto de LABRADOR: "Havia muitos índios montêses Echoaladis, que são feudatários de Caminigo (Cacique Guaikurú — RCO). Êste, para ganhar a vontade dos Guanás, casou-se com uma cacica dêles..." (47). Além dos Exoaladi, tem-se notícia de um outro grupo Guaná que teria se juntado aos Mbayá-Guaikurú. Foram os Kinikináu, através de um ramo ou grupo-local: "A tribo dos Equiniquiano (...) está dividida: uma parte habita o Chaco, perto do 21°56' de latitude, a oito léguas do Rio Paraguai; o restante está

(44) 1850:372.
(45) 1910, II:256.
(46) 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.
(47) 1910, I:25.

incorporado aos Mbayás" (48). A êsse respeito deve-se assinalar que a interação ocorrida entre os Guaikurú e êsses Kinikináu foi de tal ordem que induziu um cronista dos fins do século passado, João Severiano da Fonseca, a cometer um engano, ao registrar uma série de palavras do idioma Mbayá certo de que estava anotando nomes Kinikináu (49)! Isso mostra a intensidade do processo de aculturação intertribal, determinando o prevalecimento da língua Mbayá por tôda a área de influência Guaikurú. Nessa *área de aculturação* repetir-se-ia o mesmo processo que noutras áreas, como aquelas de influência Tupi ou Tucano — para citarmos duas das mais representativas dêsse fenômeno sócio-cultural —, teria ocorrido e ficado conhecido como processo de Tupinização e Tucanização, respectivamente.

Acontece, porém, que as relações intertribais, Guaná-Guaikurú, nem sempre assumiram o mesmo estilo, nem sempre tiveram o mesmo desenvolvimento. Houve épocas que alguns grupos Guaná tiveram sérios conflitos com os Mbayá-Guaikurú. Segundo Almeida Serra, "os Uaicurus, sempre errantes, e sempre atrozmente guerreiros, fiados nos seus cavalos, e conhecendo tôda a sua fôrça e superioridade sôbre as outras nações que os não têm, sempre flagelaram os Guanás com uma guerra de diárias emboscadas, e intempestivos ataques, não sôbre suas aldeias, que sempre cercam de estacadas, mas sim estragando-lhes as plantações, e espreitando-os tanto nas suas roças, como quando iam e voltavam delas; ou no campo matando e cativando os que apanhavam em descuido, e em menor número. Estragos e danos que obrigaram os Guanás a pedirem paz, e a deixarem-se chamar seus cativeiros, dando-lhes voluntàriamente parte das suas colheitas, para pouparem o resto, e as mortes que cada ano sofriam" (50). E assim, os Guaná, "apesar de terem maior número de homens do que os Uaicurús, se viram, para sua conservação, na urgência de comprarem paz e a amizade daqueles seus opressores" (51).

(48) Azara, 1809, II:87; cf. 1943:132-133.

(49) Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880, I:305-311. Neste livro o autor toma os Kinikináu como pertencentes a um ramo dos Guaikurú e compara seu vocabulário com uma relação de palavras Layâna. Não percebeu o cronista que havia tomado por informantes indivíduos Kinikináu que falavam, como se fôsse sua, a língua Mbayá. Escreve êle, a certa altura, que "os quiniquinaus são também conhecidos por Guaycurys, nome que bem alto revela sua origem".

(50) 1845:208.

(51) Ibidem.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

A ocorrência dessas lutas que se teriam repetido até fins do século XVIII, portanto até o momento do início da migração Guaná, mostra que a técnica Guaikurú de contrair matrimônio com cacicas Guaná, não teve outra finalidade do que facilitar o domínio de um grupo sôbre outro, e legalizar assim a hegemonia Guaikurú. Realmente não houve uma espoliação absoluta dos bens Guaná, sejam materiais ou mesmo morais, i.é, de direito, como se deu nas relações dos Guaikurú com outros grupos tribais vizinhos. Os Guaná eram demasiadamente numerosos e, principalmente, úteis, para funcionarem como fornecedores de certos bens de consumo, necessários à comunidade Mbayá-Guaikurú. Não seria inteligente destruí-los, numa guerra sem trégua, como mantiveram com os Guaxi, Guató e Txamakôko. A êsses, a técnica era matar os homens e a maioria das mulheres, e adotarem as crianças. Executada essa mesma política com os Guaná, perderiam êles os melhores agricultores de tôda a região e, ainda, os aliados mais adequados para a manutenção da supremacia Guaikurú em tôda bacia do Paraguai.

Parece-nos bastante objetiva a opinião de D. Juan Aguirre quando procura encontrar o motivo que teria dado início à servidão Guaná "Segundo os melhores informantes que pude tomar — diz êle —, começou o costume do serviço dos Guanás depois da paz dos Mbayá. Êstes estavam no caminho daqueles na Província, e [illegible] viessem, trabalhassem e levassem alguns utensílios com que [illegible] e ainda comerciavam entre os demais índios, começaram os Mbayás a lhes cobrar para permitir passagem; êles lhes pagaram, e, dêste modo, sendo poucos os que iam e vinham, sujeitaram-se à franca superioridade dos Mbayás aos quais efetivamente respeitam e servem com submissão de que somos testemunhas" (52). Mesmo se considerarmos — o que parece muito provável — serem aquêles Guaná um sub-grupo Exoaladi ou Layâna, e não o conjunto das tribos Guaná, teríamos que concordar que certamente essa foi uma das formas que assumiu a associação entre os dois grupos. E, por outro lado, as fontes compulsadas não autorizam a escolha absoluta de qualquer uma das hipóteses até aqui levantadas sôbre a causa dessa submissão peculiar de um grupo sedentário, agrícola, a outro nômade, caçador e coletor. Em vez de se excluírem mùtuamente, cremos que elas refletem aspectos diversos de um mesmo processo de competição eco-

(52) 1888: 472.

lógica e de interação tribal: a explicação pelo (i) matrimônio dos caciques, ou pelo (ii) assalto Guaikurú a componentes de grupos-locais Guaná ou, ainda, pelo (iii) contrôle das vias de comunicação com outros grupos populacionais, necessárias ao comércio Guaná, tôdas essas ocorrências já analisadas acima, são fatos que expressam as vicissitudes por que passaram os Guaná em seu esfôrço de se ajustarem a uma conjuntura adversa.

É bom concluirmos êsse capítulo — onde procuramos caracterizar o processo de interação intertribal, Guaikurú-Guaná, — com essa impressão de ALEXANDRE RODRIGUES FERREIRA quando em fins do século XVIII encontrou aquêles grupos: "Pouca diferença têm (os Guaná — RCO) dos Guaikurús, de quem são vizinhos, amigos e aliados. Casam entre si e reciprocamente se auxiliam, sempre que assim o pede alguma urgência pública ou particular" (53). Pois essa estreita interação — que poderíamos classificar de *simbiótica* (54) — até certo ponto pode ser generalizada para o universo Guaná, caracterizando todo um período em que as relações, entre partes reresentativas de ambos os grupos, assumiram formas sistemáticas e contínuas, e que resultaram num processo de aculturação intertribal, sem cuja consideração se torna impossível compreender a cultura Terêna (Guaná) tradicional.

(53) 1791:4.

(54) "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play and adherence to norms". E.T. Hiller, 1947:151.

III — PERFIL DA CULTURA TRADICIONAL

O nosso propósito neste capítulo é dar uma ligeira notícia da cultura tradicional Terêna-Guaná, para que se possa compreender melhor as relações que tiveram lugar entre aquêles índios e a sociedade euro-americana em processo de instalação no sul de Mato Grosso. As dificuldades que a reconstrução histórica apresenta, já foram referidas nos capítulos anteriores. Faltaria acrescentar algumas palavras a respeito do critério adotado na escolha dos complexos culturais analisados.

Reconhecendo ser impossível fornecer uma visão, por mais sumária que fôsse, da cultura total daqueles grupos tribais, optamos pela seleção dos aspectos da cultura tradicional que mais chamaram a atenção dos cronistas e que, por êsse motivo, se encontram melhor documentados na bibliografia disponível (55). Aquêles que maior relevância explicativa apresentavam foram, então, por nós analisados no sentido de obter uma idéia mais compreensiva da cultura Terêna-Guaná, sem exceder, naturalmente, os limites a que procuramos cingir êste trabalho. Estudaremos, então, alguns aspectos da infra-estrutura tribal, detendo-nos na organização social e no processo de estratificação, desde que a produção e as relações de trocas se acham referidas, embora de passagem, nos capítulos II e IV; por outro lado, no que respeita a fenômenos de superestrutura, tentaremos apenas caracterizar a vida cerimonial, vendo nela — como nos ensina RADCLIFFE-BROWN (56) — a verdadeira expressão do comportamento mágico-religioso do grupo.

(55) Nossas experiências de campo servirão, neste capítulo, apenas de subsídios, considerando-se que a "memória tribal", ainda que muito estimulada por nós, se mostrou muito pobre, pouco ou quase nada auxiliando a reconstrução da cultura tradicional.

(56) Cf. 1952, cap. "Religion and Society".

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

Os depoimentos mais antigos, que dos Guaná possuímos, já sugerem um tipo de estratificação de estilo semelhante a dos Mbayá-Guaikurú. Pelo depoimento de SANCHES LABRADOR, vemos que os Guaná "estão divididos em capitanias. As principais são as dos *caciques*, que são como senhores dos demais. As *capitanias menores* recaem nos parentes dos caciques, e, assim, tanto êstes como os capitães menores procuram continuar a mística nobreza de seu sangue, casando-se entre si aquêles de igual hierarquia, para não envilecer-se com a *plebe*" (57) (os grifos são nossos — RCO). E CASTELNAU acrescenta: "Muitos possuem *escravos*, que aliás tratam geralmente com doçura; são prisioneiros de guerra feitos aos Xamacocos, tribo selvagem que habita mais abaixo à margem direita do rio (Paraguai)" (58).

Êstes textos demonstram que existia uma estratificação tribal em três camadas distintas: a) *Chefes* ("grandes" e "pequenos"), b) *Povo* e c) *Cativos*. A seu tempo, veremos pormenorizadamente o que significam cada uma dessas camadas dentro da estrutura social. Por enquanto nos limitaremos a dar os nomes Terêna que corresponderiam a essas camadas — e que desde já passaremos a usar, quando a elas quisermos nos referir. Respectivamente, teríamos: a) *Naati* ou *Naati-Atxé*, b) *Waherê-Txané* ou *Maxati-Txané* (respectivamente: "gente feia" e "gente que pede": sendo que êste último têrmo, ouvimo-lo sòmente na aldeia Bananal, onde êle parece ser o equivalente de Waherê-Txané) e c) *Kauti*. A comparar-se com os Mbayá-Guaikurú, teríamos também três camadas, como se pode verificar por êsse texto de RODRIGUES DO PRADO: "A nação Guaicuru se divide em três partes: a primeira é a dos nobres, a que chamam *capitães*, e a mulheres dêstes *donas*, título que também têm as filhas; à outra parte chamam *soldados*, que obedecem de pais para filhos; e à terceira, que é a mais considerável, é a dos *cativos*, que assim chamam a todos aquêles que apanham na guerra, e a seus descendentes" (59). Vemos aí que tanto os Guaná quanto os Mbayá-

(57) 1910, I:92.
(58) 1949:247.
(59) 1839, I:27. Já Sanches Labrador, a exemplo do que interpretou a respeito dos Guaná — como vimos acima — dá a seguinte explicação sôbre a natureza dos estratos Mbayá-Guaikurú: "...os caciques atuais anexam ao sobrenome "CAPITAES GRANDES"; aos demais, CAPITAES PEQUENOS, ou inferiores. Os capitães por sangue

[facing p. 40-A]

Passata dos dançarinos do "Bate-Pau" (*Kohixoti-Kipahé*) nas ruas da aldeia, tendo a frente o "Pife" e o "Caixa". (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

[Facing P. 40-B]

Dançarinos Terêna decorados e paramentados para o "Bate-Pau".
(Cachoerinha, 1955)

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

Guaikuru parecem combinar ambas as formas de estratificação indicadas por THURNWALD: social e étnica (60), de que trataremos adiante.

Entretanto, temos que considerar, ainda, em relação aos depoimentos de LABRADOR e CASTELNAU, a respeito dos Guaná, o intervalo de um século que medeia a presença de ambos junto àqueles índios, respectivamente 1760 e 1845 e que nos auxiliará bastante à compreensão da dinâmica do antigo sistema social. Enquanto CASTELNAU registra a presença de cativos nas comunidades Guaná, LABRADOR nada assinala. A conclusão mais imediata que se tira é de que os Guaná teriam passado a a realizar expedições de captura mais recentemente, com tôda probabilidade só no século XIV, seja como aliados dos Mbayá-Guaikurú ou mesmo sòzinhos. A crônica nesse sentido não nos esclarece. Todavia, deixa bastante claro que expedições guerreiras foram feitas e que grupos-locais Guaná nelas tomaram parte, provàvelmente estimulados pelas incursões Guaikurú, apesar de não ser impossível que em algum tempo seus ancestrais não-chaquenhos, Aruák típicos — como diria MAX SCHMIDT — as tivessem realizado (61).

Mas consideremos um outro texto ainda, já do nosso século, referente aos Terêna, especìficamente, e que de certo modo vem completar os anteriores. É aquêle devido ao pastor protestante ALEXANDER RATTRAY-HAY, segundo o qual "entre os Terêna, três camadas distintas são reconhecidas: os *Naati* (chefes) os *Shunachati* (guerreiros) e os *Machatichane* (trabalhadores do campo). Um guerreiro poderá ascender por eleição à camada dos chefes, mas o trabalhador do campo sòmente poderá atingir a camada dos guerreiros pela morte de um inimigo na guerra" (62). RATTRAY-HAY não menciona os *Kauti*, em virtude de simplesmente não mais existir essa instituição na época (1920) em que

---

são em primeiro lugar o cacique, tronco dos da parcialidade e senhor dos outros (...) Em segundo lugar os capitães de sangue são todos descendentes e parentes do cacique, em qualquer linha e grau, e em ambos os sexos. (...) Os capitães de segunda classe são todos aquêles que no nascimento de algum filho do cacique, receberam no berço o título..." (1910, II:19-20). Contudo, fora disso, nada nos indica que os Capitães Grandes e os Capitães Pequenos dos Guaná sejam da mesma natureza que os dos Guaikurú.

(60) Die Menschliche Gesellchaft, apud Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, verbete 'Estratificação Social".

(61) Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, cap. III.

(62) 1928: 108-109.

conviveu com os Terêna, impossibilitados que êles estavam de realizar sortidas de captura ou mesmo de comerciar cativos (63) numa região inteiramente transformada pela instalação da sociedade nacional. Mas, por outro lado, menciona os "Shunachati" como pertencentes a uma camada formalmente idêntica às demais. Quanto a isso, nossas experiências entre os Terêna modernos nos levam a discordar não só de RATTRAY-HAY, mas de etnólogos como OBERG e ALTENFELDER que estabeleceram que êsses índios estavam estratificados em quatro camadas ou classes: *Naati*, *Xuna-Xati*, *Waherê-Txané* e *Kauti* (64). *Xuna-Xati*, a nosso ver, corresponde ao *herói guerreiro*, aquêle que conseguiu matar um inimigo em combate, sendo por isso agraciado pela tribo com êsse título que, em tradução literal, seria *matador*. Portanto, guerreiros podiam ser todos aquêles que participavam dos combates e das sortidas do grupo, fôssem êles *Naati* ou *Waherê-Txané*. Conseqüentemente poderiam se tornar *Xuna-Xati* tanto uns como outros, inclusive os *Kauti*, embora isso não fôsse muito comum, uma vez que era mais rara a participação dêstes últimos nas lides guerreiras (65). Mas antes de analisarmos o mecanismo de aquisição de "status" ou a mobilidade vertical na sociedade Guaná, vamos tentar esclarecer melhor êsse tipo de estratificação étnica, manifestada pela presença dos *Kauti*.

O primeiro tipo de estratificação que se teria estabelecido nas antigas comunidades Guaná, teria sido resultante do domínio dêsse grande grupo agricultor sôbre grupos de indivíduos capturados de outras tribos,

---

(63) Ainda na segunda metade do século passado, havia o que se pode chamar comércio de cativos, como se depreende por êste texto de Taunay: "Os caiuás (grupo Guarani — RCO) vendidos passavam de mão em mão, na qualidade de escravos ou, como por ali se chamavam, cativeiros". (1931:21).

(64) Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949: 319-320. É preciso sublinhar que êsses autores empregaram o têrmo "Unati", em lugar de Naati que é o certo. "Unati" significa sòmente "bom". Por outro lado, êsses autores se utilizam do têrmo classe, com o que não podemos concordar, uma vez que classe exprime o conceito de um grupo com um lugar definido no processo de produção; nada indica que os Naati não participassem juntamente com os Waherê-Txané e com os próprios Kauti dos trabalhos agrícolas; ao contrário, tudo favorece essa hipótese.

(65) Êsse é um assunto que não está muito claro, embora os Terêna com que conversamos afirmem ter sido pequena a participação dos Kauti nos combates. Os cronistas consultados não são explícitos sôbre isso. O que parece certo, entretanto, é que os Terêna — ao contrário do que ocorria com os Mbayá-Guaikurú — não tinham tanto sucesso, ou talvez nem mesmo procurassem galvanizar seus cativos para a guerra ou mesmo estimulá-los a se incorporarem ao grupo dominante.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

que se acomodavam no sistema social Guaná, na qualidade de cativos (*Kauti*). Aliás, êsse tipo de estratificação étnica é muito provável que já fôsse conhecida dos Guaná, mesmo antes de se instalarem no Chaco. MAX SCHMIDT, por exemplo, em seus estudos sôbre os grupos Aruák, mostra que tal estratificação aparecia entre êles com certa regularidade e, em certo sentido, como uma necessidade para sua expansão (66). A essa estratificação étnica, teria sucedido uma estratificação social, que parece ser resultante do contato com grupos chaquenhos, notadamente os Mbayá-Guaikurú. Seja qual fôr sua origem, o fato é que essa estratificação social veio se constituir num elemento de dinamização da estrutura primitiva.

Podemos levantar a hipótese de que graças ao caráter simbiótico das relações Guaná-Mbayá, as parentelas dos caciques Guaná teriam procurado adotar os padrões de conduta dos aliados Mbayá-Guaikurú, por expressarem êsses padrões um "status" superior. Não sendo os Mbayá-Guaikurú lavradores — e, sim, coletores e caçadores e, posteriormente, pastores —, atribuiam aos seus cativos os trabalhos agrícolas, o que concorria para a estigmatização do trabalho-de-roça, base sôbre a qual assentava a sociedade Guaná. E seja dito que essa estigmatização se acha exaustivamente comprovada na crônica sôbre aquêles índios. Mais, ainda, nossa hipótese parece se confirmar pela existência de certas modalidades de comportamento, que permanecem bastante vivas nas comunidades Terêna de caráter mais arcaico. Em Cachoeirinha, por exemplo, verificamos que as mulheres das famílias tradicionais, i.é, remanescentes do antigo grupo-local, não aprovam o trabalho feminino na roça, fato êsse "sui generis" desde que se considera como geral nas culturas Aruák ser a mulher auxiliar do homem nas lidas agrícolas: a êste ficaria a derrubada do mato e destocagem do terreno, e àquelas o

(66) "Seria interessante saber por que meios a sociedade Aruák soube obter para si, na base de sua cultura do solo, a posição de senhor sôbre outra classe de população, que se sujeita a trabalhar para o interêsse de seus amos, auxiliando-os na obtenção dos necessários meios de produção. Para criar, nas condições atualmente existentes, uma camada étnica subalterna, as tribos Aruák devem preencher duas condições. Deverão entrar em relações com a população das tribos vizinhas e, em seguida, essas relações deverão ser dirigidas de maneira a resultarem em uma condição de depen- [illegible] (Max Schmidt, 1917, cap. III).

plantio, conservação e colheita (67). Um tanto diferente seria a divisão de trabalho entre os Guaná, aliás racionalizada e legalizada no mito dos heróis gêmeos civilizadores. A êsse respeito comenta ALTENFELDER que "a divisão de trabalho parece justificada no mito da criação, no qual Yurikoyuvakai, os heróis gêmeos, dão aos homens os instrumentos de trabalho agrícola e as armas de guerra e, às mulheres, o fuso de fiar. A limpeza da roça e o amanho da terra eram tarefas masculinas. Também cabiam ao homem a guerra, a caça, a pesca e a cestaria. Às mulheres cabiam as tarefas de fiação, a cerâmica e cuidados caseiros. A coleta era feita por ambos os sexos" (68). É certo que êsses padrões estão fortemente abalados e tendem a desaparecer no processo de aculturação por que passam os grupos Terêna e de sua integração à estrutura sócio-econômica regional. Mas a existência de tais padrões mostra que em certo momento da história de suas relações com os Mbayá-Guaykurú, provàvelmente durante o período em que se estabeleceu a "segunda forma de simbiose' (69), as parentelas dos caciques Guaná, influenciados por seus aliados, passaram a estigmatizar o trabalho agrícola, afastando suas mulheres (e talvez certas categorias masculinas) do trabalho da roça (70).

---

(67) Entre os Txané ocidentais que vivem em processo simbiótico com os Xiriguano, povo também agricultor (Tupi), a divisão de trabalho entre os sexos parece ter mantido seu estilo tradicional, mostrando que teria havido uma mudança no sistema de produção e trabalho dos Guaná, face ao processo de aculturação com os Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consulte-se Erland Nordenskield (1912:150), que apresenta um quadro mostrando a divisão de trabalho entre homens e mulheres Txané e Xiriguano.

(68) 1949:294-295.

(69) Baldus assinala duas formas ou dois momentos típicos da simbiose Guaykurú Guaná: a primeira refere-se à época do Chaco, anterior ao contato com os ocidentais, quando os Guaná e os Kaskihá (Maskoi), juntos e muitas vêzes confundidos pelos brancos, como um só povo, eram tributários dos Guaykuru; a segunda, refere-se ao momento de introdução da lavoura entre os Guaykuru, quando as relações entre êles se caracterizavam muito mais por uma aliança política e econômica — e isso a partir da segunda metade do século XVIII. (Cf. 1945:24-27).

(70) Nessa questão os cronistas são omissos. E nossa hipótese, embora sòmente possa ser aferida nos Terêna remanescentes, pode ser considerada, com muita probabilidade, como uma das variantes mais significativas do sistema associativo Guaná. A ênfase especial dada ao afastamento das mulheres do trabalho na lavoura, explica-se, de um lado, pelo papel preponderante que elas desempenhavam na cultura Guaná, essencialmente organizada em tôrno de famílias extensas matrilocais, apesar dos Terêna, modernamente, serem bilocais; de outro lado, pela procura de simetria às mulheres Guaykuru, as quais "por todo tempo em que dura o matrimônio gozam a situação de senhoras (...) Ao cuidado do marido recai prover o toldo de caça e outros víveres com que alimentar a família". (Labrador, 1910, II:28).

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

A dinamização da estrutura social Guaná, pode ser atribuída à mobilidade vertical, que, se não teve início em razão das relações com os Mbayá-Guaykurú, deve ter se intensificado depois que os Guaná aceleraram suas capturas no esfôrço de seguirem o rítmo de seus aliados. Dessa maneira, os Guaná, à medida que se estratificavam de forma a garantir a chefia e a liderança do grupo a uma camada só, a dos *Naati*, formada — como vimos — pela parentela dos caciques, estabeleciam um inteligente mecanismo de compensação. Essa camada, endogâmica como as demais, tornava-se permeável aos *heróis*, que por meio de seus feitos guerreiros a ela ascendiam. Tal possibilidade de ascenção social não se

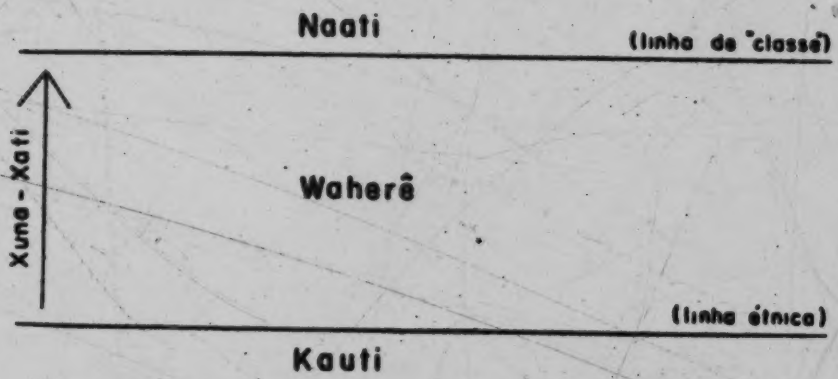


Figura 1 — Estrutura tríplice e assimétrica, onde se combinam uma estratificação social e outra étnica.

limitava, entretanto, aos *Waherê-Txané;* era dada também aos *Kauti*, aos cativos, que se ajustavam ao mesmo mecanismo de mudança de *status*, i.é, à elevação do indivíduo à camada imediatamente superior. Sucedia, a mais, que para êsses *Kauti*, dada à procedência étnica distinta, isso significava, sobretudo, sua incorporação ao grupo-local na qualidade de homens livres (71). A condição básica para a ascenção social, não há dúvida nenhuma, era o heroísmo nas lutas, premiado com o título de *Xuna-Xati*. Dêsse modo, fica claro que *Xuna-Xati* não podia

(71) Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ser uma camada da mesma natureza que *Naati* e *Waherê-Txané* ou *Maxati-Txané*, ou, ainda, semelhante a dos *Kauti*, como se pode ver pela figura 1.

Mas as comunidades Guaná parece que não se limitavam a estratificar-se em camadas endogâmicas, a julgar pelas informações que possuímos sôbre os antigos Terêna: havia, também, uma divisão dual, i.é, duas metades também endogâmicas seccionavam o grupo em *Xumonó* e *Sukirikionó*. Infelizmente, os dados bibliográficos de que dispomos sôbre o assunto são muito pobres. Não conhecemos informação alguma que tenha sido obtida por observação direta; os cronistas setecentistas e oitocentistas que poderiam nos ajudar com a mais leve referência que fôsse sôbre essa divisão dual, são omissos; sòmente o já citado missionário RATTRAY-HAY fala sôbre o tema, mas suas observações correspondem a uma época em que as metades não mais funcionavam como técnica reguladora do matrimônio. Tanto RATTRAY-HAY, quanto etnólogos que o seguiram vinte e cinco anos depois, como OBERG e ALTENFELDER, foram encontrar tais metades em sua forma cerimonial e, mesmo assim, nem sempre atualizando-se nas festividades religiosas do grupo. As informações que obtivemos em 1955 e 1957, entre os remanescentes Kinikináu e Terêna, dão como sendo verdadeira a existência dessas divisões na organização de seus antigos cerimoniais. E não resta dúvida, também, de que essas metades antes de adquirirem funções estritamente cerimoniais, tivessem desempenhado importante papel na regulamentação da vida social, particularmente no que se refere à escolha do cônjuge (figura 2).

A êsse respeito — da regulamentação do matrimônio —, RATTRAY-HAY, interpretando as metades *Sukirikionó* e *Xumonó*, respectivamente como *boa* (good) e *má* (bad), procura dar a seguinte explicação: "Como essas divisões se originaram, não estamos muito aptos a descobrir, ainda que, de algum modo, possamos relacioná-los aos irmãos, o bom e o mau, de sua mitologia. (...) O matrimônio entre essas duas partes era também proibido" — e acrescenta: "Como o atual chefe da aldeia de Bananal assinalou, êle, que era descendente da (metade) *má*, não poderia, segundo a antiga lei, haver se casado com sua mulher, cujos pais são *bons*". E comenta RATTRAY-HAYS: "Estas distinções quebraram-se totalmente durante a última geração e estão agora completamente esquecidas. Excetuando-se seu papel de barreira ao inter-casamento, as duas partes, a *boa*

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

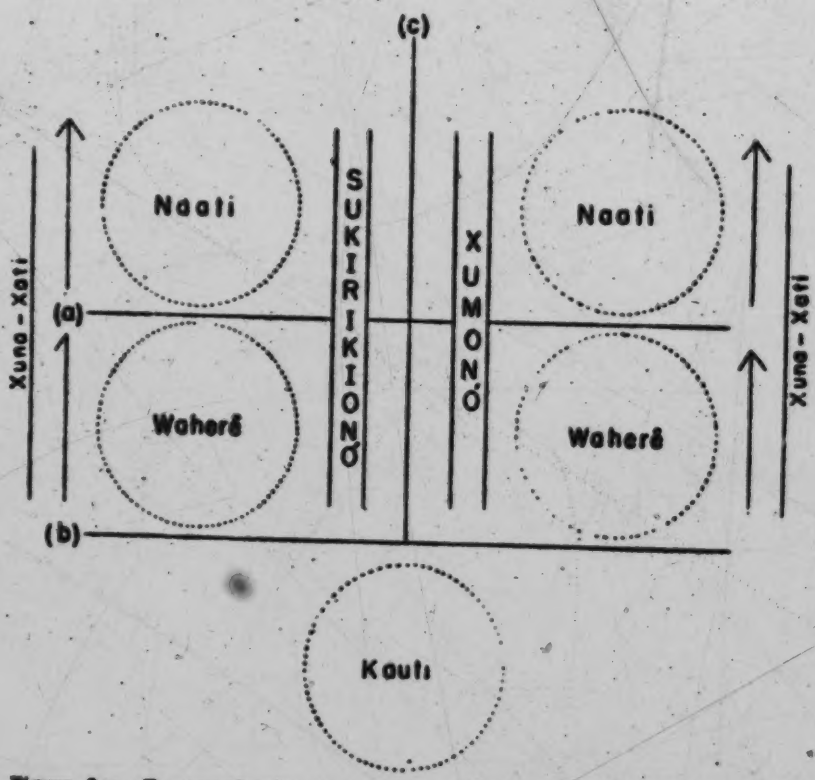


Figura 2 — Esquematização da estrutura social Terêna-Guaná, formada pela superposição de duas sub-estruturas: 1) os têrmos em posição horizontal representam a sub-estrutura tríplice e assimétrica (ver fig. 1); os têrmos em MAIÚSCULAS e em posição perpendicular representam a sub-estrutura dual e simétrica. As linhas seccionais (a), (b) e (c) correspondem a uma compartimentação em cinco partes ou cinco situações possíveis de matrimônio, representadas pelos círculos pontilhados. O dinamismo da estrutura tríplice é devido ao Xuna-Xati, assinalado em posição perpendicular e com setas indicando mobilidade vertical.

e a má, vivem juntas, como uma, e a divisão sòmente transparece durante a grande dança guerreira anual, conhecida como o Cohishotiquipahú..." (72). Sondando a tradição oral dos Terêna, particularmente dos grupos-

(72) 1928:109.

locais de Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue e Cachoeirinha, pudemos confirmar êsse texto de RATTRAY-HAY, excepção feita aos adjetivos "good" e "bad" atribuídos às metades. Em realidade, boa e má parece ser muito mais racionalização "piedosa", a respeito das metades, do que uma interpretação objetiva. Preferimos, nesse caso, a "tradução" de OBERG (73), i.é, *Xumonó* como "brava" (gente brava) e *Sukirikionó* como "mansa" (gente mansa), segundo o comportamento divergente que cada uma das metades apresentava nos antigos cerimoniais. Na cerimônia do *Oheokoti*, os *Xumonó* deveriam fazer caçoada e provocação, enquanto os *Sukirikionó* deveriam se manter passivos e fleugmáticos, sem apresentarem qualquer reação.

Ainda quanto à sobrevivência dessas metades, como técnicas de regulamentação da vida cerimonial, é bom sublinhar que a bibliografia se limita a RATTRAY-HAY, e apenas a êsse texto que estamos examinando. Nossas indagações junto aos Terêna de Cachoeirinha, permitem-nos precisar 1905 como o último ano em que as metades teriam atuado integralmente na divisão da comunidade para as festividades então realizadas. Nessas festas se combinavam atividades mágico-religiosas e jogos profanos, da seguinte maneira: depois do cerimonial religioso, do Oheokoti — que descreveremos adiante — aparece um novo personagem, o *Yunakalú*, que é sempre um índio *Xumonó*, todo paramentado e que tem o dever de ir de casa em casa, na aldeia, pedir donativos (principalmente alimentos), acompanhado por uma grande multidão que o auxilia no transporte das coisas recebidas. Usa o *Yunakalú* um bastão com o qual aponta as coisas desejadas, as quais não podem ser negadas pelos donos (74). Em seguida, os alimentos são transportados para o lugar onde se realizará o esperado banquete, após o qual se iniciava o "Tadique" ou Mootó (75). Eram dispostos de um lado os *Xumonó* e, de outro, os *Sukirikionó*, que se defrontavam, em pares, sendo proibido lutarem dois indivíduos de um mesmo bando; à luta dos homens seguia a das mu-

(73) 1948:283; 1949:27.

(74) Talvez venha daí o têrmo tão usado em Bananal, **Maxati-txané**. Os **Naati** jamais poderiam negar qualquer dádiva, com o perigo de perderem o prestígio; o Yunakalú era sempre um **Waberê-Txané**.

(75) Enquanto "Tadique" é um vocábulo Guaikurú, corrente entre a população neobrasileira, "Mootó" é uma palavra Txané dada àquele jôgo pelos Terêna (de Cachoeirinha). Entretanto, Altenfelder colheu um terceiro têrmo, "Tchucutchú", como designativo dêsse jôgo entre os Terêna de Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364).

lheres e, como encerramento, a das crianças (76). Já na época em que RATTRAY-HAY estêve com os Terêna de Bananal, o *Mootó* não era mais realizado, permanecendo apenas o *Kohixoti-kipahé* ou "dança do bate-pau" — como indica o missionário — e, provàvelmente, o *Ivuixote-vogomoto* ou "corrida de cavalinhos", ambas as danças registradas em 1896 por BACH e por nós presenciadas em Cachoeirinha. A primeira consistia numa série de evoluções de dois grupos, "Harará-iti" (vermelho) e "Hononó-iti" (azul), armados de bodoques e bastões, dançando ao som de uma pequena flauta de bambu e de um tambor (77). A segunda, parecendo mais um jôgo do que uma dança, consistia também no confronto de dois grupos, chefiados por seus caciques, montados em perfis de cavalos recortados em couro: o objetivo era enfiar as lanças num pequeno anel suspenso num arco. Tanto numa como noutra dança, contavam-se pontos, o que permitia se saber sempre qual o grupo vencedor.

Não se pode afirmar com a segurança de RATTRAY-HAY, no seu texto citado linhas atrás, que a antiga divisão cerimonial, *Xumonó* e *Sukirikionó*, continuasse a regular festas puramente profanas como a "dança do bate-pau" e a "corrida de cavalinhos". Pudemos verificar em Cachoeirinha que para a composição dos grupos "Harará-iti" e "Hononó-iti" não era respeitada a condição de *Xumonó* ou de *Sukirikionó*. Isso quer dizer que, se essas metades funcionaram na regulamentação do *Kohixoti-kipahé* ao tempo de RATTRAY-HAY e em Bananal, já na atual Cachoeirinha, em Ipegue e na própria Bananal (aldeias que com certa regularidade ainda organizam tais danças) as metades não mais regulam quer as atividades lúdicas, quer as cerimoniais. Hoje estão elas reduzidas a mera tradição, o que é compreensível considerando-se que teria sido impossível conservarem sua primitiva função

(76) Os informantes não puderam nos esclarecer se havia procedência de certas categorias ou classes para o início da luta; não foram além das categorias de idade e de sexo; quanto aos status, nada nos puderam adiantar, o que parece comprovar que já em princípios do século a antiga estratificação tinha seus efeitos bastante reduzidos. Para descrições mais completas do "Tadique", ver Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

(77) A dança consiste em vários movimentos ou quadros, sendo os principais os seguintes: "Isukokoti-kiiri-étakati" (bate a ponta da taboca), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (bate no meio), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (bate nas costas), "Wokoti" (puxa o arco), "Wekooti" (passa por baixo), "Aluókóti" (sobe em cima) e "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dançando no toque de tambor).

(reguladora do matrimônio) e mesmo as seguintes (cerimoniais e lúdicas), quando progressivamente se quebrava a antiga estrutura social face ao processo de aculturação, cada vez mais intensificado pelo surgimento de núcleos néobrasileiros nas proximidades das aldeias.

Ainda sôbre a estrutura social, outros aspectos merecem ser apontados. O primeiro se refere à ênfase dada pela tribo na solidariedade do grupo de irmãos e irmãs, obedecendo ao princípio de unidade de grupo de "sibling", formulado por RADCLIFFE-BROWN (78). Analisando-se a terminologia de parentesco dos Terêna, por exemplo, iríamos verificar que os têrmos usados para irmãos (ãs) — seja Ego masculino ou feminino — são extensivos aos primos paralelos e cruzados. A conseqüência seria a impossibilidade do matrimônio no grupo de "sibling", i.é, entre os parentes consanguíneos da geração de Ego, o que constitui uma técnica a mais, além das metades e das camadas, na regulamentação do matrimônio. Isso, aliás, nos permite classificar de "Havaiano" o sistema de parentesco Guaná-Terêna, de acôrdo com MURDOCK (79), e compreender quão difícil era para a estrutura social tradicional sobreviver, uma vez que ela atomizava o grupo de sorte a impedir ou dificultar sobremaneira o casamento no grupo-local. Isso levava, naturalmente, a uma *exogamia* de grupo-local, vigente enquanto era possível o contato regular entre as antigas aldeias. Com a guerra do Paraguai — como veremos no próximo capítulo —, destruídas essas aldeias e seus habitantes espalhados pelas fazendas que começaram a surgir em grande quantidade, a antiga estrutura não encontrou mais condições para sua sobrevivência. Restaria acentuar ainda a respeito do matrimônio — o seu caráter monogâmico, combinado com poliginia, inclusive em sua forma sororal. Finalmente, podemos dizer que os antigos Guaná teriam sido matrilocais, apesar dos Terêna tenderem a bilocalidade e neolocalidade. Cremos que essas indicações são suficientes para dar uma idéia da estrutura social Guaná-Terêna, antes de terminarmos êsse capítulo com uma ligeira notícia sôbre a superestrutura tradicional.

Para darmos um perfil da religião dos Guaná, os cronistas nos ofe-

---

(78) Cf. 1952:64-67.

(79) Cf. 1951:94. Dadas as características dêste trabalho, não vimos necessidade de publicar e analisar as tábuas de parentesco Terêna. O leitor interessado poderá encontrá-las em Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 e em Oberg, 1949:31.

recem dados extremamente precários. Informações que datam de meados do século passado, indicam que os Guaná "acreditavam na existência de um grande espírito encarregado de mover o sol" (80), e por êle demonstravam certo respeito (81). Mas bem maior — ainda segundo a mesma fonte — era o respeito que manifestavam pela "pequena constelação que chamavam das sete estrêlas e cuja aparição em determinados pontos do céu era motivo de uma festa anual" (82). Entretanto, não se pode dizer que houvesse um culto dessas entidades, nem do "grande espírito" e muito menos das Plêiades, como é identificada aquela constelação. Aliás, sôbre isso comenta MENTRAUX que, "entre alguns povos do Chaco, os corpos celestes ou os fenômenos naturais estão personificados e são considerados serviçais ou perigosos, mas não existem provas que lhes sejam tributados um culto regular" (83). E, referindo-se aos Terêna, diz que tais índios "consideravam a volta das Plêiades (sòmente) como um sinal para a execução dos ritos mágicos e para diversas festividades" (84).

J. BACH (85) fornece uma descrição muito boa de como se realizavam essas festividades entre os Terêna que visitou em fins do século XIX. Essas cerimônias que parecem entremeadas de rituais religiosos e profanos — como o *Oheokoti*, a que já nos referimos — têm como personagem central o *Koixomuneti* ou médico-feiticeiro, que, manejando um chocalho de cabaça ("Itaaká") e um tufo de penas ("Kipahê"), invoca

(80) Castelnau, 1949:304.
(81) Idem: 248.
(82) Ibidem.
(83) Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.
(84) Idem:295.
(85) "A única festa religiosa que celebram é a que corresponde à nossa semana santa e à passagem das 7 estrêlas; esta festa dura 7 dias. Em tôdas as aldeias, diante de cada rancho, constróem um teto de duas águas, de palha e de dois metros quadrados por um metro e oitenta centímetros de altura apoiados sôbre bambus. Debaixo dêste teto, fixam uma forquilha de bambu, da qual pendem um penacho e uma cabaça. Vão em grandes turmas, de rancho em rancho, e de meia em meia hora, cantando e fazendo ruído com a cabeça. Ao quarto dia, na madrugada, armam um grande barulho com buzinas, lançam gritos e descarregam com pólvora; é um ruído imponente, tão imponente que até os animais se assustam, acompanhando a música com seus gritos e queixumes. O quinto dia se apresenta um mascarado (o Yuna-kalú-rco) com uma bolsinha na mão, fazendo palhaçadas e pedindo contribuição a todos para grande banquete que todos êles celebram. Acompanhados de música e de tambores e flautas celebram o banquete e bailes, que terminam o sétimo dia com grandes libações" (1916:91).

os espíritos dos mortos ou os *Koipihapati* e por meio dêles realiza curas, acalma as fôrças da natureza e pratica tôda sorte de exorcismos (86).

A importância dessas festividades anuais para a sociedade Terêna — além, naturalmente, de sua *função manifesta* (87) —, transparece quando analisamos o papel daquêle complexo cerimonial na manutenção da solidariedade tribal e no fortalecimento da consciência de grupo, ou, em outras palavras, sua *função latente*. Os preparativos a que a comunidade se lança são tão intensos que exigem a participação da maior parte possível do grupo local e uma harmônica e eficiente divisão de trabalho. Graças à feliz coincidência de CASTELNAU haver passado por uma comunidade Terêna, próxima a Miranda, em maio de 1845, exatamente durante os preparativos daquelas festividades, podemos avaliar o alto significado para o grupo de sua "festa nacional". Escreve o cronista que "fazia um mês que os homens tinham batido a mata à procura de mel com que tôdas as famílias agora se ocupavam em fabricar um licor espirituoso, alma de tôdas as festas" (88). Colhida a matéria prima pelos homens, ficava às mulheres a tarefa de preparar a bebida. Além disso, por "tôdas as casas viam-se mulheres ocupadas nos trabalhos mais diversos, mas sempre tendentes ao mesmo fim" (89). E para nós ficou muito clara a função dessas reuniões anuais, no sentido de vivificar as relações intratribais e preservar a solidariedade social, quando verificamos entre os Terêna modernos que êste é talvez o único momento em que os grupos-locais conseguem reunir de uma só vez todos (ou quase todos) seus componentes. Como o *Oheokoti* — que coincide hoje com a Semana Santa —, apenas as festas juninas têm essa capacidade de reunir o grupo-local, considerando-se a grande mobilidade espacial dos Terêna atuais. Como veremos no capítulo VII, apesar das variações

(86) Embora hoje a atividade do **Koixomunati** seja muito mais limitada e seu prestígio muito menor, nós podemos fazer idéia de sua importância nos grupos Guaná, notadamente nos Terêna, quando examinamos certos mitos, como o "Ivolóneti". (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949).

(87) Os conceitos de função-manifesta e função-latente, estão sendo usados segundo Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

(88) 1949, II:303.

(89) E continua o cronista: "Umas cosem contas de vidro em panos raiados em algodão, outras cortam e arranjam as penas vermelhas com que fazem ornatos para a cabeça; outras ainda desenham no corpo de seus maridos delicadas pinturas, quando êles próprios não se encarregam de se sarapintar" (1949, II:304).

sócio-culturais que iremos encontrar na população Terêna (cap. VI), o poder de atração dêsses cerimoniais é tal que resulta no afastamento da população Terêna de todo trabalho, seja nas fazendas, nas povoações ou cidades da região, seja mesmo em suas próprias aldeias, promovedoras das festas, onde suas atividades se limitam àqueles preparativos.

Por ora, é suficiente aceitarmos a idéia de que a conduta religiosa Terêna-Guaná tradicional se caracteriza, em suas linhas básicas, pela obediência a um padrão próprio à área cultural do Chaco (90). Aliás, isso não se limita à religião, mas pode ser estendido à mitologia. E a êsse respeito, comenta BALDUS que o complexo mitológico Terêna, hoje transformado num conjunto de lendas, bem evidencia sua origem chaquenha, assinalando, ainda, ser significativo o fato do *Handbook of South American Indians* incluir aquêles índios nas tribos chaquenhas (91).

Tomemos como ilustração, e analisemos em têrmos da cultura total, o mito do herói civilizador *Yurikovuvakái*, que tirou os Terêna do fundo da terra e lhes deu o fogo, bem como todos os instrumentos necessários a sua sobrevivência em cima da terra. Quanto a origem de *Yurikovuvakái* — que aqui nos interessa especialmente — conta o mito, segundo uma versão de BALDUS, que "antigamente Orekajuvakái eram um só e quando moço a sua mãe ficou brava pois Orekajuvakái não queria ir junto com ela à roça, foi à roça, tirou foice e cortou com ela Orekajakái em dois pedaços. O pedaço da cintura para cima ficou gente, e a outra metade gente também (92).

Comenta BALDUS a êsse respeito que "os Kaduveo, tribo guaikuru vizinha dos Tereno e como êstes provenientes do Chaco, têm uma lenda na qual u'a mulher corta seu filho em dois pedaços, formando-se de cada um dos pedaços uma criança e tendo ambas as crianças um nome só, a saber *Nareatedi*" (93). A versão por nós obtida, da bôca de um velho informante Terêna, de Cachoeirinha, apresenta *Yurikovuvakái* como ten-

(90) "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357).

(91) 1950:217.

(92) 1950:218.

(93) 1950:222.

do um irmão de nome *Taipuvukê*, um pouco inferior a êle; "um dia começaram a cortar nuvem para matar todos porque não queriam que nós vivêssemos; mas quanto mais cortavam, mais a nuvem crescia. Então os dois largaram de cortar, porque se cançaram, e cada um tomou o seu rumo". Parece que estamos diante de um mito que concilia as diferentes histórias que vizam apresentar distintos aspectos ou temperamentos dos gêmeos míticos, e que, segundo RATTRAY-HAY (94), como vimos, explicariam a conduta divergente das metades *Xumonó* e *Sukirikionó*. Comparem-se as figuras de *Taipuvuké* e de *Yurikoyuvakái* (da nossa versão) com a de *Pitanoé*, apresentado por BALDUS como o herói-civilizador, do tipo malicioso, "que deu aos antepassados não só a semente de uma leguminosa cujas vagens têm grande importância na alimentação dos Tereno, mas também um embrulho em que não havia outra coisa senão mosquito-pólvora, tendo sido, além disso, êle quem tentava derrubar as nuvens cortando-as a machado" (95). Não há dúvida que *Pitanoé* e *Taipuyukê* são a mesma personagem mítica, enquanto expressam a face maliciosa, irreverente e agressiva do herói-civilizador *Yurikoyuvakái*.

Taipuyukê (ou *Pitanoé*) e *Yurikoyuvakái*, ambos, por suas divergentes qualidades, os ancestrais míticos respectivamente das "moities" *Xumonó* e *Sukirikionó*, parecem refletir, por outro lado, uma ligeira superioridade de uma sôbre a outra, especificamente dos *Sukirikionó* sôbre os *Xumonó*. A versão colhida por ALTENFELDER SILVA, nesse sentido, é bastante conclusiva: "No princípio havia um único *Yurikoyuvakái* que vivia com sua irmã *Livetchetchevena*. *Yurikoyuvakái* cortava o raio do mundo. Sua irmã plantou uma árvore, e quando esta frutificou, *Yurikoyuvakái* roubou o fruto. *Livetchetchevena* zangou-se e cortou-o pelo meio. Da parte de cima cresceu um *Yurikoyuvakái*; da parte de baixo cresceu outro. Mas o primeiro era quem mandava" (96). Como se vê, apesar das variações encontradas ao compararmos as versões, verifica-se sempre, de um modo ou de outro, uma superioridade de um gêmeo sôbre o outro. Se isso exprime que um dia as metades chegaram

(94) 1928:109.
(95) 1950:224.
(96) 1949:349.

a manter relações assimétricas entre si, não cerimoniais, é uma hipótese que não estamos em condições de formular, embora nas conversas que mantivemos com alguns informantes Terêna, a êsse respeito, a impressão que elas nos deixaram foi que os *Sukirikionó* eram considerados ligeiramente superiores aos *Xumonó*. Isso, entretanto, parece ser uma projeção dos papéis desempenhados por ambas as metades nas festividades ligadas ao *Oheokoti* e reexaminados pelo Terêna "catequisado" à luz da moral cristã, diante da idéia de uma metade "boa" e outra "má".

Outros mitos ainda, e algumas versões, poderiam ser analisadas neste trabalho, graças à relativamente boa e moderna bibliografia existente e ao material que colhemos no campo. Todavia, cremos que estaríamos saindo dos propósitos dêste capítulo que é o de dar o perfil ou uma simples caracterização da cultura tradicional, entendendo-se por isso, aquela vigente ao tempo do Chaco. Ficaremos satisfeitos se, com êste capítulo, conseguimos fornecer ao leitor uma idéia precisa, embora sumária, da cultura dos antigos Terêna-Guaná, por meio da qual possa êle entender as mudanças operadas numa população tribal em contato com uma sociedade em expansão e tècnicamente superior.

[facing P 55-A]

Cena do "Bate-Pau". (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana

Cena de "Bate-Pau", onde aparecem os dois grupos, *Harara-Iti* e *Hononé-Iti*, tendo a frente seus respectivos "Caciques". (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

[facing P. 55-B]

IV — HISTÓRIA DAS RELAÇÕES INTERÉTNICAS

Em fins do século XVIII, com a passagem dos grupos Guaná para as margens orientais do Rio Paraguai, a região sul de Mato Grosso começava a ser invadida por uma onda pastoril que se formou entre os Rios Paranaíba e Grande, no lugar hoje conhecido por Triângulo Mineiro. Esta, pode-se dizer, foi a primeira onda realmente de ocupação das terras do sudoeste brasileiro. Até então, apenas as bandeiras haviam penetrado naquele território, ou para prear índios ou para atravessar a região rumo ao legendário império incaico (97). A ocupação dessa área pelos bandeirantes nunca teve um sentido civilizador, i.é, jamais os bandeirantes se instalaram para desenvolver nela alguma atividade produtiva; e, se de um lado, como demonstra o escritor MARIO MONTEIRO DE ALMEIDA (98), levaram as fronteiras do Brasil até a bacia do Paraguai, doutro lado submeteram as populações indígenas a um ponderável desgaste. Da luta que se desenvolveu entre os "paulistas" e os jesuítas e

(97) "No começo do século XVIII, amiudaram-se, então, as incursões paulistas pelas terras sulinas de Mato Grosso, onde vasculharam o recesso da mesopotânia do Alto Paraná e Paraguai, à busca de metais, já a região relativamente escassa de aborígines capturáveis" (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60).

(98) "Durante anos sucessivos permaneceram os paulistas nos campos de Vacaria e nos de Xeres. Ali, naqueles campos, os componentes de uma bandeira chefiada por Salvador Moreira, fundaram arraial e estabeleceram cultura de manutenção. Por volta de 1960, Braz Moreira, irmão daquele chefe bandeiramente, insubordinou-se, juntamente com alguns sorocabanos, reclamando providências punitivas. Contra o insubordinado foi lavrado ato, em data de 28 de julho daquele ano por indisciplina, no próprio arraial. O incidente, documentado pelo escrivão Antônio Alvares Maciel, expressava, para registro histórico, a existência de posse efetiva das glebas da Vacaria pelos bandeirantes (o grifo é nosso). Na região subserrana do Mbotetei (Miranda), Pascoal Moreira e André Zuniga, no decurso de três lustros, entre 1678 e 1685, se haviam mantido em seus campos empaliçados com a sua frota de canoas em tráfego de prêa. Firmava-se o 'uti-possidetis' luso nessas glebas" (o.c., p. 49).

[P.56 is blank]

espanhóis, para a ampliação de seus impérios, o índio levou o pior: envolvido por uns e por outros, lutando muitas vêzes entre si, foi o mais espoliado, de seus bens, de suas terras e de sua gente. A onda pastoril entretanto viria a se constituir numa ocupação mais produtiva, apesar de também representar uma constante ameaça para os grupos tribais que se antepunham em seu caminho.

Esclareça-se que estamos falando de uma onda pastoril específica, de caráter nacional e que representa a natural expansão da sociedade neobrasileira. Não há dúvida que a área formada pelos afluentes da margem esquerda do Paraguai (mesmo onde é hoje território brasileiro), estava parcialmente ocupada por gado, principalmente gado "baguá", aquêle mesmo gado vaccum e cavalar, cujas primeiras cabeças foram trazidas por D. Alvar Nunes Cabeça de Vaca, em 1543; e os assaltos a que ficavam sujeitos pelas sortidas dos Guaikurú, estimulavam a chacina dêstes pelos espanhóis, donos virtuais daqueles rebanhos (99). Sòmente depois da guerra do Paraguai é que aquela área começaria a ser ocupada pela onda pastoril proveniente do "triângulo mineiro".

Nelson Werneck Sodré mostra, numa análise segura, essa penetração: "Ao longo do vale do rio nacional (o S. Francisco) deparou-se o contacto frizante de vaqueiros e bandeirantes. Uns iam em busca de ouro e no sentido do norte. Outros vinham em procura de pastagens e no sentido do sul. Minas Gerais, já erigida em capitania, desmembrada de São Paulo, seria um grande centro distribuidor, uma notável condensação de populações e rebanhos. (...) Vadeando o primeiro dos formadores do Paraná, os rebanhos penetraram, em fins do III século, nas terras do Oeste. Estava iniciada a conquista pastoril que se estenderia, sem contrastes, por quase todo o território conhecido no ciclo bandeirantes e no ciclo das monções e a cuja conquista e expansão

(99) Relata-nos Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra a intensidade da chacina levada a efeito pelos espanhóis entre os Guaikurú. Narra o cronista que de 1793 até 1803, data em que escreveu, os Guaikurú faziam estragos na proporção em que os espanhóis avançavam com suas fazendas, levando-as a recuar ou mesmo destruindo-as e entrando de posse de vinte mil cavalos, algumas vacas, etc. Organizaram então os espanhóis duas expedições de chacina em 1796, matando o célebre 'capitão' Guaikurú Queimá, mais dez 'capitães' e 300 índios; em 1797, outra ainda maior comandada pelo Cel. José Espinola, levando-os até o rio Mondego e retomando seis mil animais — o que demonstra, ainda, o grande rebanho que êsses índios chegavam a possuir. (Cf. 1850(b):383).

pastoril daria novas linhas, na sua marcha permanente" (100). Mas a região pròpriamente ocupada pelos Guaná — denominada na época Itatins — receberia quase que simultâneamente dois contingentes humanos, de procedência distinta; e pode-se dizer mesmo que êste encontro representou o ponto final da penetração pastoril, i.é, o ponto de encontro de dois segmentos de uma mesma fronteira, procedente do nordeste e canalizada pelo funil formado pelos Rios Parnaíba e Grande: enquanto um segmento descia rumo sul, vadeando o Rio Paraná e penetrando na região de campos bons denominada Vacaria, outra seguia em direção oeste, até Coxim, para receber provàvelmente elementos cuiabanos, e fechar o círculo na região dos rios Taquari e Miranda (101). Acreditamos que sòmente em meados do século XIX, pouco antes da guerra do Paraguai, é que os Guaná teriam sentido mesmo as conseqüências dessa fronteira pastoril. Até então, o grosso do gado regional — como dissemos — seria proveniente do Paraguai. E é lícito de se supor que essa onda não tenha apresentado índice demográfico favorável para fixar-se: o tamanho das glebas e a mobilidade extrema da pecuária, somada a uma população rarefeita, dificilmente apresentaria condições para estabelecer-se com preocupações "latifundiárias" (102). Parece que

(100) 1941:58-59. Em 1837, em discurso pronunciado na abertura da Assembléia Legislativa da Província de Mato Grosso, José Antônia Pimenta Bueno falava: "O começo da abertura da estrada do Pequeri tem sido para nós o começo da entrada de povoadores, que de cada vez mais receberemos, vindos da Província de Minas Gerais, onde êles não acham as férteis e despovoadas campanhas que aqui os prendem com vantagem sua e nossa" (1840:170-71).

(101) "Durante dezenas de anos, as antigas regiões do Taquari e do Miranda, esta outrora campos de Xeres, desde as ribeiras fluviais às margens do Apa, como o planalto do Vacaria, anteriormente llanos de Yguari, espraiando-se até o Iguatemi, havia permanecido no estado natural de incultura, entregues ao domínio exclusivo do íncola. — A margem direita do Miranda, na sucessão dos anos, desde sua fundação, em 1797, apenas sobrexistia o presídio homônimo, em tôrno do qual se agrupavam algumas aldeias de Guanás, quiniquinaus e guaxis. — Na região do Vacaria, os formosos campos de forragem nativa se alongavam a perder de vista, como um oceano verde de suaves ondulações, com pequenas manchas de capões... No decurso de muitos anos êsses campos ficariam isolados da civilização. — Em época simultânea, no decurso do terceiro decênio (do século XIX) às margens do Parnaíba e nos vales dos tributários do rio Paraguai, teve início o povoamento dessas vastas terras insuladas no recesso do Brasil" (Mário Monteiro de Almeida, o.e., p. 227-228). Ver, ainda, Nelson Werneck Sodré, o.e., p. 59-60).

(102) É o seguinte o depoimento de João Henrique Elliot que em 1844, passava pela região: "Todo o terreno desde aqui (forte de Miranda) até a serra do Maracaju na distância de vinte e quatro léguas é uma continuada planície de campo limpo, e poucos capões de mato; tem quantidade imensa de veados e avestruzes, mas por ora poucos moradores" (1948:168).

a técnica mais adequada se constituía na criação de "retiros", mais ou menos improvisados, numa tentativa de se acomodar à mobilidade e inconstância de um rebanho sempre em busca de novas e melhores pastagens.

Foi com o aparecimento de uma segunda onda humana, que a região dos Guaná, especialmente aquela entre os rios Miranda e Aquidauana, passaria a fixar uma população sensivelmente incrementada. Como demonstra WERNECK SODRÉ (103), foi com o término da guerra do Paraguai e, portanto, depois de 1869 que uma parte ponderável do exército brasileiro, desmobilizado naquelas áreas, teria preferido lá permanecer, em lugar de retornar às terras de origem. Indica aquêle autor que êsses elementos, em sua grande maioria, provinham do nordeste e da Bahia, de lugares onde as populações rurais se caracterizavam por sua constante migração. E, se êsses contingentes dos desmobilizados começavam a ocupar a região com típicas fazendas, deve-se considerar também a penetração de elementos paraguaios, que em grande número, findo o conflito, começaram a entrar num território de perspectivas econômicas mais ricas e onde êles conseguiriam obter melhores situações do que lhes poderia oferecer um Paraguai, gasto e derrotado (104). Como veremos adiante, mais do que a guerra em si mesma, foi essa segunda onda

(103) "Concluída a guerra, e concluída às beiras do Oeste, no anfiteatro Cerro-Corá, com o episódio derradeiro das margens do Aquidabã, a província teria, em seu território, levas apreciáveis de soldados arregimetnados para sua defesa, já empregados na retomada de Corumbá, a antiga Albuquerque, e na limpeza do território antes invadido pelas fôrças inimigas. Muitos dêsses elementos eram constituídos por gente vinda de outras paragens do Brasil, nos batalhões formados em províncias estranhas. — Concluída a luta, iniciou-se a desmobilização. E a desmobilização teria a conseqüência curiosa, a de contribuir para a fixação, nas terras do Oeste, dos elementos que a haviam percorrido para os misteres da guerra. Quando a obra de delimitação fronteiriça termina, apreciáveis grupos de antigos soldados vão se deixando ficar por ali". (O.c., p. 101).

(104) "Exausto do esfôrço despendido, que fôra formidável, e desolado pelas conseqüências de uma luta em que se empenhara a fundo, o Paraguai iniciaria a infiltração de elementos seus nas terras do Oeste. Tudo concorria para tal. Elas lhes pertenciam no modo de ver que adotaram. Haviam transitado por elas, anteriormente. Conheciam-nas. O divórcio das fronteiras, definitivamente estabelecidas, ao longo da serrania do Maracaju e das águas do Apa, para seguir as do Paraguai, não era impedimento ponderável" (ibidem). E mais adiante escreve o Autor: "quebracho, erva mate e gado foram os três motivos propulsores da expansão húmana no sul matogrossense, expansão orientada do Paraguai" (idem, p. 106). Aliás, a existência dessa infiltração é que nos vai fazer compreender a grande influência paraguaia nos costumes indígenas e neobrasileiros regionais.

humana que, como sua conseqüência, iria proporcionar aos grupos Guaná e, especialmente aos Terêna, uma nova situação de conseqüências dramáticas para êles, porquanto determinou o engajamento dessas populações a uma economia de caráter escravajista. A êsse período referem-se os Terêna modernos como ao "tempo do cativeiro"(105).

A terceira onda humana e, podemos dizer, ainda contemporânea, teve seu início com a ligação São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança pela Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil (NOB). Sua construção, começada em 1905, em Bauru, e em 1908, em Pôrto Esperança, só foi completada em 1914, quando os trilhos provenientes do ocidente e do oriente se encontraram (106). As possibilidades de desenvolvimento econômico da região aumentaram bastante e passaram com isso a atrair contingentes humanos cada vez maiores. E, se é certo que o progresso que a Estrada de Ferro levou ao noroeste paulista nunca pôde comparar-se àquele levado às terras matogrossenses, não é menos certo dizer-se que a NOB propiciou o surgimento de uma nova onda humana, cuja característica de continuidade e estabilidade trouxe a Mato Grosso as sementes de um progresso que até hoje estamos presenciando. O incremento econômico e demográfico que a NOB levou a Mato Grosso mudou a paisagem urbana regional, estimulou a criação de novos núcleos populacionais — que iam nascendo às margens da estrada —, e impôs assim um caráter especial à configuração indígena daquela estensa área do Brasil meridional (107).

---

(105) Essa situação de cativeiro, perdurou até princípios dêste século, quando em 1904 Rondon, construindo as linhas telegráficas e Estratégicas, passou por lá e forçou a libertação daqueles índios — muitos dos quais trabalharam na edificação da linha —, libertação esta consumada com a criação do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, em 1910 (cf. missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

(106) Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

(107) "No entanto, se em Mato Grosso a via férrea não determinou a metamorfose operada na zona paulista, não deixou de influir sôbre o povoamento e a transformação no interior das vilas e cidades, ao longo da estrada, como Três Lagôas (em 1940, com 5.154 hab.), Campo Grande, o centro tradicional do comércio de gado do sul matogrossense (já com 23.054 habitantes, em 1940), Aquidauna (com 5.773) e outras, mesmo além da ponta dos trilhos, servidas pela navegação fluvial, como Corumbá (13.319 habitantes em 1940), que passaram a prosperar com a introdução do novo meio de transporte, levando à decadência pequenos centros urbanos em proveito das maiores aglomerações ao longo da linha férrea. Para se ter uma idéia do impulso que tomou, em um quarto de século, de 1914 a 1940, o povoamento dessas regiões, bastará observar que a população dos quatro municípios, de Três Lagoas (15.378 hab.), Campo Grande (49.629), Aquidauana (20.949) e Miranda (14.126) ascendeu, nesse período, a mais de cem mil habitantes ou mais do quíntuplo da população estimada antes da construção da Estrada de Ferro" (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132).

A importância dêsses núcleos para a população Terêna (108), não é demais assinalar: êsses povoados neobrasileiros passaram a se constituir em focos mais poderosos de atração dos Terêna e, conseqüentemente, a agir mais intensamente como agências de mudança cultural. Nesse sentido, são muito ilustrativas as relações entre Miranda e as aldeias Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira e Lalima (principalmente está última) ou entre Aquidauana e as comunidades Terêna de Limão Verde e Aldeinha. Nos próximos capítulos veremos mais detidamente a influência dessas cidades no estilo de vida dos componentes daquelas comunidades indígenas. Por ora, passemos a analisar — tendo por base os cronistas — a natureza dos contatos que se estabeleceram entre essas ondas de penetração da nossa sociedade e a população Terêna regional.

A rigor, as primeiras referências, que temos sôbre os Terêna, são devidas a SANCHES LABRADOR que nos indica já haverem êles, naquela época (meados do século XVIII), recebido em suas aldeias um padre jesuíta (109). Eram, até êsse tempo, dos grupos Guaná o mais isolado. Segundo AZARA — que ainda nesse século obteve informações sôbre êles — os Terêna estariam representados por dois bandos, um ainda vivendo no Chaco, próximo aos Kinikináu, outro "a leste do rio Paraguai, sob o paralelo 21° graus, sôbre uma cadeia de pequenas montanhas que denominavam "Echatiyá", a leste de uma outra chamada "Nogoná" (110). Todavia, não podemos saber qual dêsses grupos teria recebido o missionário ou se, na época a que se referiram os informantes Terêna (cf. nota 109) todos êles ainda estariam no Chaco — o que parece ser mais provável. Ainda no século XVIII, no seu final, há uma informação devida à ALE-

(108) Dos grupos Guaná, além dos Terêna, que sobreviveu, como grupo, até a primeira década dêste século, foram os Kinikináu, que até 1908 tinham uma aldeia junto ao rio Agaxi. Em 1925 não havia lá mais de 15 indivíduos, destribalizados, e de mudança para Lalima.

(109) "Na povoação dos Chanás encontrei dois homens que estavam com suas mulheres e filhos, todos Terênas e irmãos dos Chanás. Anotei a língua do seu país. Perguntei-lhes se tinham notícia de que houvessem cristãos próximos de suas terras, terras, ou se haviam chegado a elas? Responderam que sim... e que em tempos passados haviam estado próximos de sua terra: e indicando os Guaranís que estavam presentes, acrescentaram: vinham vestidos como estes, e com colares (rosários) como aqueles ao pescoço. Ocorreria isto quando o Venerável Padre Castanhares com os índios Zamucos deixou-se ver próximo à povoação dos Terenas, ou, como êles se chamam a si próprios, Telenoé". (1910, II:274-75).

(110) 1809, II: 87.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

XANDRE RODRIGUES FERREIRA segundo a qual uma aldeia Guaná teria sido visitada por um religioso (111); o referido grupo-local visitado dificilmente seria Terêna, mas, com tôda probabilidade, um sub-grupo "Echoaladi" ou "Echoarana". A se basear na crônica setecentista, o contato que os Terêna tiveram com misisonários católicos foi quase nulo, de muito pouca expressão para a cultura tribal, ao contrário de outros grupos Guaná (como os Layâna e os Exoaladi) bastante referidos por LABRADOR e AZARA. Mas, mesmo no século seguinte, os dados, deixados pelos cronistas a respeito do trabalho missionário com os Terêna, não demonstram que o proselitismo religioso tenha se intensificado: JOAQUIM ALVES FERREIRA, em meados do século, referindo-se genèricamente aos Guaná, diz que tais índios estavam "em estado de se curarem de sua educação intelectual e religiosa" (112) e sugere ser muito conveniente — para uma política de integração dêsses grupos à nacionalidade — "que entre êles fôssem residir missionários" (113); vinte anos depois, o VISCONDE DE TAUNAY convivendo com os índios Guaná da região de Miranda, escreveria que tais índios viviam na "maior ignorância e indiferença, em matéria de religião" (114). Êsses depoimentos servem para demonstrar que se os demais grupos Guaná já não tinham recebido uma catequese efetiva, muito menos os Terêna — omitidos freqüentemente pela crônica setecentista e oitocentista — teriam sofrido um proselitismo mais eficiente.

O próprio TAUNAY nos dá uma informação bastante preciosa sôbre os Terêna. Diz êle, comentando o papel dos caciques nas comunidades Guaná, que "os grupos da região pouco ligam aos chefes, sòmente os

---

(111) Relata Rodrigues Ferreira que o Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, com uma escolta de 45 praças, "saiu a 13 de fevereiro próximo passado (1791), e tendo navegado água abaixo dois dias e meio de viagem, desembarcou em um porto da margem oriental do rio (Paraguai), onde montou a cavalo e seguiu viagem pela terra dentro, cousa de ¼ de légua, e ali achou o primeiro alojamento. Dali marchou 8 léguas a leste, até onde estava o segundo, que se denominava dos Guimarães. Andadas mais 5 léguas ao mesmo rumo, chegou ao terceiro, que era dos Guaicurus" (Ms., fls. 3 e 4).

(112) 1905: 83.

(113) 1905: 92.

(114) 1931: 21; "A catequese acha-se muito atrazada ainda e tem sido mal dirigida. Poucos Kinikináus conhecem a significação da cruz e sòmente alguns Guanás recitam as nossas preces" (ibidem).

terenas respeitam seus maiorais" (115). Êsse depoimento nos indica que dentre os demais grupos Guaná, parece que sòmente os Terêna conservavam mais ou menos intacta sua cultura tradicional, particularmente sua estrutura social. Daí concluir-se que as mudanças que ocorreram e que ainda ocorreriam nas comunidades Terêna seriam devidas antes ao contato contínuo e sistemático com a população regional — que a partir da guerra do Paraguai tenderia a aumentar, como vimos, devido à desmobilização — do que com as agências de proselitismo religioso, conscientemente voltadas para a transformação do estilo de vida tribal. Parece que a influência missionária na cultura Terêna é um fenômeno mais recente, como tentaremos demonstrar no capítulo VI (116). Bastanos concluir, por ora, que aquela influência se teria feito sentir muito mais através dos demais sub-grupos Guaná — como os Layâna e os Exoaladi —, filtrada por êstes, do que pelo contato direto dos missionários com comunidades Terêna: a crônica mostra exaustivamente a intensidade do contato daqueles dois subgrupos não só com missionários como, principalmente, com a população regional que nem sempre os distinguia, identificando-os com freqüência pelo nome genérico de "Guanás" (117).

---

(115) 1931: 46.

(116) "Para a cultura guaná, naturalmente — escreve Max Schmidt — deve ter tido grande influência o longo contato mantido (desde a metade do século XVIII), segundo Camaño, com missões jesuítas. Apesar dos jesuítas, a princípio, só terem tido contato com os grupos guaná ocidentais, os chamados chaná, certamente sua influência se estendeu aos demais grupos, do que resultou a perda de grande parte da cultura tradicional. Após uma longa interrupção destas relações, ao tempo das incursões paulistas, no ano de 1761 o padre José Sanches Labrador visitou novamente, pela primeira vez, os guaná, mais precisamente os chaná. Com o padre Don Manuel Duran foi feita uma tentativa de criar uma missão duradoura entre os guaná, que sempre mostraram boa receptividade. Estas tentativas, porém, resultaram infrutíferas devido à expulsão dos jesuítas, em 1767. Dois anos mais tarde, nova tentativa foi feita para levar avante a obra missionária, por monges franciscanos; a falta de meios, todavia, levou-os a desistir em 1772". (1903:326-327). Vê-se por aí que a própria atividade missionária nunca teve a continuidade necessária para determinar uma mudança expressiva nos grupos Terêna, quando se sabe que os demais grupos Guaná, apesar do contato mais intenso que tiveram, não não chegaram a apresentar uma mudança radical nos três primeiros séculos.

(117) A única referência que conhecemos sôbre o trabalho missionário em relação a outro grupo Guaná, é a de Taunay (1863-64) sôbre os Kinikináu "O aldeiamento modêlo no Baixo Paraguay era incontestàvelmente o do Matto Grande ou do Bom Sucesso, perto de Albuquerque, onde os Kinikináus debaixo da paternal e inteligente direção do virtuosíssimo missionário, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, apresentaram os frutos valiosos da catequese bem inspirada". (1931: 19-21).

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

Essa população neobrasileira, embora ainda muito rarefeita antes da guerra com o Paraguai, já mantinha relações de ordem econômica com os Guaná — e bastante importantes, a se julgar pelas informações que ELLIOT, LEVERGER e ALVES FERREIRA nos deixaram. Os três depoimentos circunscrevem-se à década dos 40, do século XIX, e nos revelam os Layâna, os Exoaladi ("Guanás") e os Kinikináu desempenhado um papel muito mais decisivo na economia regional, ao contrário dos Terêna aparentemente mais isolados e, talvez, porisso, mais arredios. Enquanto mostram os Layâna vivendo como agregados nas fazendas circunvizinhas (118) e os "Guanás" (119) e os Kinikináu (120) abastecendo de víveres a população neobrasileira, omitem os Terêna de um papel mais definido no comércio regional.

Torna-se difícil precisar o grau dêsses contatos entre índios e "civilizados" — sejam relações do tipo catequese, sejam do tipo comercial —, mas por outro lado pode-se inferir com relativa segurança a intensidade maior ou menor que os citados subgrupos Guaná, comparativamente, mantinham com a população regional. A prioridade de contato que uns grupos em relação a outros mantinham com a sociedade nacional ou com as Missões, nos permite julgar os Terêna como aquêles índios mais retraídos ao contato, seguidos pelos Kinikináu e, finalmente — entre os grupos que atravessaram o rio Paraguai —, pelos Exoaladi ("Guanás") e pelos Layâna.

Tomemos o episódio da guerra do Paraguai e analisemos a participação nesse conflito dos grupos Guaná. Escreve TAUNAY — seu principal cronista — que os "guanás, kinikináus e laianos ùltimamente se uniram com a população fugitiva (de Miranda, rumo à serra do Mara-

---

(118) "Os laianas vivem como agregados ou camaradas nas fazendas vizinhas; além desses há alguns Guaicurus e Guachins". (Elliot, 1870: 172).

(119) "As suas colheitas (dos "Guanás") não só chegam para seu consumo, como que lhes restam um excedente que vendem a dinheiro ou permutam...' (1870: 82). Também "muito dêles se ajustam para serviços de tôda espécie em diversos pontos da Província e mormente para a navegação fluvial". (ibidem). O que demonstra ainda, por parte dos "Guanás" uma participação no mercado de trabalho regional.

(120) "Os quiquináus, em número de mais de 800 indivíduos, formam uma aldeia no mencionado Mato Grande, 3 léguas ao N.O. de Albuquerque. Ocupam-se de lavoura, e abastecem essa parte de nossa fronteira de farinha de mandioca e feijão". (Leverger, 1862: 222).

caju); e os terenas isolaram-se e os cadiuéus assumiram atitude infensa a qualquer branco, ora atacando os paraguaios na linha do Apa, ora assassinando famílias inteiras...no Bonito. Foram os kinikináus os primeiros que subiram a serra do Maracaju, pelo lado aliás mais íngreme e se estabeleceram na belíssima chapada que coroa aquela serra..." (121). E noutro lugar, diz êle: "Os guanás, kinikináus e laianos mostravam a sua solidariedade para conosco; ao passo que os terenas de longe nos observavam esquivos" (122). Como se vê, aí também, i.é no episódio da guerra do Paraguai, quando tôda a população regional procurava unir-se para defender-se do inimigo comum (pois a todos os paraguaios atacavam), os Terêna continuavam a manter-se afastados, buscando um isolamento não mais possível. Só depois de algum tempo, numa guerra que levaria cinco anos, acabaram os Terêna juntando-se à população fugitiva e participando, enfim, das lides guerreiras (123).

Aliás, as conseqüências que a guerra do Paraguai teve na dispersão dos Terêna numa extensa área que vai do rio Miranda até o Brilhante, às nascentes do Vacaria e ao vale do Dourado, serão tratadas no capítulo seguinte. É necessário apenas ter-se em mente que aquêle conflito representou, além de um fator ponderável à mobilidade dos Terêna, uma experiência que ficou gravada profundamente na memória tribal, constituindo-se, pode-se dizer, na *fase heróica* de um povo pacífico por natureza; proporcionou-lhes uma tomada de consciência de seus direitos sôbre o território que ocupam, como pudemos verificar ao ouvir os discursos do chefe Terêna da aldeia de Cachoeirinha, cujos temas principais eram o *cativeiro* e a *guerra do Paraguai*: sôbre êsse último tema, dizia o "Capitão" TIMÓTEO que êles, os Terêna, haviam lutado lado a lado das fôrças brasileiras em defesa de suas terras e que, por isso, a elas tinham direito. E seja dito que êsses discursos eram proferidos em ocasiões solenes, como em "Finados" (como presenciamos) e nos cerimoniais do mês de maio (anunciados pelo aparecimento das Plêiades), isto é, nas principais festi-

(121) 1948: 268.
(122) 1931: 269.
(123) "Nos diversos acampamentos da serra (do Maracaju) construiram-se ranchos vastos e cômodos, e, pouco a pouco, regularizou-se o modo de viver daquelas colônias híbridas de brasileiro civilizados e índios, sôbretudo kinikináus, a que se haviam agregado guanás, terenas e laianos" (Taunay, 1931: 35; cf. também p. 33, sôbre a participação dêsses índios nas guerrilhas que então se processavam).

vidades de culto aos mortos; mas tais temas — incluindo o *cativeiro* — não se limitavam a estar presentes nos discursos: todos os informantes idosos que entrevistamos a êles se referiam, entre pesarosos e reivindicativos. O que vem mostrar a importância daquelas experiências, na medida em que caracterizam a "historicidade" Terêna, para usarmos uma expressão que serve para designar a auto-consciência que um povo tem de sua história (124).

Outro episódio relevante, na história das relações entre os Terêna e a nossa sociedade, constituiu-se na passagem de RONDON pela região em que êles se achavam distribuídos, numa situação de extrema dependência dos grandes fazendeiros e "coronéis" circunvizinhos (125). À frente da Comissão das Linhas Telegráficas — que tinha por tarefa ligar a Capital às regiões meridionais de Mato Grosso —, Rondon cuidava também das populações indígenas que ia encontrando por onde passava fincando os postes telegráficos. Assim observa êle que, na construção do ramal de Miranda, "a linha cruzou justamente a antiga aldeia dos Quiniquinau, hoje abandonada e já invadida por fazendeiros que se apossaram dessas terras" (126). A propósito, êsse depoimento nos mostra muito bem como os Kinikináu foram desaparecendo: na medida em que eram espoliados de suas terras, dispersavam-se pelas fazendas ou por aldeias dos seus irmãos Terêna (127). E acentue-se que dificilmente os Terêna sobreviveriam se também suas terras — ao menos as atuais terras que ocupam, lhes fôssem tomadas. O certo é que por muito tempo, mesmo depois de criado o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as Reservas Terêna continuaram a ser supervisionadas por ex-componentes da chamada "Missão Rondon", que passaram a integrar aquêle Serviço. Se muitas terras foram perdidas, outras foram ganhas, como as aldeias Buriti e Brejão, formadas respectivamente em 1922 e 1904, e constituídas Reservas Indígenas em 1928 e 1922.

Analisando-se a situação em que estavam os grupos Guaná, a época

(124) Leia-se nesse sentido o interessante ensaio de Claude Lefort, "Société ans Histoire et Historicité" onde o antigo professor-visitante da Faculdade de 'ilosofia da Universidade de São Paulo, formula com muita agudeza os problemas las relações entre a História e a consciência da História nos "grupos primitivos".
(125) Cf. nota 105.
(126) Missão Rondon, 1949: 81.
(127) Cf. nota 108.

da passagem da Comissão Rondon — e que corresponde àquele ciclo de colonização iniciado com a "fixação dos desmobilizados", veremos quanto foi importante para aquêles índios — especificamente os Terêna (os únicos beneficiados pelas transformações então iniciadas) — as primeiras providências da Comissão e a criação ulterior do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (128). No comêço do século, a população indígena estava dispersa pelas fazendas da região e suas aldeias, despovoadas, comprimidas por elas. Só naquela área, de maior densidade populacional Terêna, entre Aquidauna e Miranda, informa-nos o Relatório da Comissão que "a linha naquele trecho passou pelos campos de quatro Fazendas que possuem cêrca de 6.000 cabeças de gado. Em tôrno destas, outras se agrupam com um número triplo de criação, sendo a mais importante a do Cutape, de propriedade do Coronel Estevão Alves Corrêa, com cêrca de 10.000 rêzes. Os camaradas dessas fazendas são, na sua maior parte, índios Terêna..." (129). E por serem bons agricultores e exímios vaqueiros, "são muito

(128) "A política indigenista colonial", vigente até fins do século XIX, estava preocupada com a pacificação dos grupos tribais daquela área, seu aliciamento às lutas que se travavam com os espanhóis ou, mesmo, sua neutralização. Tal política baseava-se na fundação de Fortes (como Coimbra, Miranda e Albuquerque) e no estímulo ao trabalho missionário junto àqueles grupos indígenas, com o intuito de lhes "melhorar a índole". Mas apesar de todo interêsse em transformar também os índios numa população produtora de bens de consumo, e de todos os planos elaborados no sentido de assisti-los (Cf. Almeida Serra, 1850: 391-93; Alincourt, 1857: 362-63), as autoridades da Colônia não chegaram a desenvolver uma política de cunho assistencial, por mais precária que fôsse. Eis o que dizia, em 1837, o Presidente da Província de Mato Grosso: "... para a catequese e civilização dos índios nada confio de planos e diretorias criados sòmente no gabinente sem experiência e conhecimento positivo dos costumes, índole e natureza de cada uma das tribus. Para domesticarmos as nações, que indiquei, foram-nos necessários imensas despesas e pelo que respeita ao Baixo Paraguai, único ponto onde fomos mais felizes, o concurso de ocorrências favoráveis; por quanto, cercadas de nações inimigas e sujeitas aos presídios e fôrças militares que ali temos sempre conservado, não lhes restava outro partido senão o de aceitar nossos repetidos presentes, que até hoje recebem. Não faltavam todavia planos, regúlamentos e repetidas ordens pela maior parte infrutíferas, ao mesmo tempo que os Jesuítas Espanhóis, sem idéias abstratas, nem laborar belas teorias, catequizaram tôdas as nações que procuraram..." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840: 170). Procurava o Govêrno transferir aos religiosos a tarefa assistencial que se esperava fôsse executada em têrmos de catequese.

(129) 1949: 82. Assim o Relatório caracteriza as qualidades dos Terêna como trabalhador: "Cultivam a mandioca de que fazem farinha, a banana, a batata, a cana de açúcar e o algodão com que fabricam rêdes e tecidos diversos. — Nos seus aldeiamentos plantam laranjeiras, limeiras, limoeiros, cidreiras e goiabeiras. Criam gado vacum e cavalar e são excelentes vaqueiros." (ibidem).

procurados pelos fazendeiros, que também os preferem em razão de se contentarem com pouca remuneração, o bastante para se vestirem, comerem e satisfazerem os seus vícios" (130). Aliás, pudemos ouvir dos Terêna grande número de histórias que vêm confirmar, com riqueza de detalhes, êsses fatos referentes a 1904. Em Cachoeirinha, por exemplo, conhecemos o velho Xuri, médico-feiticeiro de passagem pela comunidade, nascido na acima referida fazenda Cutape, e testemunha das vicissitudes por que passou seu povo, explorado no mercado de trabalho regional.

"Coisa curiosa — continua o Relatório. — Nos povoados e nas Vilas a polícia está sempre nas mãos dos próprios fazendeiros, que são as autoridades, já como juízes de Paz, já como Delegados e sub-delegados. Os soldados são por êles mesmos engajados e desde então considerados seus próprios camaradas. São os fazendeiros quem lhes fornece os víveres e lhes recebe o sôldo e a etapa. Prestam-lhes os soldados serviços de vaqueiros e lavradores, e desempenham todos os trabalhos que o fazendeiro, autoridade policial, lhes ordena. — Não pode haver fiscalização contra êsses abusos, porque há verdadeira solidariedade entre os ricos que se revezam nesse usofruto" (131). E se muitas dessas coisas

(130) Idem:83. "São comumente explorados pelos fazendeiros. — É difícil encontrar um camarada Terêna que não deva ao seu patrão os cabelos da cabeça. — Contaram-me certa ocasião que um fazendeiro rico tem por hábito, no começo de cada ano, formar os seus camaradas Terêna e anunciar-lhes o seu ajuste de contas. A cada um repete a sua dívida, fazendo acompanhar de comentários chistosos. Depois de lhes ter apresentado as suas dívidas conclui a arenga por um extraordinário ato de generosidade. A cada um faz abatimento de cômoda percentagem na dívida respectiva, a fim de não ficarem sobrecarregados no novo exercício. — Os pobres índios crentes de que o seu patrão é um poço de bondade, retiram-se satisfeitos, entregando-se à noite a várias diversões, como de costume, começando assim desde logo a nova dívida a aumentar; reabre-se o débito com o consumo do álcool para festejar a generosidade do patrão. — De fato, os desgraçados camáradas nada devem ao usurário; primeiro, porque os seus serviços não são pagos pelo que valem e sim com redução que aproveita só ao patrão; depois, porque nas vendas efetuadas pelo patrão aos camaradas, êstes são tão roubados, que jamais conseguem equilibrar-se nas relações comerciais que mantêm com aquêle. — Daí a escravidão de nova espécie, cuja manutenção é apoiada pela polícia estadual, sempre que um dêsses camaradas, cansado de suportar mau senhor, anima-se a abandoná-lo em procura de nova vida. — E crescenta o Relatório: "Nenhum 'camarada de conta' poderá deixar o seu patrão sem que o novo senhor se responsabilize para com êste pela sua dívida ou o indenize imediatamente. E, se tem a ousadia de fugir, corre quase sempre o perigo de sofrer vexames, pancadas e não raras vêzes a morte, em tudo figurando a polícia como coparticipante de tais atentados" (ibidem).

(131) Idem:83-84.

até hoje ocorrem, mantendo os Terêna num regime de exploração, não se pode dizer que não tenha havida uma notável transformação, desde que o trabalhador indígena passou a ser objeto de um cuidado especial por parte do govêrno, manifestado pela criação do S.P.I. Daí para cá, a exploração passou a ser mais sutil, menos brutal, mas nem por isso pouco eficiente. E pode se dizer que na proporção em que vai se quebrando a estrutura de característica "feudal", até então vigente no sul de Mato Grosso, graças à penetração da NOB, a população indígena, juntamente com os neobrasileiros submetidos à mesma exploração, disso vão se beneficiando (132).

O certo é que se nota hoje, quando se visita as comunidades Terêna, não apenas uma nítida secularização de suas instituições, como também certas modificações na forma de atribuições de papéis e de aquisição de profissões de seus componentes. Entretanto, tais modificações não ocorreram por igual em todos os grupo-locais, embora os ciclos de povoamento e os episódios históricos acima referidos tenham sido comuns à população Terêna como um todo. Disso trataremos nos próximos capítulos onde procuraremos dar uma idéia da história de cada grupo-local em particular e analisar as variações sócio-culturais emergentes de uma comparação entre suas comunidades. A historiografia das relações interétnicas, tentada suscintamente neste capítulo, servirá, em última análise, de pano-de-fundo sôbre o qual será mais fácil compreender a atual situação em que se encontram os índios Terêna.

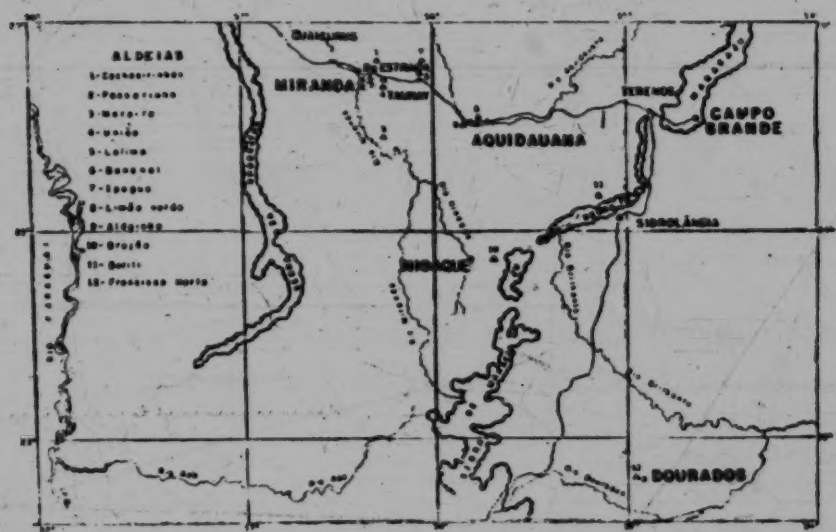
(132) Nas últimas páginas de sua Tese, Fernando Altenfelder apresenta um sumário muito bom da história dos Terêna, visando com isso dar uma idéia do processo de mudança cultural sofrido pela comunidade de Bananal. O papel da "Inland South America Missionary Union", apontado por Altenfelder como um elemento básico para as mais recentes transformações que aquêles índios vêm sofrendo, não pode, entretanto, ser generalizado para as demais comunidades, quando se sabe que em muitas delas jamais missionários protestantes conseguiram se instalar.

V — CONFIGURAÇÃO ATUAL DOS GRUPOS-LOCAIS TERÊNA

Pelo exposto no primeiro capítulo, vimos que logo após a passagem dos Terêna para as margens orientais do Rio Paraguai, deu-se um agrupamento daqueles índios na região que tem por centro, hoje, a pequena cidade de Miranda. Já ao tempo do conflito Brasil-Paraguai, "os Terênas, em número talvez superior a três mil, estavam estabelecidos em Naxedaxe, a seis léguas da vila (Miranda), no Ipegue, a 7 ½, e na Aldeia Grande a 3" (133). Depois ou mesmo durante o conflito — como mostramos no capítulo anterior —, desorganizados os grupos-locais, os Terêna se distribuíram por uma larga área, dando a impressão a um cronista do fim do século que haveria cêrca de doze a quatorze mil índios Terêna e grande número de aldeias (134). Êsse cronista, J. Bach, limita-se a citar apenas aquelas que teria visitado, a saber: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana e Caytapé; e afirma que "tôdas as aldeias apresentam o mesmo tipo de construção, que é rústico, consistindo de casas ou ranchos em tabiques de bambu com teto de palha ou fôlhas de palmeira" (135). A primeira dificuldade que encontramos foi a de procurar a correspondência dêsses nomes, evidentemente regionais — exceção de Ipegue e, talvez, Caytapé —, com os nomes tribais, atribuídos pelos Terêna as suas aldeias. Tivemos que recorrer à crônica oral dos Terêna e obtivemos os seguintes dados que comparamos com os colhidos por Altenfelder (136): *Imokovookoti* ou *Bookoti*, auto-

(133) Taunay, 1948:257.
(134) J. Bach, 1916:90.
(135) Ibidem.
(136) 1949:281.

denominação do grupo-local, cujos remanescentes habitam a atual aldeia Cachoeirinha, a três léguas a nordeste de Miranda; *Ipegue*, o mesmo grupo-local referido pelos dois cronistas citados; *Tuminikú*, grupo-local que provàvelmente formaria a atual aldeia Bananal; *Kamakuê*, grupo-local que teria ocupado a área onde se localiza hoje a povoação neobrasileira de Duque Estrada; Háokoé, pequena aldeia a uma légua de Tuminikú; *Naxedaxe*, já referida por Taunay; *Sinikué*, nome Terêna atribuído à antiga aldeia de índios Guaykuru, conhecida também por Lalima e hoje povoada por inúmeras famílias Terêna, Kinikinau e Layâna. Tôdas essas aldeias estavam localizadas entre as cidades de Miranda e Aquidauana, com maior concentração junto à primeira.



Mapa 2 — Distribuição das aldeias

Tal seria a configuração dos grupos-locais Terêna ao tempo da guerra do Paraguai. De lá para cá, umas aldeias desapareceram, grupos-locais mudaram de lugar, outros foram incorporados a comunidades tribais mais estabilizadas. Mas o fato é que a população Terêna, embora tendo sido

[facing P 97-A]

Gonçalo, remanescente Layâna e o *Koizomuneti* de maior prestígio em Cachoeirinha. (1955)

[facing p 98-B]

Gonçalo, em pleno "trabalho" (1955)

espoliada da maior parte de seu território, ou, provàvelmente, por isso mesmo, estendeu-se por uma larga área e passou a ocupar pequenos nichos que se ofereciam viáveis à sua instalação, por mais precária que fosse. Alguns dêsses lugares foram transformados em Reservas Indígenas pelo Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e outros continuam a aguardar essa providência, sem a qual os grupos-locais remanescentes não resistirão ao cêrco e à pressão da sociedade regional, no sentido de lhes tomar as terras e de os engajar às colônias de fazendas. A história das relações interétnicas registram grande número de aldeias a desaparecerem no passado, levando seus componentes a se ligarem as fazendas ou permanecerem como um contingente móvel, indo de fazendas às povoações e cidades, e vice-versa, imersos num contínuo processo de destribalização. Neste capítulo e no seguinte vamos tratar da situação em que se encontra sòmente a população Terêna aldeada; aquela que atualmente vive em comunidades relativamente independentes e estáveis, estejam ou não sob a supervisão do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

Por municípios, podemos apontar as seguintes: Município de Miranda: *Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União* e *Lalima;* Município de Aquidauana: *Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde* e *Aldeinha;* Município de Nioac: *Brejão;* Município de Sidrolândia: *Buriti;* Município de Dourados: *Francisco Horta.* Além dessas doze comunidades que serão objeto de caracterização ecológica no presente capítulo, poderíamos indicar mais duas comunidades total ou parcialmente constituídas por índios Terêna. Uma delas, *São João,* no Estado de Mato Grosso, e outra, *Araribá* (Pôsto indígena Curt Nimuendajú) em São Paulo. A primeira, São João, dentro da reserva dos Kadiwéu, foi formada pela introdução de famílias Terêna num retiro à margem do rio Aquidavão e próximo à serra da Bodoquena, com o objetivo de garantir a posse daquelas terras pelo povoamento. A segunda delas, aldeia Araribá, habitada por índios Guarani, recebeu em 1932 algumas famílias Terêna (cêrca de 50 indivíduos), com a incumbência de estimular os Guarani, pelo exemplo, nos trabalhos agrícolas da Reserva. Todavia, não se pode afirmar que sejam sòmente êsses os aglomerados Terêna, quando se sabe que uma percentagem relativamente alta de famílias se acha ainda dispersa por fazendas, vivendo provavelmente em suas colônias, em promiscuidade com colonos neobrasileiros. Tais famílias, embora bastante desorganizadas — em têrmos dos padrões

tradicionais —, continuam ainda a se reconhecer como componentes de um povo indígena, enquanto sabem identificar seus parentes "aldeados" e os visitam por ocasião das festas nacionais da tribo. Mas a situação dessas famílias juntamente com as residentes em cidades, será examinada no capítulo VII, quando estudaremos então a mobilidade Terêna, como fator de integração econômica e como função do processo de assimilação.

Tentaremos agora dar idéia de cada uma das doze aldeias visitadas, focalizando-as do ponto de vista ecológico, para — no próximo capítulo — analisá-las em suas estruturas sócio-culturais.

Cachoeirinha

Cachoeirinha é uma aldeia situada a três léguas e meia da cidade de Miranda e a oito quilômetros da povoação neobrasileira de Duque Estrada, pequena estação da Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil. O censo regional, levado a efeito pelo Serviço de Proteção aos Índios em 1954, dava àquela aldeia 834 habitantes (137). E, se compararmos os sucessivos censos que ela sofreu desde 1919, data do primeiro de que temos notícia, vemos que sua população não deixou de aumentar. Em 1919 tinha Cachoeirinha 228 pessoas; em 1926, 436 indivíduos; no ano seguinte, 1927, registrava 503 pessoas, das quais 72 vindas de fora; dez anos depois, em 1937, verificava-se novo acréscimo, passando Cachoeirinha a apresentar uma população de 750 indivíduos; em 1941, os relatórios do SPI assinalam a mesma população que, a partir de então, veio se incrementando até alcançar a cifra obtida em 1954. Antes de 1919, apenas podemos apontar um fato ainda bastante presente na memória daqueles índios: em fins do século passado, provàvelmente em 1890, teriam os Terêna sofrido as conseqüências de um movimento de guerrilheiros, quando dois chefes políticos locais se defrontaram, e, como resultado desta luta, foi atribuída aos Terêna uma série de saques e assaltos a uma fazenda vizinha à aldeia (Fazenda Santana, de *Zózimo Filho* —

(137) Num trabalho anterior examinamos mais pormenorizadamente Cachoeirinha, lançando mão de dados demográficos colhidos por nós em 1957, no campo. Abstivemo-nos de usá-los aqui, para não prejudicar a análise comparativa com as demais comunidades Terêna, uma vez que sôbre elas contávamos sòmente com dados censitários até 1954. (Cf. R.C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

hoje, fazenda Petrópolis); de acusados, passaram os Terêna a devedores, sendo-lhes exigido pelo "Cel." *Zózimo* o pagamento integral pelos "roubos" cometidos... Compelidos a trabalhar de graça nas terras da Fazenda Santana, revoltaram-se e em grande número abandonaram a aldeia, indo refugiar-se parte em Bananal, parte em cima da serra do Maracaju. Esclareceram nossos informantes que essas famílias não mais retornaram a Cachoeirinha e que as sucessivas levas de indivíduos que vieram aumentar o grupo-local, originavam-se notadamente de Lalima e da fazenda Salobra, além do Rio Miranda.

Cachoeirinha compreende 2.260 hectares, medidos e demarcados desde 1905, pela Comissão Rondon, e com título definitivo expedido no ano seguinte. A Reserva Indígena Cachoeirinha — como as demais, território de jurisdição federal —, apresenta vários aglomerados de habitações, cada um dêles refletindo determinado desenvolvimento da comunidade. Assim temos, em primeiro lugar, o núcleo pròpriamente dito da aldeia, formado pelos ranchos das famílias mais antigas, onde se destaca a moradia do "Capitão" da aldeia. Nesse mesmo núcleo vêem-se o edifício do Pôsto Indígena, o da Escola e o da Igreja (138). É constituído por 53 ranchos e, na época em que lá estivemos, pudemos contar 309 pessoas, sòmente nessa área. Entretanto, poder-se-ia ainda dizer que êsse núcleo estaria dividido em dois "bairros", Cachoeirinha pròpriamente dita e Cruzeiro, atualmente muito pouco diferenciados, mas que em tempos atrás chegaram a representar dois grupos até certo ponto rivais e com equipes de futebol próprias. Acrescente-se que êsses 53 ranchos acham-se distribuídos em quadras devidamente arruadas, com frondosas mangueiras e rica vegetação, onde se destacam as ruas bastante largas e gramadas.

Argola é a denominação dada a um antigo aldeamento que como o próprio nome indica — obedecia a uma disposição circular de suas casas, provàvelmente uma sobrevivência dos tradicionais aldeamentos Terêna. Hoje, êsse nome é usado para designar 23 ranchos e seus respectivos ro-

(138) A única Igreja de Cachoeirinha é católica, dos Padres norte-americanos da Ordem dos Redentoristas e sediados em Miranda e Aquidauna, donde percorrem as aldeias Terêna. A comunidade é caracterizada por sua resistência à entrada de missionários protestantes, e seus componentes se dizem católicos, mais por auto-definição. Contam-se apenas duas famílias protestantes, ambas vindas de Bananal.

çados, localizados no mesmo lugar da primitiva Argola e, por êsse motivo, conservando a mesma denominação.

Uma terceira aglomeração, de 18 ranchos, chamada Capão, constitui a parte mais nova da Reserva Indígena e é formada por famílias provenientes de outras aldeias, principalmente de Lalima. Pode-se dizer que essa área representa o que há de mais progressista em Cachoeirinha, contando, entre seus ocupantes, duas das famílias mais ricas da Reserva. Embora seja nosso objetivo aqui nos limitarmos apenas a uma explanação descritiva dos grupos-locais Terêna, podemos adiantar que um dos fatôres básicos do desenvolvimento econômico do Capão é a experiência extremamente variada e rica que aquelas famílias adquiriram em suas andanças de uma aldeia para outra, freqüentemente passando por fazendas e povoados neobrasileiros da região (139). Enfim, tanto no Capão como na Argola, as roças acham-se localizadas junto aos ranchos, o que dá a êsses núcleos uma feição semelhante a pequenas fazendas de lavoura, tendo suas principais culturas na mandioca — de que fazem a farinha — no milho, no arroz, na moranga, abóbora, banana, etc.

Outras áreas de concentração populacional, como Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante e mais duas dezenas de ranchos espalhados pela Reserva são chamadas genèricamente roças. E isso devido ao fato da existência de roçados junto a êsses ranchos, ao contrário do núcleo central que não os possui. A presença do gado, neste núcleo central, bem como de porcos e galinhas, em liberdade pelas ruas da aldeia, impede que as famílias tenham seus roçados junto aos ranchos, forçando-as a fazê-los em áreas um pouco afastadas e devidamente protegidas com cêrcas de arame farpado.

A comunidade é formada quase que exclusivamente por índios Terêna. Tomando-se os dados do censo por nós realizado em 1957, a título de ilustração, verificamos que de 907 habitantes, 729 eram Terêna, 16 eram

(139) As entrevistas que realizamos junto a essas famílias, bem como algumas "histórias de vida", nos permitem concluir que foram importantes essas experiências para o nascimento de uma mentalidade "mercantil", pràticamente inexistente em Cachoeirinha. Um dos resultados mais imediatos, é o emprêgo de índios do núcleo central nas "fazendas" do Capão, notadamente na do ambicioso Terêna, Lúcio Souza, antigo trabalhador da Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil e ex-proprietário de um lote na cidade de Miranda (preferiu retornar a Cachoeirinha, porque seu terreno na cidade não comportava o desenvolvimento de suas plantações).

Kinikináu e 9 eram Layâna, e os restantes eram mestiços, frutos de uniões interétnicas e intertribais.

O comércio entre a aldeia indígena e os núcleos populacionais neobrasileiros, como Duque Estrada e Miranda, não deixa de ser intenso, devido à não-autonomia econômica de Cachoeirinha (como das demais comunidades Terêna). Excluindo-se umas poucas famílias — como aquelas referidas acima com o epíteto de "ricas" — que não empregam seus componentes no mercado de trabalho regional, as demais subsistem graças ao trabalho do elemento masculino (pai, marido e irmãos) e à canalização de seus salários para as casas de comércio de Duque Estrada, Agaxi (140) e, principalmente, Miranda, onde compram gordura ("graxa"), macarrão, alguma carne, sal, etc., bem como roupas, um ou outro traste e água-ardente, esta última proibida nas Reservas mas nem por isso ausente. Infelizmente não possuímos dados que permitam avaliar rigorosamente o montante da produção da aldeia e sua distribuição por famílias nucleares. Poderíamos dar, é verdade, estimativas, mas que não teriam nenhum valor comparativo, em virtude de não podermos realizar o mesmo procedimento em relação às demais aldeias. É suficiente para nós a evidência de que a produção da maioria das famílias (entendendo essa produção como resultado do trabalho empreendido em suas próprias terras), fica muito aquém de seu consumo. E podemos exemplificar com o fato de que um número apreciável de famílias chega a comprar fora da aldeia mantimentos tais como farinha de mandioca, quando, afinal de contas, esta é a principal produção da comunidade.

Passarinho, Moreira e União

As aldeias Passarinho e Moreira ocupam duas áreas contíguas, situadas nas vizinhanças de Miranda e possuem uma população total de 239 pessoas. Como Cachoeirinha, essas aldeias vêm recebendo há algum tempo famílias procedentes de outras aldeias e das fazendas, embora elas mesmas tenham fornecido a Cachoeirinha alguns indivíduos. Em 1927, a população de Passarinho era orçada em 110 pessoas e a de Mo-

(140) Agaxi é um pequeno povoado, menor ainda que Duque Estrada, situado a sudeste da Reserva, junto ao rio do mesmo nome e com a qual umas poucas famílias do Capão — cujos ranchos limitam com a povoação — mantêm relações comerciais.

reira em 98. Nessa época, Passarinho — a mais próxima — ficava distante de Miranda, dois quilômetros; agora, pode-se dizer que ambas não são mais do que subúrbios da cidade, tão ligadas a ela estão as vidas de seus componentes e tão próxima a elas chegou a cidade, em virtude de um natural desenvolvimento e expansão. Atualmente, Passarinho e Moreira contam, respectivamente, com 109 e 130 habitantes, que compõem uma população até certo ponto homogênea, formada em grande parte dos índios Terêna (que se auto-identificam como "puros"), por mestiços e por um o outro neobrasileiro.

Os meios de comunicação dessas aldeias ligam-nas a Miranda por uma pequena estrada, em cuja entrada se acha situado um "bolicho" (141) que fornece aos índios quinquilharias e pinga. O Pôsto Indígena, localizado em Passarinho, há muitos anos não funciona; basta dizer que seu último Encarregado era o dono daquele "bolicho", jamais tendo vivido na aldeia e dela cuidado como devia: ao contrário, usava de suas autoridade funcional para melhor desenvolver seu comércio, à custa da exploração de índios e civilizados da redondeza (142). Essa estrada liga Passarinho a Moreira, ficando esta última bastante próxima ao grupo-local União — o que resulta num contato bastante intenso entre essas três aldeias.

União é um caso especial. Nasceu em 1946, como decorrência de um descontentamento existente na aldeia Bananal (143), resultando na saída dos dois principais líderes protestantes da comunidade, que, com suas famílias, passaram a ocupar um lote de 73 hectares por êles mesmos adquirido. Contou-nos o filho do líder principal, PATRÍCIO LILY ou WOLLILY — atual líder da pequena comunidade de União —, que, a 20 de

(141) "Bolicho" é um têrmo regional aplicado às pequenas vendas de beira-estrada que possuem em seu sortimento todo tipo de mercadoria, desde mantimentos até panos e ferramentas.

(142) Para se ter uma idéia do papel que desempenhava êsse indivíduo na comunidade indígena, basta dizer que, por ocasião de nossa visita àquelas aldeias, ninguém o conhecia como Encarregado do Pôsto, ao passo que era bastante popular como "o bolicheiro". Além de serventuário federal e de "bolicheiro", havia conseguido o cargo de "Delegado de quarteirão" do Município de Miranda; conta-se dêle que era comum encontrar-se em seu "bolicho" armas de fogo, tiradas à noite de pessoas não avisadas que, armadas, passavam pela estrada; e nessa função de delegado, não titubeava em prender e mandar surrar aquêles índios que, por uma razão ou outra, entravam em conflito com êle.

(143) Mais pormenores sôbre o assunto, ver págs. 82-86.

novembro daquele ano, as famílias se instalaram naquelas terras e lá fundaram, meses depois, em 1947, a "Escola Evangélica União". Em 1948, o informante foi estudar no "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany", em Minas Gerais, onde permaneceu quatro anos, três dos quais em curso regular para formar-se Evangélico e um ano dedicado a um curso de professor rural. Esclareceu-nos, com visível satisfação, que foi o primeiro índio a ir estudar naquele Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana — e que a êle se seguiu outro Terêna, HERMES BALTAZAR, hoje seu melhor colaborador na Escola da aldeia.

Na proporção em que crescia a escola, desenvolvia-se a aldeia, pois não apenas para índios ela servia, mas também para a população neobrasileira circunvizinha. Com a construção do segundo prédio escolar, em 1951, a comunidade passou a contar com dependências suficientes para manter curso primário completo. O mercado de alunos para a "Escola Evangélica União" abrange as crianças neobrasileiras, filhas de pequenos sitiantes "crentes" (como assim são chamados os evangélicos), os Terêna da aldeia Moreira, formada quase que exclusivamente por "crentes" — no que se diferencia e até certo ponto se opõe a Passarinho —, bem como as crianças da própria aldeia União, ao tempo de nossa visita com cêrca de dez famílias e correspondente número de casas.

Comparando-se os três núcleos populacionais, Passarinho, Moreira e União, vemos que a situação dêste último é bem mais favorável: além de contar com uma área um tanto menor que Passarinho (118 hectares) e maior do que Moreira (53 hectares), possui um tanque dágua de tamanho regular, de fazer inveja a alguns sitiantes vizinhos que não titubeiam em lançar seu gado nas terras de União, o que naturalmente desagrada os índios. Êles mesmos possuem seu gado e plantam extensas roças de mandioca, milho, feijão miúdo, cana e outras espécies, mais ou menos os produtos típicos da agricultura Terêna e da "cultura doméstica" regional. Nem Moreira, nem Passarinho, possuem açudes; tôda a água é obtida por meio de poços, não havendo mais de três para servir a ambas as aldeias; e se cotejarmos as cifras censitárias de cada uma, veremos que a menor população (dez famílias de União) está ocupando a melhor aldeia. No capítulo seguinte, iremos analisar as causas que teriam levado êste grupo-local a progredir mais do que os seus vizinhos, mais populosos e ocupantes muito mais antigos daquela área. Entretanto, as

três aldeias — mais do que Cachoeirinha — mantêm relações muito intensas com Miranda. Para isso concorre a maior proximidade espacial, mas também, e sobretudo, fatôres sócio-econômicos que, embora possam ser explicados em parte por aquela proximidade, decorrem muito mais de causas de caráter sociológico, que deixaremos para analisar adiante.

Lalima

No conjunto dos grupos-locais Terêna, Lalima aparece como uma comunidade *sui-generis*. A rigor, nem poderia ser classificada aqui como uma aldeia fazendo parte do contexto Terêna. Tomemos sua composição étnica e veremos que Lalima é formada por remanescentes de origem bastante diversa, como Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna e (um casal) Kadiwéu, além de grande quantidade de mestiços e alguns neo-brasileiros, casados na comunidade. O nascimento dessa aldeia não está muito claro. Contam os seus mais antigos moradores que foi mediante um boletim de RONDON, ao tempo da construção das linhas telegráficas de Mato Grosso, que os índios, dispersos pelas fazendas da região, foram chamados a ocupar aquelas terras, cuja posse lhes garantia a Missão Rondon (144). Se êsse relato não concorda com os dados que obtivemos pelo exame dos arquivos do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, não se pode dizer que o contradigam: dizem êles que os índios que formam a aldeia Lalima são "índios Guaykurus, muito semelhantes aos Cadiueus não só pela língua que falam como também pelos costumes, embora nunca tivessem relações amistosas com os mesmos; habitam a aldeia Lalima, distante 9 léguas de Miranda, vivem em *terrenos que lhes foram reservados pela monarquia* e que ainda não foram demarcados". (O grifo é nosso — RCO). O que se pode deduzir — cotejando-se as duas informações — é de que o grupo-local Guaikurú, embora lá localizado desde muito tempo, provàvelmente desde o século XVIII, até a passagem de RONDON por aquela área ainda não havia conseguido uma situação estável, só plenamente alcançada com a criação do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

(144) Naquela época, a agressividade e a violência dos "fazendeiros" mais se fazia sentir sôbre a população indígena. Queimavam-lhes as casas, e as roças eram sumàriamente destruídas. Essa foi a situação que Rondon teria encontrado em 1905 e que o levou a tomar aquelas atitudes já referidas no capítulo anterior.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

Aquêles dados, extraídos do Relatório Anual (1919) da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso, dão a aldeia povoada por 130 pessoas, 25 famílias e 20 ranchos; e, a se julgar pelo que escreveu o inspetor do S.P.I., seria uma população Guaikurú. Todavia, o censo de 1925 dava Lalima com uma população de 261 indivíduos, o que demonstra um acréscimo fabuloso, só explicável pela vinda de contingentes indígenas doutras tribos, notadamente Kinikináu e Terêna. Parece que essa época foi aquela em que Lalima conseguiu sua maior população. Depois disso começou a haver uma evasão cujas causas não são fáceis de precisar. Em 1926, tínhamos o seguinte quadro demográfico: população anterior (1925), 261 habitantes; índios aldeados no ano, 3; nascimentos, 6; índios que se retiraram para outras aldeias, 24; falecidos, 6; total em 1926, 240 pessoas. No censo do ano seguinte, vamos ter: nascimentos, 7; índios que se retiraram, 23; falecimentos, 4; total em 1927, 220 habitantes. Atualmente, os dados oficiais enviados à Diretoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios pela Inspetoria de Mato Grosso, dão 256 indivíduos, embora em nosso "survey" tenhamos registrado 234 pessoas, assim distribuídas: população masculina adulta, 51 pessoas; feminina adulta, 53; menores de quatorze anos, população masculina, 68; menores, feminina, 62. Temos aí uma população jovem, com grandes possibilidades de crescimento, apesar da contínua saída de famílias para outras aldeias, mais próximas de Miranda, como Passarinho e Cachoeirinha (145).

Os 3.600 hectares que formam a Reserva, acham-se circunscritos a uma área, das mais férteis da região, limitada ao norte e leste pelo córrego Guanandi, ao sul pelo Córrego Barreiro e a oeste pela margem direita do Rio Miranda. Como Cachoeirinha — e do mesmo modo que a maioria das aldeias Terêna —, Lalima compreende mais de um núcleo populacional: a) Lalima, pròpriamente dita, consiste num aglomerado de 20 casas, dispostas em sua quase totalidade numa só linha, formando, pois, apenas uma rua; nesse agrupamento temos o edifício do Pôsto Indígena e da Escola, bem como a Igreja Católica, caracterizando-o como o núcleo principal da comunidade; b) outro agrupamento é o denominado Campina

(145) Os habitantes de Lalima, "católicos" por definição, evitam comunidades caracterizadas como protestantes, tal como se apresentam União e Moreira, para não falar em Bananal.

e que se caracteriza por estar inserido na área onde estão as roças da aldeia a exemplo dos núcleos Argola e Capão, da aldeia Cachoeirinha; contamos 11 ranchos; c) finalmente, temos a Divisa, nome dado a um grupo de 7 moradias, situadas junto ao córrego Barreiro, nos limites da Reserva, numa área de campos aproveitados para a criação de gado, do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e dos próprios índios.

Quanto às áreas de produção da comunidade, pode-se dizer que 3/5 da Reserva são constituídos por invernadas e campos "sujos" para criação. O restante é usado para construções e para roças. Como se vê, Lalima caracteriza-se por ser uma aldeia ligada a uma atividade pastoril, embora seus roçados e à extração de casca de angico nas fazendas do município. Muito poucas famílias possuem gado, e um número muito pequeno de homens são aliciados para trabalharem com a criação do Pôsto.

Lalima tem em duas estradas suas principais vias de comunicação com o exterior; uma de 48 quilômetros que vai até Miranda e outra, com cêrca de 4 quilômetros que liga a aldeia a Pôrto Lalima, no Rio Miranda. Cada uma dessas estradas conta, em pontos favoráveis ao comércio com os índios, com um "bolicho" que fornece — a preços bem mais altos que em Miranda — variada mercadoria à sua população. A inexistência de barcos freqüentes e baratos, para Miranda, torna o meio mais comum de acesso à cidade a longa estrada, que é percorrida geralmente a pé. Isso, parece ser o fator mais estimulante à constante imigração de índios Terêna para as aldeias, próximas da cidade, referidas linhas atrás. Dos contingentes tribais que incrementaram a população de Lalima, contam-se como os mais significativos os Kinikináu e os Terêna; e, tudo indica que, enquanto aquêles teriam permanecido em Lalima, êstes é que teriam se constituído no grupo a apresentar maior mobilidade.

Bananal e Ipegue

Bananal e Ipegue constituem duas aldeias contíguas, próximas à povoação neobrasileira de Taunay, da qual dista a primeira, 4 quilômetros, e a segunda, 8. Estão situadas no município de Aquidauana e entre elas e Cachoeirinha não há mais de 4 léguas, que podem ser percorridas por

uma antiga estrada, aberta no cerrado, ou pela Ferrovia Noroeste do Brasil, que liga as estações de Duque Estrada à de Taunay.

Os primeiros dados censitários mais rigorosos que temos, nos obrigam a tratá-las como um todo, porquanto fornecem o montante da população da Reserva — que é uma só, compreendendo as duas aldeias —, sem discriminar os grupos-locais. Assim, em 1918, Bananal-Ipegue apresentavam o seguinte quadro estatístico: a população masculina, de menos de dez anos, 137 indivíduos; de onze a vinte anos, 133; de vinte e um a sessenta anos, 103; de mais de sessenta, 35 pessoas; a população feminina, de zero a dez anos, 100 indivíduos; de onze a vinte anos, 67; de vinte e um a sessenta, 140; de mais de sessenta, 35; dando um total de 750 indivíduos. Por essa época não cessavam de afluir índios para Bananal e Ipegue, provenientes de "colônias", formadas nas fazendas dos municípios de Miranda e Aquidauana. E apesar da evasão de um número apreciável de indivíduos para Cachoeirinha, por volta de 1920 (146), em 1926 iria se registrar na Reserva ou Pôsto Indígena Taunay (compreendendo Bananal e Ipegue) uma população de 1.330 indivíduos; em 1941, contavam-se 1.800 pessoas; em 1946, descia para 1.379 e, finalmente, em 1955, verificar-se-ia mais um decréscimo, 1.060 indivíduos. Curioso que essa diminuição de população não se tenha dado de uma forma homogênea, tomando-se separadamente Bananal e Ipegue: enquanto em 1946 Bananal possuía 995 habitantes e Ipegue 384, em 1955 Bananal passava para 617 habitantes e Ipegue a 443. Conclui-se que a queda de população deu-se sòmente em Bananal e que Ipegue sofreu ligeiro aumento demográfico, o que parece evidenciar os conflitos político-religiosos em Bananal como causas do êxodo. Muitos índios, que se auto-identificavam como "católicos", teriam passado para Ipegue ou para Cachoeirinha, comunidades até hoje não atingidas eficazmente pelo proselitismo protestante; e, por outro lado, muitos "crentes" passaram para União e Moreira e as caracterizaram como comunidades protestantes, conforme indicamos em páginas anteriores.

---

(146) Consultando-se o relatório de 1921, da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso, lemos: "Os índios continuam a afluir mas já estão sentindo que o Bananal e o Ipegue não os poderão conter por muito tempo; e se vão passando para Cachoeirinha. Informa o Sr. R.W. que essa afluência é também devida à invasão do protestantismo, aliás limitada só ao Bananal" — e poderíamos completar: em virtude dos conflitos internos emergentes daquela situação.

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

Bananal é seguramente a aldeia mais importante dos Terêna e a mais "urbanizada", contando com casas, algumas de tijolos e uma maioria de adobe, mas devidamente caiadas e dispostas em perfeita simetria, a formar ruas e quadras em estilo bem citadino. Nessa área temos o Pôsto Indígena Taunay, o edifício da Escola, a Igreja Católica, o Templo Protestante, um "bolicho" de um Terêna e a casa de hóspedes do Pôsto, além de 84 moradias Terêna. Além dêsse núcleo central, vamos encontrar — a exemplo das demais aldeias Terêna — áreas especialmente dedicadas às roças e outras constituídas por invernadas para o gado; numas e noutras, têm-se ranchos onde vive uma expressiva parte da comunidade. A história de Bananal é muito importante para a compreensão daqueles movimentos de migração que neste capítulo estamos estudando. Por isso, recomendamos ao leitor a já referida pesquisa de FERNANDO ALTENFELDER DA SILVA, dedicada ao estudo da mudança cultural dos Terêna, tendo por base dados obtidos em Bananal. Dêsse autor, transcreveremos o seguinte texto, sôbre a história da comunidade: "A atual aldeia de Bananal, que conta com mais de novecentos índios (isto em 1946 — RCO), teve a sua origem no começo dêste século, em área próxima às das antigas aldeias de Naxe-Daxe e Ipegue. Devido às perseguições movidas pelos fazendeiros da região, muito poucas famílias de índios permaneciam nessa área. (...) Em 1906 o brasileiro João Gomes, amasiado com uma Terêna, 'nomeou' o índio Manoel Pedro, Capitão da aldeia de Bananal. Em 1908, Manoel Pedro e alguns índios, entre os quais MARCOLINO WOLLILY (que depois veio a sucedê-lo) iniciaram a demarcação das terras da aldeia, provàvelmente orientados pelo Gal. RONDON que lá estivera fazendo o levantamento da área. Em 1915 MARCOLINO WOLLILY foi apontado pelo S.P.I. para o cargo de Capitão da aldeia, distinguindo-se na defesa dos interêsses do Terêna contra as constantes exigências dos fazendeiros vizinhos. Convertido ao credo protestante, Marcolino fêz com que parte da aldeia se convertesse também" (147).

A importância do "affaire" MARCOLINO é manifesta. Lendo-se ALTENFELDER e convivendo — como fizemos — durante algum tempo nas aldeias que maior contato mantêm com Bananal, logo sentimos como ali se impõe o assunto MARCOLINO e sua atividade político-religiosa. Nesse

(147) 1949:285.

sentido, torna-se relevante dar alguma idéia sôbre o histórico do problema. E para isso, nada mais indicado do que recorrermos novamente a ALTENFELDER: "Sob a acusação de instigar os índios contra as autoridades do S.P.I., os missionários da *Inland South America Missionary Union* foram, em 1920, expulsos de Bananal. Em 1925, retomando as atividades dessa organização, missionários norte-americanos da *South America Indian Mission* estabeleceram-se em Bananal e vêm desde então prosseguindo na catequese dos Terêna. Em 1933 MARCOLINO WOLLILY foi prêso e destituído do pôsto de capitão da aldeia, sob a acusação de fomentar uma revolta contra o S.P.I. Tentou-se um sistema de triunvirato, onde se faziam representar três correntes dominantes na aldeia: os protestantes, os não-protestantes (ou católicos), e o S.P.I. Mas o sistema não se mostrou operante, e um ano depois MARCOLINO foi restabelecido na chefia dos índios" (148). E essa situação perdurou até 1946, como vimos, quando aquêle líder, devido a novos atritos que surgiram entre êles e o Pôsto, se retirou para o lugar que viria a ser mais tarde União.

As conseqüências da penetração protestante — enquanto passíveis de análise ecológica — iriam se fazer sentir não só na passagem de grande número de índios não-protestantes para Ipegue, como também no isolamento das famílias consideradas católicas em áreas determinadas, como é o caso do lugar chamado Morrinho, onde três famílias extensas não-protestantes acham-se localizadas numa dezena de ranchos; no próprio núcleo central da aldeia, constituído em grande parte por famílias protestantes, nós iríamos encontrá-las concentradas ao longo de suas ruas principais.

Sôbre Ipegue não há muito que dizer. Desde que Bananal passou a existir, Ipegue permaneceu mais ou menos como seu satélite. O progresso de Bananal, isto é, sua tendência à urbanização, não deixava de contaminar Ipegue, mesmo porque era através de Bananal que os habitantes de Ipegue chegavam à linha férrea; e isso devido à posição geográfica de Bananal, situada entre aquela aldeia e a povoação neobrasileira de Taunay. O limite entre as duas aldeias é o córrego Ipegue, cheio no tempo das chuvas — dezembro-fevereiro — e reduzido a um riacho na sêca, fàcilmente transponível a pé. Êle e dois tanques, um em cada

(148) Ibidem.

uma das aldeias, fornecem água às comunidades. O que não quer dizer que em certos anos Ipegue e Bananal não tenham ficado em plena sêca; é o problema também de Cachoeirinha, Passarinho e Moreira.

O estilo de Ipegue é o mesmo do de Bananal, guardando naturalmente aquela proporção imposta pela tendência a uma mais rápida urbanização desta última. Conta com um núcleo central de 50 casas, além do Pôsto (sub-Pôsto, subordinado ao Pôsto Indígena Taunay), a Escola e a Igreja Católica. Na divisa com Bananal, isto é, próximo ao córrego Ipegue, portanto junto à estrada que liga ambas as aldeias, encontramos 5 ranchos com seus respectivos roçados. Por outro lado, a noroeste de Ipegue, nos limites da Reserva, temos uma concentração de ranchos, cêrca de uma dezena, no lugar denominado "Roças". Do mesmo modo que Cachoeirinha e Bananal, os roçados dos moradores do núcleo central ficam bastante afastados, em áreas devidamente cercadas, fugindo assim não só ao gado como também aos porcos e galinhas.

Ecològicamente falando, Ipegue e Bananal estão ligadas à cidade de Aquidauana, enquanto Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União e Lalima estão ligadas a Miranda. As maiores compras daquelas comunidades são efetuadas em Aquidauana, enquanto as pequenas o são em Taunay. Nesse sentido, tivemos a oportunidade de encontrar o Terêna, "bolicheiro" de Bananal, em Aquidauana, e vimos o montante de seus gastos para suprir sua casa de negócios na aldeia. Mas, além de Bananal e Ipegue, duas outras aldeias também estão ligadas a Aquidauana e muito mais intimamente: são elas Limão Verde e Aldeinha.

Limão Verde e Aldeinha

A rigor, Limão Verde compreende duas aleias: Limão Verde pròpriamente dita e Córrego Sêco. Ambas ocupam uma área de 2.500 hectares a poucos quilômetros de Aquidauana. Em 1927 habitavam as aldeias, 162 índios. Infelizmente êsse censo, realizado pelo Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, não especifica a distribuição dessa população pelas duas aldeias. O censo de 1954 dá uma população de 246 indivíduos e incorre na mesma imprecisão do anterior.

Limão Verde — e aqui estamos nos referindo às duas aldeias —, é a única comunidade Terêna cujas terras não foram demarcadas e que,

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

apesar de algumas tentativas do S.P.I., no sentido de "reservá-las", continuam a pertencer à municipalidade de Aquidauana. E até agora Limão Verde não possui seu Pôsto Indígena. Sua história remonta a um passado longínquo. Contaram-nos que a comunidade existe desde a guerra do Paraguai e que teria sido fundada por um tal João Dias, um bandeirante paulista. Êsse bandeirante vivia com uma índia Terêna, no lugar onde é hoje Aquidauana; teria cedido sua gleba para a fundação da cidade, mudando-se para Morrinho, uma légua a noroeste de Aquidauana. Trabalhava no lugar chamado Córrego Sêco, a uma légua de Morrinho, com gado e roçados. Depois de sua morte, seus filhos abandonaram Morrinho e foram se localizar em Córrego Sêco e no lugar chamado Limão Verde. O capitão de Limão Verde — onde já deveria existir uma pequena concentração de índios Terêna — era o célebre *Lutuma*, conhecido em tôda região pelos seus feitos na guerra do Paraguai. Com sua morte, deixou vago o seu pôsto, aproveitando-se João Dias para se apoderar da chefia da aldeia. Mas nunca morou em Limão Verde. Seu filho, *Daniel Dias*, herdando o lugar de "Capitão", é que passou a se fixar em Limão Verde. Os *Dias* se espalharam por Córrego Sêco e Limão Verde e, hoje, o "Capitão" de ambos os núcleos é *Sebastião Dias*, neto de *Daniel*.

De tôdas as comunidades Terêna, parece que Limão Verde é aquela cuja composição étnica é mais variada. Provàvelmente mais ainda do que Lalima. Apenas no núcleo Limão Verde há 10 famílias neobrasileiras e 2 paraguaias, além de muitos mestiços de origem Terêna. Em Córrego Sêco, entretanto, só há famílias Terêna, com tôda certeza devido à sua situação geográfica, mais retirada. Como em Bananal, verificam-se em Limão Verde sérios conflitos, de inspiração político-religiosa. Na comunidade (como nas demais aldeias Terêna) padres norte-americanos Redentoristas trabalham no proselitismo religioso de seus componentes. Também protestantes, do mesmo grupo de Bananal, procuram converter índios, paraguaios e neobrasileiros à sua crença. O resultado disto foi a divisão do pequeno núcleo Limão Verde em católicos e protestantes e a identificação de Córrego Sêco como um núcleo católico (do mesmo modo que Ipegue).

Indo-se de Aquidauana para Limão Verde, passa-se por três núcleos populacionais: em primeiro lugar, por Morrinho, onde encontramos vários

bolichos, destacando-se o do "Paraguaio" como o maior e o mais sortido; nesse núcleo não encontramos índios e melhor seria êle caracterizado como uma povoação neobrasileira, com escola rural e igreja católica; em segundo lugar, passa-se por Limão Verde pròpriamente dito, onde encontramos duas igrejas, uma católica e outra protestante; ambas servem também de escolas, funcionando na primeira uma escola da Municipalidade e na segunda uma da própria missão protestante; numa e noutra, o corpo docente é formado exclusivamente por índios ou mestiços (sublinhe-se que o professor da Municipalidade é PASCOAL DIAS, sobrinho do velho Daniel); finalmente, chega-se a Córrego Sêco, cujas crianças — em verdade muito poucas — freqüentam as escolas de Limão Verde.

Limão Verde, compreendendo os dois núcleos, vende seus produtos de preferência a Aquidauana, onde pagam melhor, embora mantenha relações comerciais também com a povoação neobrasileira de Morrinho. Seus principais produtos, passíveis de exportação, são farinha de mandioca, banana, melado e rapadura. Os componentes da comunidade trabalham nas fazendas mais próximas e em Aquidauana, sendo que muitas jovens Terêna chegam a se empregar como domésticas em Aquidauana. E, apesar do grande contato que a comunidade mantém com focos de mudança cultural, como Aquidauana, a língua mais falada é o dialeto Terêna, conhecido inclusive pelo elemento não-indígena da comunidade. Aventaríamos dizer que se tem um caso de "terenização" da população neobrasileira e paraguaia, enquanto em Lalima — outra comunidade multi-étnica — deu-se um progressivo desaparecimento dos dialetos tribais, impondo-se o português como a língua mais falada.

Dentro da cidade de Aquidauana, em zona suburbana, vivem 39 famílias de índios Terêna e mestiços, que constituem uma população de pouco menos de 250 indivíduos. Residentes a dois quilômetros da margem esquerda do Rio Aquidauana, em terras por êles mesmos adquiridas, êsses Terêna são identificados como gente da Aldeinha.

Em 1933, três irmãos, GREGÓRIO (NECO), SEBASTIÃO e JOSÉ, estando de passagem por Aquidauana, depois de sairem de Buriti com destino a Bananal, decidiram comprar umas terras, por insistência de uma irmã — já moradora em Aquidauana — que os queria junto de si, na mesma cidade. Com a venda de umas poucas rêzes e cavalos, compraram cêrca de 40 hectares por "um conto e oitocentos mil reis". Conta o velho NECO,

[facing P 88-A]

Moça Terêna, preparando seu enxoval (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

[facing P. 88-B]

Indio Terena, ourives. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

pràticamente o chefe da comunidade, que logo após a sua instalação naquele lugar, começaram a afluir "patrícios", pedindo que lhes permitissem morar naquelas terras. Tôdas as noites ficavam postados na entrada cantando hinos religiosos. Essa atividade teria tornado conhecida a pequena aldeia que se formava, como a Aldeinha dos "crentes". Se as pessoas que lá passavam a morar já eram protestantes, ou se tornavam "crentes" pela catequese da família do líder Neco, é um assunto de que não podemos tratar, por não possuirmos dados. Podemos dizer, entretanto, que ambas as hipóteses não são mùtuamente exclusivas e que, com tôda probabilidade, tanto "crentes" quanto "não-crentes" foram atraídos para a nova comunidade, sendo que, dêstes últimos, a maior parte deve ter sido finalmente galvanizada pelos cultos protestantes e pela capacidade de persuasão de seus líderes. E o resultado é que das 39 famílias mencionadas, apenas 13 não são protestantes. Não se pode deixar de considerar que dois dos líderes da comunidade, já tinham experiência de proselitismo religioso. O velho Neco, por exemplo, tinha colaborado na evangelização dos Terêna de Buriti, no lugar chamado "Água Azul", comunidade reconhecida hoje como protestante.

Com referência à composição étnica, pode-se dizer que os Terêna, embora não estejam pròpriamente em minoria, são superados pelo grupo de mestiços, isto é, por aquêles indivíduos cujos pais ou mães não são Terêna "puros". De 211 pessoas recenseadas, 123 são mestiços (frutos de uniões interétnicas ou intertribais), 78 são Terêna "puros" (filhos de pais e mães Terêna), 3 são "purutuya"-brancos, 5 são "purutuya"-negros e apenas 1 Kinikináu (1 não computado). Esclareça-se aqui que "purutuya" é a designação em língua Terêna do "civilizado", seja êle branco ou preto, apesar dêsse têrmo ser um neologismo aplicado inicialmente ao português.

Pode-se dizer que Aldeinha vive em função da cidade de Aquidauana. Mais da metade de seus habitantes trabalham na cidade, isto é, têm ocupações de caráter urbano, enquanto a outra parte se divide em trabalhar na lavoura das fazendas e sítios circunvizinhos, ou, ainda, em seus próprios roçados. A exemplo de Limão Verde, e, naturalmente, em muito maior grau, serve Aldeinha de reserva de mão-de-obra doméstica: quase tôdas as moças da comunidade já foram empregadas nas casas de

família da cidade é constantemente são procuradas na própria aldeia, com oferecimentos de emprêgo.

Como nas demais comunidades de grande contingente protestante, Aldeinha tem sua igreja, relativamente ampla e construída com tijolos. É o melhor edifício da aldeia, para não dizer o único; há apenas outra casa atrás da igreja, que serve para receber hóspedes. As casas ou os ranchos de moradia, mantêm aquêle estilo típico da quase totalidade das aldeias Terêna: "pau-a-pique" e "taipa". Não têm Escola, embora o edifício da Igreja já se tenha prestado para êsse fim. Curioso é que, embora a comunidade mantenha um Professor no lugar chamado "Água Branca", na aldeia do Brejão (P.I. Capitão Vitorino), lamenta não possuir um para ensinar suas prórias crianças... Isso é que se poderia chamar de estratégia na catequese: como em "Água Branca" (e em todo Brejão) não existem "crentes", provàvelmente esperam os líderes de Aldeinha catequisar através do Professor seus "patrícios" do Brejão. As crianças de Aldeinha freqüentam as Escolas Municipais de Aquidauana, embora preferissem estudar em sua própria comunidade, não só por causa da distância, como também pela dificuldade que têm em comprar uniformes e calçados; inúmeros são os casos de ausência às aulas por falta de vestimenta, conforme pudemos presenciar quando de nossas visitas à comunidade. Quanto à *língua*, pode-se dizer que Aldeinha segue o exemplo das comunidades Terêna que mais sofreram o processo de mudança social, refletindo-se isso na perda do idioma tribal, gradativamente, à medida em que se sucedem as gerações.

Brejão ou *Capitão Vitorino*

Brejão ou a aldeia do Capitão Vitorino, como é conhecida, ocupa uma área de 3.904 hectares, devidamente demarcados e com título de 2.800 hectares. A Reserva Indígena fica situada no Município de Nioac, tendo ao norte o rio Urumbeva e a leste a serra do Maracaju. Um documento do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, de 1919, relata que os Terêna do grupo do Capitão Vitorino (tio do atual "Capitão") ocupavam uma área a duas léguas da cidade de Nioac e apresentavam uma população de cêrca de 200 indivíduos, dispersos em 11 ranchos; o mesmo documento estima em 1.000 pessoas o número daquelas que, até aquela época, se

teriam espalhado pelas fazendas do alto da Serra do Maracaju (149). Informa-nos o "Capitão" VITORINO que a atual aldeia do Brejão foi fundada em 1904, quando êle e sua família, à procura de uma área com mata, se retiraram da antiga aldeia Laranjal, próxima da atual e dentro também da Reserva. Diz o "Capitão" — e os documentos o comprovam — que aquela evasão dos mil índios para as fazendas do alto da serra, foi devido à pressão dos fazendeiros vizinhos que por todos os modos queriam tomar conta das terras dos Terêna. Depois de reservada a área, por Decreto de 1922, sòmente em 1925 é que foi fundado o Pôsto Indígena, graças ao Coronel NICOLAU HORTA BARBOSA, na época Inspetor de Mato Grosso. Dados extraídos do relatório anual daquêle Inspetor, correspondente ao ano seguinte à criação do Pôsto, acusam 178 índios, dentre os quais 16 teriam sido aldeados naquêle ano. Começava o afluxo daqueles índios para o Brejão (uma pequena parte) e para as aldeias de Buriti e Francisco Horta, como veremos adiante. Assim, o censo de 1954 iria dar 202 habitantes, um número bem exíguo, considerando-se a grande extensão da Reserva.

Como as demais aldeias Terêna, Brejão está dividida em "bairros": o núcleo central, denominado Pôsto Indígena Capitão Vitorino, é só central porque conta com o edifício do Pôsto, com a igreja católica e com seis casas de índios; no segundo núcleo, chamado aldeia da Água Branca, tem-se o grosso da população da "reserva", podendo-se contar 14 ranchos, às margens do Urumbeva e bastante próximos da antiga aldeia Laranjal. Água Branca é realmente a concentração populacional mais antiga, ultrapassando de muito o outro núcleo, que apenas administrativamente é mais importante por nêle estar construído o Pôsto Indígena. A escola oficial da aldeia funciona no edifício do Pôsto, tem como professôra a filha do Capitão e sòmente a freqüentam as crianças das casas mais próximas. Desta sorte tôda a população infantil e juvenil da Água Branca que, naturalmente, conta com a maioria das crianças da comunidade, está excluída da escola oficial e só é assistida por uma pequena escola particular, dirigida por um "crente" Terêna (150).

---

(149) Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso, Arquivos do S.P.I., de 1919.

(150) A construção dessa Escola em "Água Branca" é recente. Em 1955, quando lá estivemos, havia apenas a Escola do Pôsto, e os moradores do Brejão, de um modo geral, davam a entender que não queriam saber de "crentes". Entretanto, o referido

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

Quanto à composição étnica da comunidade, pode-se dizer que há duas famílias mestiças (Terêna-neobrasileiro), um descendente Guaikurú casado com uma remanescente Kinikináu, uma negra casada com um Terêna e um paraguaio com uma índia Terêna.

Entre a Reserva e Nioac há uma "colônia", Monte Alto, formada em grande parte por elementos paraguaios. Possui uma Escola Rural, com 4 professôres, bem como um "bolicho". À Escola só vão crianças da "colônia", mas o "bolicho" é freqüentado por índios, neobrasileiros e paraguaios. Assim, pois, Monte Alto e Nioac mantêm estreito contato e intensas relações comerciais com a comunidade indígena. Principalmente a Nioac, vendem os índios milho, farinha de mandioca, polvilho, abóbora, melancia, moranga e, às vêzes, rapadura (esta, segundo declaração de um informante Terêna, "não compensa vender, pagam muito pouco"). Além dêsses produtos, a comunidade planta para consumo prório as seguintes espécies: arroz, batata, feijão miúdo, cana e amendoim. E como em tantas aldeias Terêna, o proselitismo religioso é realizado por Padres Redentoristas, sediados em Aquidauana, que uma vez ao mês vão à comunidade rezar missa e ensinar catecismo; mas é preciso que se diga que na Reserva não existe nenhum prédio que possa ser chamado Igreja: as atividades dos padres são realizadas em casas particulares, dos poucos habitantes que se dizem católicos. Quanto aos protestantes, verificamos que apesar das duas tentativas levadas a efeito pela missão Evangélica de Bananal, não há "crentes" no Brejão. Assim, as agências de mudança cultural na comunidade se resumem no Pôsto, pràticamente controlado pelo "Capitão" VITORINO e sua filha, ambos bastante ligados ao sistema de vida regional; o novo professor da escola de Água Branca; os referidos Padres Redentoristas; e, fora da comunidade, mas não menos atuante, Monte Alto e Nioac.

Buriti

Dentre as aldeias Terêna, Buriti é aquela de formação mais recente.

---

grupo de Aldeinha — dirigido pelo velho "Neco" — organizou um "passeio" (têrmo usado pelo informante) a "Água Branca" e, como resultado, foram os visitantes convidados a construir uma Escola naquele lugar. Com 4 homens de Aldeinha e com alguns auxiliares de "Água Branca", levantaram um amplo galpão e nêle deixaram um professor, com um salário de três mil cruzeiros mensais, angariado em Aldeinha nos cultos dominicais!

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

Entretanto, não é fácil precisar a época em que naquele lugar já existiriam índios Terêna. Há indicações de que o lugar chamado Invernada do Buriti, teria sido habitado por índios Ofaié-Xavante (151) que se teriam retirado daquele sítio, provàvelmente devido à pressão dos fazendeiros da região.

É muito possível que a atual aldeia do Buriti tenha sido formada por índios Terêna remanescentes daqueles que durante o conflito com o Paraguai se teriam refugiado no alto da serra do Maracaju (aos quais já nos referimos no capítulo anterior); também é possível que parte dos Terêna de Buriti, ex-componentes do grupo-local do Brejão (ou Laranjal). O certo é que até 1913, na Invernada do Buriti não existia nenhuma aldeia Terêna, como se pode deduzir pelo mapa feito naquela data por Curt Nimuendajú (152). Parece que sòmente a partir de 1920-22 é que começaram a se concentrar naquela área famílias Terêna descidas do alto da serra. Os componentes mais idosos da comunidade, quando entrevistados, foram unânimes em acusar essa época como correspondente à fundação de Buriti. Por outro lado, os primeiros dados fornecidos por Relatórios do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, sôbre a aldeia Buriti, assinalam já em 1923 uma poulação de 420 pessoas, com uma criação de 400 equinos e 180 bovinos (153). Mas sòmente em fins de 1927 é que seria decretada a posse de 2.000 hectares de terras para usufruto dos

---

(151) O Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso, de 1927, diz o seguinte: "No cumprimento do meu dever de Inspetor do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, neste Estado, e para atender aos insistentes pedidos de alguns índios aldeados no lugar denominado Invernada do Buriti, limites da Fazenda de Correntes, Município de Aquidauana, cujo aldeamento ao que informam aí existe há mais de trinta e cinco anos, em terras que afrimam, são de propriedade do Estado, peço-vos de acôrdo com o disposto nos artigos 90 e 95, Cap. VI da consolidação de Terras, Minas e Colonização, Decreto n.º 130, de 4 de junho de 1902, vos digneis mandar reservar para os referidos índios uma área de 4.000 hectares, ou quanto fôr possível, cotejando-se a situação dessas terras, com o mínimo necessário para que tenham algum terreno onde possam viver e trabalhar. Afirma-se que há uma faixa de terras devolutas nos limites da Fazenda Correntes que por ser **habitada pelos índios Xavantes, antecessores dos atuais**, deixou de ser incluída na medição procedida nessa Fazenda em 1896". (o grifo é nosso — RCO) — Para se ter uma idéia da história dêsses Ofaié-Xavante, consulte-se Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

(152) Em 1913, por determinação do Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú organizou um mapa de localização das tribos indígenas do sul de Mato Grosso, cujo original acha-se arquivado na Mapoteca do Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos do S.P.I.).

(153) Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S.P.I., pág. 148, ano 1923.

índios lá localizados. Nessa época chegava à comunidade o atual Capitão de Buriti, JOAQUIM LOUREIRO DE FIGUEIREDO (nome adotado de um antigo patrão, fazendeiro do alto da Serra), hoje quase cego e com oitenta anos de idade; disse-nos êsse Capitão que havia nascido no Brejão (na aldeia Laranjal) e trabalhado quase dez anos nas fazendas do Maracaju. Em 1937, Buriti passava a contar com uma população de 448 indivíduos, distribuídos em 91 ranchos; e seria uma população bem maior, não fôsse o fato da saída de algumas famílias para trabalharem nas fazendas (154). Mas a população não cessou de aumentar, como se pode ver pelo censo de 1946, segundo o qual existiam em Buriti, 476 indivíduos, sendo que, em 1954, outro censo já dava 483 habitantes na aldeia.

A aldeia do Buriti é formada por três núcleos poulacionais que se apresentam como três unidades de vizinhança distintas: a) Buriti, pròpriamente dita, onde se encontra o Pôsto Indígena, a casa do Capitão, a Escola do Pôsto e a Igreja católica, bem como uma dezena de ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, a sudeste do núcleo central, com uma população distribuída em ranchos localizados numa área de roçados e de invernada para gado; c) Água Azul, núcleo mais novo, cujos componentes são em sua maioria "crentes" e acham-se situados bem ao sul do núcleo de Buriti, junto à divisa da Reserva (o fazendeiro vizinho à aldeia, doou a uma missão protestante um lote de terras, bem na divisa com Água Azul, onde os missionários edificaram uma igreja e uma escola, especialmente para os índios da Reserva). O resultado disto foi a repetição em Buriti dos mesmos processos de divisão da comunidade indígena que ocorreram em Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde e, como veremos adiante, em Francisco Horta.

---

(154) O Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, do ano 1937, diz o seguinte: "Antes (de 1937) o número de habitantes era maior, mas algumas famílias se retiraram em busca de trabalho, a fim de adquirir o necessário, como gêneros e roupas. A falta de ferramentas para lavoura, contribuiu para a retirada dessas famílias". E não se pode dizer que tenha sido pequena a saída de índios de Buriti, quando vemos que já em 1926 havia naquela comunidade 450 pessoas, morando em 52 casas, segundo Relatório da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso, naquele ano. Vemos que de 1923 a 1926, três anos depois aumentava de 30 indivíduos a população da aldeia; e de 1926 a 1937, além de diminuir ligeiramente a população, verificamos um aumento bastante grande no número de ranchos: de 52 passou-se para 91 — o que demonstra que uma quantidade bem maior de indivíduos seria necessária para habitar tão grande número de moradias, e que em 1937 grande parte daqueles ranchos estariam desocupados.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

Há, pois, duas escolas na comunidade: uma do Pôsto, leiga, embora reconhecida pelos índios como de orientação católica; outra, da missão evangélica, junto a Água Azul. Houve época em que por falta de professor na escola oficial, foi convidado para ministrar aulas o Capitão de Água Azul, o líder protestante BENEDITO REGINALDO; mas não deu certo: o "professor" levava os alunos a entoar hinos religiosos, no que foi severamente criticado pelo Encarregado do Pôsto que não podia permitir que a Escola do S.P.I. tivesse conteúdo religioso, fôsse católico ou protestante. Além dêsses focos de mudança cultural, isto é, das escolas, do próprio Pôsto, da missão e dos padres católicos que vez por outra visitam Buriti, temos as fazendas circunvizinhas e os "bolichos". Quanto às fazendas, assinale-se que em nossa estada em Água Azul não encontramos nenhum adulto homem na comunidade; todos estavam trabalhando nas fazendas e retornariam à aldeia sòmente ao fim do dia. E no que diz respeito aos "bolichos", pudemos registrar quatro dêles na bôca de quatro das estradas que ligam a Reserva ao exterior; na quinta estrada, localizava-se a já referida Missão Evangélica. Assim, das 5 vias de acesso à comunidade indígena, 4 são controladas por "bolichos" e uma por missionários.

Mas as relações da aldeia não se acham limitadas aos referidos "Bolichos" e à Missão. A quatro léguas de Buriti encontra-se a vila de Sidrolândia, com umas poucas casas de comércio, uma farmácia, a Prefeitura e uma modesta pensão. Entre Sidrolândia e Buriti, a uma légua desta última, existe uma pequena povoação de neobrasileiros, chamada Barro Preto, provàvelmente por causa da grande umidade de suas terras, bastante escuras e próprias para lavoura. Em Barro Prêto e em Sidrolândia os índios da comunidade mantêm contatos regulares, só não comerciando com elas devido à insuficiente produção de gêneros na Reserva. Haja vista que a maior produção de Buriti é a farinha de mandioca que, no entanto, não supera as necessidades de seu consumo interno. Buriti é uma comunidade das mais dependentes do mercado de trabalho regional; a grande quantidade de gado da aldeia, não pertence aos índios, mas sim ao Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, que naturalmente não precisa de mais de cinco peões para cuidar das reses, dando emprêgo, portanto, a muito pouca gente. (Dêsse gado os índios usufruem o leite e, mais raramente, carne — pois não é sempre que se abate uma rês).

ROBERTO CARDOSÒ DE OLIVEIRA

Francisco Horta

A Reserva de 3.600 hectares, supervisionada pelo Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, é ocupada preponderantemente por índios Guarani, do sub-grupo Kaiwá, que se distribuem em três dos quatro núcleos populacionais da aldeia: a) o núcleo central ou Aldeia Farinha Sêca, onde fica a moradia do "Capitão" Kaiwá, João Fernandes, localizada nas proximidades do Pôsto Indígena e onde habita a maioria da população Kaiwá; b) a Aldeia Bororó, como denominam uma concentração de 177 índios Kaiwá, às margens do córrego São Domingos e que possui um chefe próprio, o "Capitão" Ireno Isnardi; c) também a Aldeia Proterito, subjacente à anterior, formada por apenas 4 ranchos, com 10 habitantes Kaiwá, às margens do córrego do mesmo nome; finalmente d) o quarto núcleo, denominado Jaguapiru, é constituído exclusivamente por famílias Terêna que compreendem cêrca de 180 pessoas, habitando ranchos ao longo do córrego Saltino ou Jaguapiru.

Por decreto de 1917, assinado pelo Presidente do Estado de Mato Grosso, o Govêrno doou aquelas terras ao grupo-local Kaiwá, que naquela época era formado por cêrca de 550 indivíduos. Parece que sòmente depois de 1917 é que começaram a chegar à Reserva famílias Terêna, provenientes do alto da serra do Maracaju. Tudo indica que as primeiras famílias foram atraídas para lá pelo Coronel de Engenharia Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, então Inspetor daquela região, com o objetivo de estimular a lavoura Kaiwá pela reconhecida eficiência do trabalho Terêna. As famílias, que continuariam a chegar a Francisco Horta, seriam atraídas por seus parentes, que muito bem se acomodaram junto dos Kaiwá.

Dentre as agências de mudança cultural das comunidades Terêna e Kaiwá, registramos o Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, edificado entre 1924-25, bem como sua Escola, tendo atualmente como sua professôra uma missionária da vizinha "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; a própria Missão Protestante, com sua bem aparelhada enfermaria, creche para crianças órfãs, Igreja e escola, tôdas essas dependências localizadas num lote de terras junto à entrada da Reserva; vários "bolichos" situados nas principais vias de acesso à aldeia; as fazendas da região, caracterizadas pela indústria da erva-mate e para cuja extração trabalham paraguaios e

índios Kaiwá, de Francisco Horta; e, naturalmente, a cidade de Dourados, distante apenas cinco quilômetros.

Como conseqüência do trabalho persistente dos missionários, quase tôda a comunidade Terêna se diz protestante. Por outro lado, as espaçadas visitas que fazem à Reserva os padres católicos de Dourados, não são suficientes para atrair os Kaiwá, cuja vitalidade religiosa tão bem analisada por SCHADEN (155), os mantem prêsos às suas tradições. E como resultado do proselitismo protestante, nota-se em Francisco Horta — como nas demais comunidades indígenas em que se instalaram elementos "crentes" — certa tensão social, manifestada na discriminação dos indivíduos não-protestantes pelos que se dizem "crentes", sejam índios Terêna ou sejam Kaiwá. Pelo que pudemos verificar quando de nossa permanência na Missão — onde ficamos cinco dias —, os vínculos religiosos eram mais fortes entre Terêna e Kaiwá, do que os de tribo; isto é, todos os "crentes", excluindo sua origem tribal ou étnica, uniam-se contra os que não professavam o mesmo credo.

Mas se fôssemos comparar a população Terêna com a Kaiwá, em Francisco Horta, esta última deixaria muito a desejar, em têrmos de desenvolvimento econômico. Realmente é bastante grande a diferença; as famílias Terêna ostentam um nível de vida razoável, tendo por base bons roçados e regular comércio com Dourados, além de casas muito bem construídas, à semelhança de moradias neobrasileiras da região; enquanto isso os Kaiwá se apresentam bastante mais pobres, maltrapilhos e com uma produção agrícola que mal chega para seu próprio consumo, obrigando-os a se empregarem na indústria da erva-mate ou realizar qualquer trabalho nas fazendas da região.

Como conclusão dêste capítulo, em que tentamos analisar do ponto de vista ecológico a atual configuração e distribuição dos grupos-locais Terêna, poderíamos dizer que tôdas as comunidades estudadas se caracterizam por estarem voltadas para o exterior: não só pelo fato dos Terêna procurarem colocar no mercado regional tôda sua produção (deixando uma pequena parte para consumo próprio), como também, e sobretudo, por seu engajamento às fazendas, onde encontram a sua principal fonte de renda. Vimos nessa análise sucinta como são raros os

(155) Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

casos de famílias Terêna auto-suficientes, entendendo-se por isso o fato de não precisarem para sua sobrevivência de trabalhar fora de suas terras. A quase totalidade da população útil (de 20 a 50 anos) acha-se ligada ao mercado de trabalho regional, embora como um contingente móvel. Isso permite-nos afirmar que ocorre aqui um fenômeno de *integração econômica* no mais alto grau, quando comparamos os Terêna com outros grupos tribais também "integrados à sociedade brasileira" (156), mas nem porisso por ela *assimilados*. No caso particular das comunidades Terêna acima caracterizadas, verifica-se que seus componentes continuam de tal forma a elas ligados que nada indica que possam ser assimilados à sociedade regional, em futuro previsível. Mecanismos psicológicos e sociais impedem que o processo de assimilação evolua de uma maneira positiva. Mas antes de tratarmos dêsses mecanismos, devemos dizer mais alguma coisa sôbre essas comunidades, analisando-as no próximo capítulo, em têrmos de suas variações sócio-culturais. Isso completará a nossa idéia a respeito das condições de existência dos Terêna atuais, aldeados.

---

(156) Usamos o conceito de "integrados" para caraterizar uma situação final de um *continuum* em cujo extremo oposto estão os grupos "isolados" e, como situações intermediárias, estão as tribos que mantêm "contato intermitente" e as de "contato permanente" com a sociedade nacional. Essas quatro situações foram conceituadas por Darcy Ribeiro (1957:7-14) pelo exame do "comportamento" dos grupos indígenas brasileiros nos últimos cinqüenta anos, quanto ao modo e ao ritmo de conservação, descaracterização ou desaparecimento de suas línguas e culturas". (Idem:5) O critério usado foi "a comparação sistemática da situação em que se encontravam os grupos indígenas brasileiros na passagem do século, com a situação em que se encontram hoje, quanto ao grau de integração na sociedade nacional e, correlativamente, a conservação ou perda da autonomia cultural e linguística". (Ibidem). Assim, "integrados" são os grupos que "tendo experimentado tôdas as compulsões referidas e conseguido sobreviver, chegaram ao século XX ilhados em meio à população nacional, a cuja vida econômica se haviam incorporado como reserva de mão de obra ou como produtores especializados de certos artigos para comércio". (Ibidem:13).

VI — VARIAÇÕES SÓCIO-CULTURAIS ENTRE AS COMUNIDADES TERÊNA

O presente capítulo será dedicado à análise das variações sócio-culturais entre as comunidades Terêna, numa tentativa de compreender o comportamento, as expectativas e as reivindicações de seus componentes. De uma maneira concreta, queremos saber qual o padrão de conduta (157) do Terêna atual e como êle se configura nas diversas comunidades por nós visitadas. No capítulo precedente, deixamos bastante claro a variedade de configurações e a sensível diferenciação existente entre as comunidades, no que se refere, por exemplo, à *composição étnica*, ou, mesmo, à própria *antiguidade*.

Tomando-se a primeira variável, teríamos, de um lado, as seguintes aldeias: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti e Brejão, como comunidades ètnicamente homogêneas, constituídas por mais de 90% de indivíduos Terêna; de outro lado, teríamos Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde e Aldeinha (158), constituídas por remanescentes de grupos já extintos, como os Kinikináu, Layâna e Guaikuru, ou por indivíduos Guarani ou Paraguaios, onde os Terêna estariam em minoria ou em número equivalente aos demais. Nessas últimas comunidades teria de se considerar, ainda, o índice de mestiços — frutos de uniões interétnicas ou intertribais —, que em certas aldeias são de grande importância para uma caracterização sócio-cultural.

Quanto à segunda variável, poderíamos considerar um "gradient"

---

(157) Usamos conduta como um conceito intermediário entre "sociedade" e "indivíduo" e que opera "nesta área estratégica onde o comportamento individual torna-se conduta social". (Nadel, 1957:20).

(158) Pode-se incluir nessa mesma categoria a aldeia São João: de índios Terêna, Kinikináu e grande número de mestiços.

em que teríamos num extremo Cachoeirinha, Ipegue e Bananal e, noutro Buriti, Aldeinha e União, sem esquecer a "comunidade" Terêna de Francisco Horta, cujos componentes teriam chegado àquela aldeia Guarani não antes de 1917. O tempo de formação da aldeia assume grande relevância na presente investigação, porquanto ajuda a compreender a maior ou menor resistência das comunidades à mudança. As comunidades mais antigas, como aquelas acima referidas, demonstraram maior vitalidade cultural, revelando menor índice de deculturação em comparação com as mais novas, cujos componentes tiveram uma experiência mais longa de vida não-comunitária, engajados que estavam às grandes fazendas da região. A alta mobilidade dêsses índios, circulando de fazenda em fazenda, não permitia um convívio mais permanente entre as famílias, necessário para que se estabelecesse maior solidariedade grupal e que se mantivesse vivo o "nós" tribal. Poucas foram as famílias que permaneceram juntas, por um largo período, numa "colônia" de fazenda; mesmo porque, aquelas que teriam permanecido, não chegaram a abandonar as fazendas, em busca de "terra própria": continuaram estabelecidas em sua própria "comunidade", uma vez que nela encontravam o suficiente "consenso tribal", completado por um mercado de trabalho sempre garantido. É o caso, por exemplo, da "colônia" Terêna da Fazenda do Sr. Raymundo Correia, em Duque Estrada, constituída por seis ranchos e um número apreciável de crianças cursando a Escola da povoação. Entretanto, a grande maioria das fazendas proporcionava as piores condições possíveis de trabalho, onde o indivíduo percebia, em mercadoria, o mínimo necessário para sua sobrevivência, enquanto mão-de-obra, fato êste explicativo de sua alta mobilidade.

Apesar das diferenças apontadas no capítulo anterior e passíveis — como estamos vendo — de classificação em categorias polares, nota-se uma sensível uniformidade cultural quando tomamos a população Terêna como um todo. Há um denominador comum que nos permite olhar os grupos-locais como constituídos por uma população relativamente homogênea do ponto de vista cultural. Pode-se dizer que o patrimônio cultural Terêna se conformou à variedade de situações de contato interétnico e intertribal, sem por isso apresentar maiores diferenças no que concerne ao padrão de conduta. Êste parece haver se mantido relativamente constante no conjunto das comunidades, sem que, com isso,

queira-se dizer que essa conduta tenha ficado imune a condições tão objetivas, como a situação político-religiosa da aldeia ou à intervenção exterior, representada pelo Serviço de Proteção aos Índios e pelas Missões Religiosas. A intervenção exterior e a situação político-religiosa não chegam, entretanto, a determinar um desvio tão significativo das normas vigentes (no universo Terêna), a ponto de se acreditar existir duas ou mais sub-culturas Terêna. Isso se tornará mais claro, à medida em que formos analisando as variações sócio-culturais mais relevantes, i.é, aquelas que resultaram da ação das agências de mudança cultural que com mais vigor atuaram na configuração de cada comunidade.

A atuação do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, embora seja pràticamente a mesma em relação às aldeias Terêna possuidoras de Pôsto Indígena, difere consideràvelmente em relação às aldeias sem Pôsto, naquelas em que, por diversas razões, não pôde o S.P.I. se instalar ou nelas tenha se instalado de uma maneira precária. Nessa última situação, acha-se a aldeia de Passarinho e, com ela, Moreira, nas circunstâncias referidas no capítulo anterior; na primeira situação, pode-se registrar Limão Verde, Aldeinha e União, sendo as duas últimas propriedades particulares, e a primeira uma aldeia cujas terras, ainda não demarcadas ou reservadas, não motivaram a administração do S.P.I. a construir um Pôsto e nêle localizar um Encarregado. Por êsse motivo, essas cinco comunidades quase não participam da ação protecionista do Govêrno, ficando à margem da já débil assistência recebida pelas demais aldeias (159).

Nas aldeias em que o S.P.I. está localizado, a impressão que se tem é de que muito pouco se cuida da economia comunitária, i.é, dos próprios índios, preterindo-a a favor — do que chamaremos — a economia do Pôsto. Não vamos entrar aqui no mérito desta "política", desde que não

(159) Quando uma vez, perguntamos a um Encarregado sôbre o alheiamento em que êle ficava a respeito de uma dessas aldeias — até certo ponto próximas de seu Pôsto —, respondeu-nos que nada tinha a ver com aquêles índios, uma vez que não eram de sua aldeia. — É claro que tal atitude não passa despercebida pelas comunidades que não tiveram a graça de receber um Pôsto, que, mal ou bem, supervisionasse a vida na Reserva. Embora isso não seja das normas administrativas do S.P.I., não se tem podido evitar essa deformação a que grande parte dos Encarregados está sujeita. O caso mais evidente é o da aldeia União que, pelo fato de não ser uma Reserva, mas um sítio particular, adquirido pelos próprios índios, — não recebe a mínima assistência; e mesmo, pode-se dizer, é muito mal vista pela grande maioria dos funcionários do S.P.I.

sabemos até onde ela reflete as diretrizes fornecidas pela administração central, do Rio de Janeiro, ou regional, da Inspetoria, em Campo Grande. A verdade é que existe uma preocupação muito grande sôbre a produção do Pôsto, i.é, daquela decorrente do trabalho financiado pelo S.P.I., seja no que se refere às roças, ao tratamento do gado ou à extração de madeira ou casca de angico. Êsse trabalho é normalmente realizado pelos próprios índios, especialmente pagos para isso, sem excluir, todavia, a contratação de um "purutuya", quase sempre na qualidade de empregado do Pôsto. Explicam os Encarregados que essa produção é revertida em melhoramentos para o Pôsto e para a Aldeia, ficando ainda parte dela reservada àquelas famílias cujos responsáveis, por motivo de moléstia, não as possam sustentar (160).

Há Postos, por exemplo, que se caracterizam por possuirem bons rebanhos, de gado vacum, como Lalima, Buriti e Brejão, enqtanto os outros têm sua economia voltada para a agricultura, com seus roçados de arroz, cana e mandioca, e tentativas com pequenos cafèzais, de formação recente. Cachoeirinha pode ser tomada como a mais representativa dêste último tipo. Quanto à extração do angico, em terras da Reserva, ou da própria lenha, com finalidades comerciais, varia de acôrdo com a administração central, do Rio de Janeiro que, ora a permite, ora a proíbe, alegando, neste segundo caso, a defesa do patrimônio indígena. O certo é que esta atividade extrativa não chega a constituir uma fonte de renda regular para o Pôsto ou para os índios.

Em relação à economia da comunidade indígena pròpriamente dita, as diferenças referentes aos sistemas de produção não são tão grandes, de molde a estabelecer tipos diversos de comunidade. Pode-se dizer, mesmo, que pouco ou quase nada o gado de Buriti, por exemplo, ou os roçados de arroz de Cachoeirinha, chegaram a determinar o caráter da produção indígena das respectivas comunidades. Poucas são as famílias

(160) Isso traduzia mais um desejo dos funcionários do que uma realidade. Em primeiro lugar, porque a produção, com raras exceções, era relativamente inexpressiva, muitas vêzes quase inexistente; em segundo lugar, porque nem sempre a importância resultante da produção era aplicada na própria aldeia ou Pôsto, sendo canalizada para o Rio de Janeiro, onde ficava depositada, na qualidade de Renda Indígena, a ser aplicada na assistência ao índio de um modo geral, a critério da Diretoria do S.P.I. Por êsses motivos, o índio jamais participava dêsse trabalho com entusiasmo, uma vez que raramente se beneficiava da renda auferida pelo Pôsto.

que se beneficiam da produção do Pôsto, seja por receberem sementes em quantidades apreciáveis, seja por contarem com reprodutores de boa raça para melhorar seu lote de reses. A grande maioria da população fica à margem do programa econômico do Pôsto. E o que caracteriza as famílias é o se dedicarem ao trabalho em roças próprias (mandioca doce e amarga, feijão miúdo e, algumas vêzes, arroz) que nem mesmo são suficientes para a subsistência familiar, completada, sòmente, com o emprêgo dos homens no mercado de trabalho regional. Como pudemos ver no capítulo V, pelo exame individual das comunidades, a grande maioria das famílias Terêna, não importando a que aldeias elas pertençam, supre suas necessidades mais elementares, combinando o produto de seus roçados com o dinheiro ganho fora da Reserva, seja cuidando do gado ou da tropa de fazendeiros da região, seja no trabalho agrícola, cada vez mais requisitado — na proporção em que o café se impõe aos médios e pequenos sitiantes vizinhos —, ou seja na indústria extrativa, onde os Terêna se apresentam como peritos na difícil arte de extrair a casca de angico sem estragá-la (161). Além dessas atividades, há ainda aquelas ligadas às cidades, às quais se dedica um número ponderável de índios de aldeias como Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde e, em menor grau, de Cachoeirinha, Ipegue e Bananal, aldeias próximas que são de Miranda e Aquidauana.

Essa situação — de homogeneidade da economia Terêna, vista em têrmos gerais — não exclui, entretanto, a existência de algumas famílias indígenas pràticamente "auto-suficientes", i.é, famílias que, funcionando como uma eficiente unidade de produção, dispensam a oferta de trabalho vinda do exterior. A média dessas famílias, por aldeia, não ultrapassa a duas. Nesse caso, vai importar o caráter da produção do Pôsto, não tanto por êste ser causa do tipo de produção desenvolvido por essas famílias, mas simplesmente por coincidirem as duas economias, uma vez que ambas sofrem o mesmo condicionamento ecológico. Assim temos em Lalima e Brejão, Reservas com excelentes pastagens, famílias Terêna com um rebanho suficientemente grande para permitir uma relativa independência

(161) Excluímos a extração da erva mate, em virtude de nela não trabalharem índios Terêna. Haja vista Francisco Horta, em Dourados, zona ervateira, cuja comunidade Terêna mantém-se alheia àquela indústria, enquanto os Kaiwá encontram nela sua principal atividade produtiva.

econômica (162). Em Bananal e em Cachoeirinha, ainda se poderia encontrar, até bem pouco tempo, uma ou duas famílias vivendo sòmente à custa de seu rebanho bovino; todavia, a falta de água e o empobrecimento cada vez maior dos pastos, tornaram impossível que aquelas famílias permanecessem na aldeia, enquanto dedicadas à lida do gado. Uma família de Bananal e outra de Cchoeirinha acabaram por abandonar a aldeia, a primeira vendendo seu rebanho e passando a morar em Campo Grande, como proprietária de uma casa comercial, e a segunda, arrendando campos de fazendeiros vizinhos e nêles engordando suas reses. Essas duas aldeias, como as demais não possuidoras de boas pastagens e, principalmente, de fartura de água, caracterizam-se por sua atividade agrícola e tornam possível a umas poucas famílias obterem todos os recursos necessários à sua subsistência nos roçados de arroz, milho, cana, mandioca e feijão miúdo, para citar apenas as principais espécies cultivadas.

As diferenças mais significativas entre as comunidades Terêna devem ser procuradas, entretanto, no plano associativo, pois nêle é que se reflete o impacto mais violento — e relativamente recente — sofrido por êsses índios diante da sociedade regional.

Referimo-nos especialmente à atuação das missões religiosas protestantes. Estas, como uma instituição nova — pois que passava a agir numa região tradicionalmente trabalhada por missionários católicos, entravam nas aldeias Terêna numa situação altamente competitiva, na medida em que tinham por objetivo a conversão daqueles índios que se diziam católicos, mais por fôrça de hábito do que, pròpriamente, por mais intensa e eficiente do que a católica, os missionários protestantes chegaram a organizar grupos de índios relativamente imbuídos da doutrina e da prática do evangelho, através dos quais passaram a converter, em certas aldeias, um número ponderável de indivíduos, a ponto de criar certa hostilidade entre os protestantes-convertidos e os não-protestantes ou católicos (163). Típica neste sentido, é a aldeia de Bananal, seguindo-se de perto Limão Verde, Buriti e Moreira-Passarinho. Nessas aldeias, pode-se dizer que ocorreu uma divisão das respectivas comunidades em

(162) Buriti, apesar de seu caráter pastoril, não conta com nenhuma família indígena possuidora de lotes razoáveis de reses, que lhe permita relativa independência econômica, a exemplo das de Lalima e Brejão.

(163) Consulte-se Rattray-Hay, opus cit.

[facing p. 104-A]

Criança Terêna, assustada com a "Rolley Flex" do autor (1955)

[facing P. 104-B]

Jovem mulher Terêna, com seu filho (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

dois grupos: o "católico" e o "protestante". E usamos os têrmos entre aspas, em virtude do mecanismo que promove o acesso a cada um dos grupos ser, provàvelmente, tão político quanto religioso. Esclareça-se, contudo, que não se está desprezando outras agências de mudança cultural, como o Pôsto Indígena e a Escola, por êle controlada, como elementos atuantes no processo de conversão, seja de uma maneira positiva ou negativa. Não há dúvida que essas agências formam, ao lado das Missões, um único e peculiar instrumento de mudança. Sòmente por um esfôrço de abstração do pesquisador, identificando cada uma das agências como variáveis de um mesmo complexo, torna-se possível diferenciar quais os elementos que compõem êsse instrumento. Assim, poder-se-ia dizer com MAYER FORTES que "a conversão de um indivíduo ou um grupo representa freqüentemente a culminação de um processo levado a efeito pelo complexo total de influências de contato, do qual a missão é apenas um único componente" (164).

Mas o que se está tratando aqui, no momento, é do resultado da atividade das Missões, e que nem sempre é compatível com suas expectativas de conversão. Nesse sentido, o que parece existir é uma contradição entre as demais agências, ao menos no que se refere à conversão protestante. Na maioria dos casos, ou das aldeias, nota-se certa incompatibilidade entre funcionários do S.P.I. (Pôsto e Escola) e missionários evangélicos; o que já não ocorre com os padres Redentoristas que se não são estimulados ao proselitismo, ao menos não encontram obstáculos. Essa discriminação às Missões protestantes parece dever-se a duas razões básicas: a primeira pelo fato de lutar contra uma ideologia religiosa já arraigada na população neobrasileira e indígena, que é um misto de catolicismo, espiritismo e crenças e práticas tribais; a segunda pela maior operatividade dos missionários protestantes, maior agressividade de ação nas Reservas, chegando êles a ponto de utilizarem alto-falante para a propaganda do Evangelho (com música e perorações); isto tudo combinado com uma organização bastante eficiente, levando os "crentes" a uma vida de grupo mais intensa, através dos vários cultos realizados nas semanas, e do preparo de índios para desempenharem funções de proselitismo. Não é difícil prever o quanto

(164) 1938:67.

isso é incômodo para o Encarregado de Pôsto: além da "perturbação" da rotina da aldeia, os "crentes" representam o elemento "revolucionário" na comunidade, não tanto por serem os mais reivindicativos, mas, sobretudo por sua maior organização, que vem permitir um intenso e contínuo contrôle das atividades do Pôsto.

Essa situação de tensão que se cria entre os missionários evangélicos e os funcionários do S.P.I., naturalmente não deixa de se refletir na forma de conversão. Noutras palavras, os indivíduos que passam do grupo "católico" ao "protestante" ou vice-versa, são em regra levados por uma multiplicidade de razões, das quais apenas uma teria conteúdo religioso. Muitos casos pudemos registrar, de indivíduos (e mesmo famílias inteiras) que adotaram a *outra* religião, por questões de desavenças na comunidade, cujos adversários ou eram líderes ou desfrutavam de um "status" importante no grupo a que êles pertenciam e que como represália deixavam. Mais comum, ainda, era a canalização para o grupo "protestante" dos descontentes com a administração do Pôsto. Mas o que se deve acentuar é que nem por isso êsses indivíduos continuavam necessàriamente no novo grupo político-religioso de adoção, desde que na primeira oportunidade novamente mudavam de categoria, passando com relativa facilidade de um para outro grupo, de acôrdo com a conjuntura política do momento. Há outros casos, menos freqüentes entretanto, em que o móvel da mudança de "ideologia religiosa" era muito mais prosáico, como a simples vontade de beber cachaça: a expressa proibição aos protestantes de tomar bebida alcoólica, criava situações em que um protestante-convertido (e ainda não muito integrado na nova crença) deixava de sê-lo quando lhe vinha o desejo de beber; então tínhamos o fato curioso de indivíduos permanecerem um ano num grupo religioso (no caso o protestante) e passar alguns meses no outro grupo, enquanto durasse sua vontade de se embriagar! Em suma, nas quatro aldeias mencionadas, em que os missionários protestantes conseguiram introduzir a "nova crença", o resultado foi a divisão da comunidade em dois grupos politicamente distintos. E, em duas delas, pelo menos, o que agravou essa divisão foi a própria atuação dos Encarregados dos Postos que tomaram o partido de um dos grupos (geralmente dos "católicos"), dificultando ainda mais a acomodação dêles entre si. Êsse caráter de

partido, preponderando no recrutamento de indivíduos em quaisquer dos grupos, demonstra o ralo conteúdo religioso que ambos possuíam (165).

Por êsse motivo, não caberia aqui dizer — como o fêz REDFIELD em relação a Chan Kom — que a introdução do protestantismo teria resultado numa nova sub-cultura: a dos protestantes conversos (166). Além dos aspectos acima ressaltados, acresce que os Terêna — e poderíamos estender a observação aos demais grupos Guaná, na medida em que nos permite o material bibliográfico —, nunca demonstraram maior religiosidade, tão característica em seus vizinhos Guarani (167). Excluindo-se os seus rituais xamanísticos — atualmente reduzidos a mera técnica de combater doenças —, a pobreza do cerimonial e das crenças num mundo extra-terreno é flagrante. É certo que os Terêna têm mais de um século de contato sistemático com missões católicas, mas é certo também que os Guarani têm mais do que isso e, não obstante, revelaram uma vitalidade religiosa muito maior. Infelizmente não possuímos dados que nos permitam comparar a ação religiosa, protestante ou católica, exercida entre os grupos Guarani, com a exercida entre os Terêna. Mas, a se julgar pelos trabalhos de CURT NIMUENDAJU e de EGON SCHADEN, a cultura Guarani se caracteriza mesmo pela importância em que nela assume o sistema religioso e pelo alto misticismo de seus membros. O que precisamente, não ocorre entre os Terêna. Entre êstes, as religiões cristãs penetraram mas de uma maneira muito mais formal — através de seus cerimoniais — do que como instrumentos novos de interpretação do mundo. Nesse sentido, os Terêna demonstraram muito realismo, a ponto de não substituirem seu sistema tradicional de crenças pela cosmogonia cristã, quando aquêle se quebrou. A impressão que se tem, depois de conviver com êles alguns meses, é de que pouco se preocupam com o sobrenatural e, mesmo, em muito menor grau do que o caboclo da

(165) Altenfelder da Silva, em seu trabalho sôbre Bananal, refere-se à inconsistência religiosa dêsses grupos, sentida inclusive pelos próprios missionários que comentavam que "os índios são inconstantes e fracos na sua fé" (1943:359).

(166) Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

(167) Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170. Por outro lado, ao contrário do que ocorre em várias tribos brasileiras como os Borôro ou os próprios Guarani, em cujas culturas a religião é um símbolo de identidade tribal, entre os Terêna se pode dizer que o antigo corpo de crenças parece não haver sobrevivido ao impacto com a sociedade euro-americana.

região. Exceção, talvez, de uns poucos indivíduos, "crentes", para a maioria as novas religiões representaram apenas uma capa, alguma coisa exterior à consciência individual, válida como fonte de "status" e de papéis que melhor viessem ajustar os indivíduos às novas situações criadas pelas comunidades em mudança (168).

Muito se poderia dizer sôbre a conduta religiosa dos Terêna e sôbre o sincretismo que nos revela o seu atual corpo de crenças. No entanto, não é aconselhável estendermo-nos sôbre o assunto, desde que os dados que possuímos sôbre as aldeias a êsse respeito são muito desiguais, não permitindo uma análise comparativa. A disparidade entre o material obtido em Cachoeirinha — para citarmos a comunidade escolhida para uma investigação em profundidade e que será objeto de um trabalho especial em confronto com os dados registrados nas demais aldeias, tornaria ociosa qualquer tentativa neste sentido. É suficiente para nós ter em mente que, não penetrando a fundo na cultura Terêna os complexos religiosos cristãos, a conduta dêsses índios não foi muito afetada, a não ser se se considera como relevante a aceitação por parte dos "crentes" de certas regras de comportamento, como o não beber, não fumar e não dançar, coisa que também não é difícil de se encontrar entre os próprios "católicos" ou os sem-religião. Daí, não encontrarmos duas condutas realmente distintas, geradas pela atuação das diferentes missões. Uns e outros, em maior ou em menor grau, freqüentam as práticas xamanísticas e comparecem às festividades religiosas e profanas que marcam a vida da comunidade. Nos dias de São João, São Sebastião, Santo Antônio e São Benedito, tôda a população participa da parte profana das comemorações; o mesmo se pode dizer do "Oheokoti" e da Semana Santa, atualmente confundidos num só conjunto de cerimoniais, aparecendo num mesmo plano os elementos cristãos, os pagãos e as práticas profanas.

---

(168) A cada um dos grupos corresponde um estereótipo: o "católico" é considerado vagabundo, beberrão e farrista; o "protestante", como sendo piedoso, trabalhador e honesto. Isto é como pensa o "crente" de si mesmo e dos "católicos". Já o "católico", embora não negando que grande parte dos seus bebe muito, acredita que trabalham muito mais do que os "crentes", uma vez que êsses "vivem no culto e só pedem esmolas e não levam a vida a sério". Parece que a diferença básica entre êles é que a maior parte dos "crentes" sabe ler e escrever — porque são estimulados a isso para poder estudar a Bíblia, enquanto os "católicos" não possuem semelhante estímulo. Essa diferença caracteriza a própria intervenção religiosa: os missionários protestantes muito mais preocupados com a alfabetização do que os padres Redentoristas.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERÊNA

Tomando-se por base a complexa situação político-religiosa criada pela diversidade de motivações que atuaram na conversão dos Terêna, podemos classificar suas aldeias em três grupos: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue e Brejão, como aldeias onde o proselitismo evangélico não foi bem sucedido, continuando seus habitantes a se considerar "católicos" (169); b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti e Moreira-Passarinho (170), na condição de comunidades pràticamente divididas em dois grupos político-religiosas divergentes; e c) União, Aldeinha e Francisco Horta, na categoria de comunidades "protestantes", em face da totalidade (ou da quase totalidade) de seus membros já haverem adotado o "novo credo" ou, ainda, que êste esteja em processo de adoção (171), sem chegar por isso a cindir a comunidade em dois grupos religiosos antagônicos.

As variações sócio-culturais até aqui indicadas serviram para mostrar que a população Terêna, aldeada, malgrado as diferentes configurações e a diversidade de experiências que sofreu, manteve em seu conjunto, uma *conduta* relativamente constante. Mas se essa conduta chegou a revelar estilos diferentes (como a atitude piedosa dos "crentes" ou o comportamento mais livre dos "católicos"), isso não significa que ela possa refletir uma variação tal, a ponto de considerarmos como legítima a existência de duas ou mais sub-culturas Terêna surgidas como resultado do processo de aculturação. Isso, acreditamos, ficou suficientemente demonstrado.

Todavia, o trabalho não alcançaria seus objetivos se não considerás-

---

(169) Nessas aldeias como nas demais — exceção feita a União, Aldeinha e Francisco Horta — os Terêna recebem visitas dos padres católicos norte americanos, da Ordem dos Redentoristas, sediados nas principais cidades da região.

(170) Estamos considerando, para efeito de análise, Passarinho e Moreira, como constituindo uma só comunidade, enquanto ocupam pràticamente uma única Reserva (Cf. capítulo V).

(171) Tais comunidades se caracterizam também por apresentarem um nível de vida sensivelmente mais alto que os apresentados pelas comunidades restantes. Contudo, nada nos autoriza a estabelecer uma correlação causal entre o "protestantismo" e o desenvolvimento econômico. Outras variáveis mereceriam ser consideradas, como a competição Terêna-Kaiwá, em Francisco Horta, ou a necessidade de auto-suficiência do grupo de União, em virtude do completo desinterêsse por parte do S.P.I. quanto aos destinos da pequena e independente comunidade. Por outro lado, fomos encontrar no núcleo "protestante" de Água Azul, na Reserva Buriti, o índice mais baixo de nível de vida, ao mesmo tempo em que verificávamos em Bananal que as famílias mais ricas eram "católicas" ou já desfrutavam de boas condições econômicas quando se converteram ao protestantismo.

semos outra face do problema da interação dos Terêna com a sociedade brasileira do sul de Mato Grosso: a *mobilidade* de uma parte da população Terêna que, através de indivíduos isolados ou famílias, abandonam suas aldeias de origem e passam a viver em cidades como Miranda, Aquidauana e Campo Grande. Nada foi dito ainda sôbre esta parcela numèricamente inferior da população Terêna, mas que nem por isso deixa de ser considerável. A *aculturação* e a *mobilidade*, como duas dimensões de um mesmo processo — que chamaremos de assimilação — se constituirão nos temas do capítulo seguinte.

VII — ACULTURAÇÃO E MOBILIDADE

A aculturação e a mobilidade social serão tratadas, neste capítulo, como dois fenômenos sócio-culturais que, segundo suas próprias peculiaridades, desempenharam um papel fundamental no processo de assimilação dos Terêna.

Já por várias vêzes, no curso dêste trabalho, utilizamo-nos do têrmo *assimilação*, sem contudo, precisá-lo convenientemente. Até aqui isso não vinha sendo necessário, desde que o próprio contexto, no qual o têrmo vinha inserido, era o suficiente para tornar a realidade descrita inteligível ao leitor, que não precisaria recorrer senão a simples noções. Agora não se pode mais adiar êste procedimento, uma vez que passaremos a cuidar de questões mais controvertidas e que, por essa razão, deverão ser rigorosamente conceituadas. Entendemos, assim, por assimilação o "*processus*" *pelo qual um grupo étnico se incorpora noutro, perdendo sua* (a) *peculiaridade cultural e* (b) *sua identificação étnica anterior*. Enquanto a primeira conseqüência, (a), seria o equivalente do processo de aculturação, a segunda, (b), teria também um conteúdo psicológico, embora se caracterizasse em ser um fenômeno sócio-cultural, sobretudo por ser o grupo a unidade considerada; aqui, a assimilação individual seria posta de lado ou, quando muito, utilizada num sentido comparativo (172). Por outro lado, a assimilação, como a aculturação,

(172) A palavra assimilação tem sido usada pelos sociólogos para designar "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable". (Lundberg, Schrag & Larsen, 1954:437). Nem todos, entretanto, dão nfase ao grupo, passando a entender assimilação como "a gradual process by which the individual comes to share the expectations of another group and slowly acquires a new set of definitions". (Merril & Eldredge, 1957:42) — Em verdade as duas conceituações correspondem a dois aspectos diferentes do processo de

poderão significar, também, "condição" opondo-se a "processo"; nesse caso, o próprio texto em que aparecerem, será o suficiente para explicitá-los como uma categoria dinâmica (processo) ou estática (condição), tal como vemos nos respectivos exemplos: "a assimilação — ou a aculturação — tem levado os grupos Terêna a uma transformação radical em sua conduta...", e, "ainda não assimilados — ou bastante aculturados —, os Terêna permanecem um povo com uma consciência tribal suficientemente poderosa para diferenciá-lo da população regional e para não julgá-lo uma variante ou sub-cultura nacional..."

Julgamos cabível aqui sublinhar esta diferenciação dos conceitos de assimilação e aculturação — como "processo" e como "condição" —, no sentido de superar uma evidente ambigüidade, aliás já indicada por Ralph Beals (173).

Posteriormente a essa comunicação de Beals, deu-se uma reformulação do conceito de aculturação (e seus derivados), por parte de um grupo de especialistas em ciências sociais, que elaborou um documento, em 1953, como substituto do "memorandum" de 1946, de autoria de Redfield, Linton e Herskovitz (174). Nesse documento a aculturação foi definida como "uma mudança cultural iniciada pela conjunção de dois ou mais sistemas culturais" (175). Em têrmos causais acrescenta o documento, "a mudança aculturativa pode ser a conseqüência de transmissão cultural direta; pode ser derivada de causas não culturais, tais como modificações ecológicas e demográficas induzidas por um choque cultural; pode ser retardada por ajustamentos internos, seguindo-se uma aceitação de traços ou padrões alienígenas; ou pode ser uma adaptação

---

assimilação — reconhecido por sociólogos como Ogburn & Ninkoff (1950), Osborn & Neumeyer (1936) — e que nós aqui também levaremos em conta, introduzindo apenas uma observação a respeito da dificuldade de verificar a correspondência entre o conceito e a realidade que êle pretende compreender, sobretudo no que se refere à segunda conceituação; nesse sentido usamos o têrmo **assimilado** em contraposição a **segregado** (e, em certos casos, isolado), para indicar duas "condições" extremas, mas dispostas num "continuum"; e, isso, de acôrdo com Glaser (1958:34), segundo o qual "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically..." E completa Glaser, advertindo que "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him **desegregating**" (p. 32).

(173) 1953:627-628.

(174) 1936:149-152.

(175) Social Science Research Council, 1954:974.

[facing P. 112-A]

Velho Terêna de Cachoeirinha (1957)

Remanescente Kinikináu do Grupo-local "Paraíso", hoje residente em Cachoeirinha (1958)

[facing P. 112-B]

em reação dos modos tradicionais de vida" (176). Neste trabalho, temos nos utilizado dêste conceito de aculturação na medida em que êle tem se revelado útil à compreensão das conseqüências, na esfera da cultura, dos mecanismos da interação social, interétnica e tribal. Na base disso, é claro, está implícita uma crítica às teorias de aculturação, pelo fato de tenderem a considerar os sistemas culturais em si mesmos, perdendo de vista, muitas vêzes, a população ou o grupo social portador (177). A ênfase dada na conduta — como ela foi definida no capítulo anterior — nos afasta dêsse perigo, ao mesmo tempo que nos permite tratar do processo de aculturação nos têrmos propostos acima.

Depois dessa primeira formulação operacional de aculturação, o conceito se tornará mais preciso quando o compararmos com o de *mobilidade social*, na acepção em que ambos foram usados por RICHARD ADAMS, em sua pesquisa sôbre a "ladinizacion" em Guatemala (178). Para ADAMS a mobilidade social é entendida como um processo de mudança "que sofre *um indivíduo* quando se despoja dos costumes de sua própria classe ou grupo étnico, para tornar-se um membro de outra classe ou grupo étnico" (179). Aqui combinam-se duas formas de mobilidade: a *horizontal* (para Adams, equivalente a mobilidade física) e a *vertical* (na já tradicional concepção de SOROKIN). Como contrapartida disso, o processo de aculturação é definido como "a mudança que *uma comunidade* ou sociedade inteira sofre ao tornar-se culturalmente mais parecida com outra. Refere-se à mudança de costumes de todos os membros de um grupo, até o grau em que tais costumes servem cada vez menos para distinguir êsse grupo social de outros" (180). Essa segunda formulação do conceito de aculturação nos vai permitir utilizá-lo na análise dinâmica da população Terêna aldeada, enquanto o conceito de mobilidade social mostra-se adequado à análise dos Terêna residentes em cidades. Isso não quer dizer que êstes últimos estejam isentos de mudança cultural; apenas

(176) Ibidem.
(177) A abordagem dos antropólogos sociais inglêses, objetivando bàsicamente as mudanças que ocorrem na conduta, parece-nos mais segura, malgrado tenhamos que reconhecer a importância das teorias de aculturação no esmiuçamento da mudança sócio-cultural.
(178) 1956:213-244.
(179) Idem:214.
(180) Ibidem.

significa que êles não estão mais sujeitos aos mecanismos que presidem um tipo particular de mudança cultural, a que chamamos aculturação.

O processo de aculturação a que está submetida a população Terêna (referimo-nos à população aldeada, i.é, que tem vida comunal), tem alcançado resultados diferentes proporcionalmente às variações encontradas no conjunto de suas comunidades. Tomemos a *composição étnica* e a *antiguidade* — aliás, variáveis apontadas no início do capítulo precedente — e veremos como elas atuam na configuração cultural das comunidades. As aldeias de composição étnica múltipla, como Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde e Aldeinha, tendem a ser muito mais *abertas* às inovações, enquanto as demais embora não podendo ser consideradas *fechadas*, apresentam maior resistência às técnicas e ideologias vindas de fora (181). A análise da antiguidade, por sua vez, como uma categoria que vem permitir diferenciar (a) os grupos-locais tradicionais das (b) comunidades formadas por indivíduos procedentes de fazendas (182), leva-nos a verificar a existência de maior receptividade a elementos culturais novos nas aldeias de formação mais recente (b) como Buriti, além das já citadas Francisco Horta e Aldeinha, inscritas na primeira categoria (composição étnica múltipla) e, por isso, "duplamente" abertas. União aparece aqui como um caso especial, conquanto seja a aldeia de criação mais recente; seus componentes não vieram de fazendas, mas de uma comunidade como Bananal, pouco se diferenciando, pois, da "comunidade" protestante da qual se separaram por causas circunstanciais (183).

No primeiro (a) grupo de aldeias, por exemplo, permanece ainda vigente a "dança do bate-pau" (*Kohitxoti-kipahé*), bem como a "corrida de cavalinhos" (*Ivuixote-vogomoto*), como atividades lúdicas tradicionais e realizadas em dias festivos, como o Dia do Índio, o Sete de Setembro,

(181) Estamos usando êsses conceitos, embora de uma maneira não ortodoxa, no sentido em que aparecem no já referido documento de 1953, sôbre a aculturação (Cf. 1954:975-976).

(182) Malgrado a quase totalidade da população Terêna já ter vivido em fazendas, ao menos por um período relativamente curto, alguns grupos locais não chegaram a se desfazer de todo, tornando possível um reagrupamento, em seu proveito, de famílias dispersas e que, em tempo anterior, a êles estiveram ligadas: nesse caso estão Cachoeirinha, Ipegue e Bananal.

(183) Cf. páginas 63-64.

etc. Êsses "jogos", já referidos no capítulo III, foram pràticamente reavivados pelo Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, por acreditarem os seus funcionários estar assim "respeitando" a cultura indígena, nos moldes preconizados pelo regimento da instituição. Não se pode dizer que essas festas tivessem sido realizadas, no passado, em dias determinados. Pelo menos, em fins do século XIX — a se julgar pelas informações de Bach (184), quando se refere especialmente à "corrida de cavalinhos" — elas já não estavam submetidas a um calendário fixo. O empenho dos PP.II. (hoje mais raro), combinado com a ação estimulante dos visitantes e "turistas" (ansiando ver alguma coisa de bizarro, numa zona tão "pobre" em curiosidades indígenas), tornaram o "bate-pau" e a "corrida de cavalinhos" a grande atração que os Terêna podem oferecer. Como êsses "jogos" implicam numa série de gastos (pano, papel de seda colorido, guizos, cachaça, etc.) — e raramente os índios estão pecuniàriamente habilitados para tanto — surgiu a necessidade do "produtor": a pessoa que dará algum dinheiro para cobrir as despesas. Dessa maneira, ficou institucionalizado um papel, preenchido ora pelo Encarregado, ora pelo visitante ou "turista", enfim por qualquer pessoa que deseje ver os "jogos" e financiá-los. Pois bem. Em nenhuma das aldeias do segundo (b) grupo êsses jogos conseguiram sobreviver, alegando seus componentes "esquecimento dos quadros e dos passos"! Mas parece que mais do que isso, é a falta de entusiasmo com que tais comunidades encaram a possibilidade de realização dêsses "jogos", mormente devido às reações jocosas das novas gerações, que "sentem vergonha de brincar". Embora os velhos (geralmente os dirigentes ou "caciques dos jogos") das aldeias tradicionalistas — do grupo (a) — costumem reclamar contra essa atitude dos moços, ela não é tão poderosa a ponto de impedir ou mesmo dificultar, a realização da "dança do bate-pau" ou a "corrida de cavalinhos". Exemplo significativo da importância dessa instituição lúdica nas comunidades antigas — grupo (a) —, embora de composição étnica múltipla como Limão Verde, é o renascimento do "bate pau" graças à ação dos padres Redentoristas que tomaram a si o papel de "produtor". Parece que a primeira tentativa foi dia 20 de janeiro, dia de São Sebastião, quando se realizou uma procissão que incorporou a seu cortejo, "como cerra

(184) 1916:92.

fila", o grupo de dançarinos do "Bate pau"! Vê-se aí o aproveitamento estratégico de "jogos profanos" em cerimônias religiosas. E o resultado disso foi tão positivo que os Redentoristas estavam programando sua repetição para 1.º de agôsto, dia de Santo Afonso, padroeiro de Limão Verde (185).

É verdade que essas variáveis são significativas à compreensão da sobrevivência dêsses "jogos", como também (e obedecendo aos mesmos mecanismos) para o estudo de certos complexos culturais ainda vigentes nas antigas aldeias, como as tradicionais formas de enterramento dos mortos (com todos os seus pertences), o uso da terminologia de parentesco ou a peculiar divisão sexual de trabalho, todos êsses complexos desaparecidos nas comunidades do segundo grupo (b), bem como naquelas de composição étnica múltipla. Mas não se pode dizer que tais variáveis assumam a mesma importância para a análise dos rituais mágico-religiosos organizados pelos Koixomuneti. Onde quer que haja um *Koixomuneti* — e êles estão espalhados por tôdas as aldeias e nas próprias cidades, como veremos adiante — os rituais são realizados, variando naturalmente seus "resultados" (segundo depoimento dos Terêna) de acôrdo com o domínio das práticas mágicas de seus agentes. O que se pode dizer é que o antigo *Oheokoti*, anunciado — como vimos no capítulo III — pelo aparecimento das Plêiades, hoje pràticamente desapareceu, substituído que foi pelas atividades de fundo católico da Semana Santa. Entretanto, há indicações que até 1955 (!), em Bananal, realizava-se com certa regularidade o *Oheokoti*, em sua forma tradicional, i.é, com as cerimônias mágico-religiosas, seguidas da atuação do *Yanakalu*, do repasto coletivo e concluído pelo *Mootó* (186). Já em Cachoeirinha, a última vez que se realizou uma cerimônia completa do *Oheokoti* foi em 1915, a se julgar pelas informações obtidas na aldeia, dando essa

(185) Não creio que fôsse difícil reavivar êsses "jogos profanos" nas comunidades de Brejão ou Passarinho, considerando não só sua composição étnica homogênea como sua relativa antiguidade, passível portanto de possuírem alguns velhos Terêna conhecedores dos "quadros e dos passos". Moreira, aldeia mais nova ainda do que Passarinho, foi formada quase que exclusivamente por indivíduos egressos de fazendas, a maioria dos quais jamais viu um "bate pau" ou uma "corrida de cavalinhos", o que torna muito difícil sua participação em atividades dessa natureza.

(186) Afirmaram-nos os informantes, em Bananal, que se torna cada vez mais difícil congregar participantes, sendo que da última vez tinham conseguido sòmente dez pessoas, entre velhos e moços.

data como a do último *Mootó*. De lá para cá, o *Mootó* de prática coletiva passou a ser individual: quando um Terêna *Xumonó* — por exemplo — cioso de suas qualidades de lutador, convidava um *Sukirikionó* para uma "briga", e êste aceitava, estavam ambos provàvelmente mais dispostos a fazer renascer uma antiga fonte de prestígio, do que a estimular uma cerimônia ligada aos rituais religiosos, embora profana. Hoje, pode-se dizer, o *Oheokoti* está muito mais simplificado, apesar do têrmo continuar vigente, indicando de um modo geral as cerimônias mágico-religiosas realizadas pelos *Koixomuneti*. Todavia, é necessário ainda distinguir dos rituais xamanísticos comuns (efetuados com o único objetivo de curar doenças e afastar males), aquelas cerimônias endereçadas aos "espíritos protetores" do *Koixomuneti*. Cada *Koixomuneti* tem os seus *Koipihapati-Koixomuneti*, i.é, espíritos de falecidos médico-feiticeiros que, em vida, gozaram de grande prestígio na comunidade e, em alguns casos, chegaram a ser professôres do *Koixomuneti*, que o recebe em dias determinados (187). A estas cerimônias mágico-religiosas é que se atribui, modernamente, a denominação *Oheokoti*.

Embora êsses cerimonais continuem a ter lugar em tôdas as comunidades Terêna, êles parecem estar muito modificados em suas estruturas internas. Apresentam hoje intrusão de elementos católicos e espíritas, o que os torna um exemplo vivo de sincretismo religioso: os *Koixomuneti* se dizem católicos, usam medalhas e penduram efígies de Santos nas paredes de seus "ranchos", ao mesmo tempo suas práticas denunciam influência espírita, graças ao contato que mantém com o chamado "baixo espiritismo" das cidades. É freqüente ouvir-se dizer que "o espiritismo está entrando muito na aldeia" e que os atuais *Koixomuneti* "não são bons como os antigos". Em suma pode-se dizer que apesar de tôdas essas modificações que sofreu o *Oheokoti* — ou, talvez, devido a elas mesmo, tornando-o mais flexível —, vem êle sobrevivendo e continuando a desempenhar a sua função integradora ou, em outras

(187) Êsses dias podem ou não coincidir com a Semana Santa, embora seja ainda a Sexta-Feira Santa o dia mais indicado para o Oheokoti. Vários foram os Koixomuneti que nos informaram "trabalhar" nesse dia, dentre os quais destacamos o finado João Grande, de Cachoeirinha, a "Oongó", tia do "Capitão" de Bananal, e a velha Juliana, residente em Campo Grande. Todos êles se caracterizam por sua longa idade, sobretudo o João Grande, talvez o mais velho de todos, falecido em 1957 com cêrca de 100 anos.

palavras, como já dissemos, estimulando a solidariedade tribal e fortalecendo a consciência étnica de todos os grupos-locais Terêna, e chegando a atrair, inclusive, os indivíduos residentes em cidades.

Essa plasticidade revelada pelo *Oheokoti* não teve paralelismo na estrutura social tradicional. Eis a razão pela qual esta se quebrou, não resistindo às mudanças operadas na paisagem regional, quando as comunidades Terêna se viram compelidas a resistir à frente de expansão da sociedade brasileira. Como vimos no capítulo III — e estamos aqui apenas recordando —, a extraordinária rigidez da estrutura social Guaná-Terêna, formada pela combinação de uma estrutura tríplice e assimétrica, sôbre outra dual e simétrica, não poderia permanecer depois da dispersão dos Terêna e a conseqüente desorganização dos grupo-locais. Soma-se a isso, ainda, o próprio sistema de parentesco que graças à unidade do grupo de "sibling", veio dificultar muito mais a sobrevivência da organização tribal, na medida em que reduziu bastante a área possível de matrimônio, já tão limitada pelas camadas. Diante disso se pode dizer que uma tal estrutura é *rígida*, em oposição ao tipo *flexível* de que nos falam os membros do Seminário de Aculturação, quando se referem à possibilidade de distinção tipológica das estruturas internas dos sistemas culturais (188).

A contrapartida do desaparecimento da antiga estrutura social foi a adoção de um sistema associativo, ainda impreciso, mas que emergia das comunidades neobrasileiras que se formavam ao longo das estradas de desbravamento. A monogamia, a família nuclear como unidade de habitação, a maior liberdade na escolha do cônjuge e o sistema de compadrio, por exemplo, foram complexos culturais incorporados à cultura tribal e que transformaram completamente o tradicional estilo de vida. Mas nem por isso, perderiam os Terêna sua "consciência tribal", apesar de traumatizada pelo rompimento da antiga infra-estrutura e por sua desarticulação com o antigo sistema de valores, sua religião e sua mitologia. Pelo menos aquêles Terêna que permaneceram em suas aldeias, ou que se reorganizaram em comunidades relativamente autônomas (como se caracterizam as do grupo (*b*), puderam dispor de *terras* para morar e plantar e, conseqüentemente, a ter uma vida de grupo, mantendo vivo,

(188) Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

portanto, o "nós tribal" e tornando longínqua sua assimilação à sociedade brasileira.

Não se pode exagerar, por outro lado, a distância existente entre os Terêna aldeados e os dispersos em cidades ou fazendas, quando discutimos suas posições no processo de assimilação. Uns e outros estão submetidos aos mesmos mecanismos sócio-culturais que atuam no processo, embora os últimos tendam a reagir de uma maneira mais favorável, notadamente quando se trata da segunda e terceira gerações. Aliás, êsses mecanismos serão examinados no capítulo final dêste trabalho. Antes, entretanto, vamos tentar caracterizar essa população não-aldeada para verificar se é legítimo tomá-la como uma *variante* do processo de assimilação.

A maior dificuldade que encontra o etnólogo para trabalhar com uma população dispersa numa área tão extensa como a ocupada pelos Terêna destribalizados (189), diz respeito naturalmente à possibilidade de contato direto, ao menos como substitutivo da observação participante, tornada agora totalmente inadequada. Para tornar realizável êsse contato, a providência cabível foi a redução dessa área, tomando-se o cuidado de não deformar a realidade a ser estudada. Focalizamos, assim, a investigação nas cidades de Campo Grande, Aquidauana e Miranda, pondo de lado Nioac e as pequenas povoações (possuidoras de uma ou duas famílias Terêna), bem como as fazendas — em face das grandes distâncias a percorrer, do pouco tempo disponível e de outras dificuldades menores. Sôbre Nioac as informações que tínhamos eram de que o número de famílias Terêna lá residentes era insignificante, embora fôsse pouca coisa maior que o de Miranda, que por sua vez, não vai além de 8 famílias, compreendendo ao todo 54 indivíduos (190). Quanto às fazendas, tínhamos a experiência da situação em que se encontravam

(189) O têrmo destribalizado designa aquela população Terêna não aldeada e que vive em fazendas e em cidades. Embora destribalização possa se referir a uma "condição" (como no caso presente), freqüentemente ela está indicando um "processo", desde que se considera uma dada população vivendo independente dos grupos-locais, apesar de poder estar ligada a êles em certos aspectos; a rigor, sôbre essa população, o grupo-local ou a comunidade indígena não teria nenhum contrôle direto e um muito reduzido contrôle indireto.

(190) Estamos considerando sòmente os Terêna residentes na cidade, não contando portanto com os moradores de Passarinho e Moreira, aldeias suburbanas a Miranda.

os Terêna de algumas delas no município de Miranda. Isso, ao menos, nos permitiu vizualizar alguns problemas, aliás já referidos no capítulo VI, quando tratamos da "colônia" Terêna, junto a Duque Estrada. Todavia, só para ter uma idéia de como os Terêna se acham espalhados pelo sul de Mato Grosso, fizemos uma estimativa do número dêles, apenas num município — o de Aquidauana: residentes na cidade há 12 famílias, num total de 67 indivíduos (êste dado é preciso, uma vez que procedemos um censo rigoroso); somando-se isso com o número provável de indivíduos moradores nos sítios, fazendas e colônias, que vem a dar em cêrca de 315 pessoas ou 43 famílias, temos um total de 382 indivíduos organizados em 55 famílias (191). Para se estudar sòmente os Terêna urbanizados (192) — não tanto por seu número relativamente elevado, mas por sua dispersão — tivemos que nos valer de técnicas sociográficas, como a aplicação de formulários, a realização de entrevistas, orientadas por roteiros prèviamente elaborados, além do uso das "Histórias de Vida" e estudos de "Caso" (193).

Reduzida a área, cuidou-se de saber se essa população urbanizada podia ser considerada representativa do universo dos Terêna residentes em cidades. Por meio de entrevistas com inúmeros Terêna de Campo Grande e Aquidauana, ficou evidenciado que essas cidades constituiam os centros de maior concentração Terêna, notadamente a primeira, com suas 16 famílias ou 121 indivíduos. Assim, em ordem decrescente quanto à população, teríamos Campo Grande, Aquidauana e Miranda, formando um "gradient" expressivo do significado dessas cidades como foco de

(191) Quanto ao censo da cidade, excluídos naturalmente Aldeinha, cuja população já foi referida no capítulo V. Já a estimativa do número de Terêna residentes em fazendas foi feita à base das informações fornecidas por índios de Aldeinha, que nos indicavam as famílias e, conosco, calculavam o número de componentes.

(192) O têrmo **urbanizado** refere-se àquela parte da população Terêna destribalizada que vive em cidades. A mesma distinção sublinhada na nota 189, a respeito do duplo sentido do conceito, como "condição" e como "processo", deve ser estendida a urbanização. Êsse segundo sentido permitiria formular uma pesquisa com a finalidade de medir o grau de variação das famílias ou das gerações, segundo sua maior ou menor incorporação aos padrões de conduta da cidade. (Cf. R.C. Oliveira, 1958 (a)).

(193) A aplicação dos formulários e a realização de algumas entrevistas ficaram a cargo de nosso colega Dalton Moreira de Araújo, que nos acompanhou às cidades de Campo Grande, Aquidauana e Miranda, durante a segunda quinzena de junho e primeira de julho de 1958, na qualidade de assistente de pesquisa.

atração. A verificação dêsse "gradient", tornou dispensável o levantamento de Nioac e das povoações menores, formadas ao longo da estrada de ferro, uma vez que êle demonstrou existir uma correlação entre o tamanho das cidades (em área e população) e o número de índios Terêna nelas residentes. Isso robusteceu a objetividade dos dados obtidos por via indireta a respeito de Nioac, segundo os quais nela haveria uma população Terêna equivalente à da cidade de Miranda. A conclusão a que chegamos foi a de que iríamos trabalhar com mais de 80% da população Terêna urbanizada, ou, em números absolutos, com 242 indivíduos ou 36 famílias. Deve-se ressaltar, entretanto, que dêsses 242 indivíduos nem todos podem ser considerados Terêna "puros"; êstes, ou melhor, os filhos de pai e mãe Terêna não são mais que 120 indivíduos; o restante está distribuído da seguinte maneira: mestiços interétnicos (filhos de uniões interétnicas) 102, mestiços intertribais (filhos de uniões intertribuais) 5, "purutuya" 11 (brancos 5, negros 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguaios 1 e 1 indivíduo de etnia não identificada. Mas, por outro lado, não deixa de ser legítimo tratar a todos como pertencentes a um único grupo, uma vez que todos êles se acham enredados numa mesma trama de relações sociais, pois que as 36 famílias computadas são identificadas como Terêna, por êles mesmos e por seus vizinhos brasileiros, não importando o fato do próprio "chefe da casa" ser um "purutuya" (geralmente um caboclo, quando não um negro) ou um paraguaio.

A análise acurada do quadro étnico dessas três cidades, vem demonstrar que as relações entre as estruturas urbanas e as comunitárias (ambas, naturalmente, estruturas de conteúdo indígena) apresentam perfis assimétricos, quando comparadas entre si através do quadro de mestiçagem. Enquanto nas aldeias (tomando-se Cachoeirinha como exemplo) os mestiços interétnicos fazem 37,83% e os mestiços intertribais acusam o índice de 62,16%, portanto um *maior índice de mestiços intertribais*, nas cidades temos o inverso tomando-se o total de sua população mestiça urbanizada: 95,32% de mestiços interétnicos e 4,67% de mestiços intertribais, isto é, uma evidente maioria de mestiços interétnicos (194). A

(194) Essas percentagens òbviamente não indicam a quantidade de mestiços (a) ou (b) em relação com as demais etnias. Quanto a êste aspecto, pode-se dizer que, da população total urbanizada, 53,71% são de mestioçs (a) e (b); já em Cachoeirinha, o índice de mestiços (a) e (b) é de apenas 16,31%.

importância disso será examinada no capítulo seguinte, quando tratarmos das uniões interétnicas como o tipo de casamento preferencial nas cidades.

A análise da procedência dessa população urbanizada, em seu conjunto, revela as fazendas como as maiores doadoras de indivíduos para as cidades, com 23,55%; em segundo lugar está a aldeia de Bananal, com 13,63% e, em terceiro, a aldeia de Ipegue, com 10,33%. Nascidas nas próprias cidades, a percentagem é de 33,05%, sendo que o restante da população é originário de pequenas povoações, como Agaxi ou Taunay e de aldeias como Lalima ou Brejão, cujas somas parciais representam números muitos baixos e índices insignificantes. Se se considera a baixa percentagem de indivíduos nascidos em zonas urbanas 33,05%, comparada com os 66,94% de pessoas vindas da zona rural ou de aldeias, pode-se concluir que essa população urbanizada é relativamente nova. E a respeito dos Terêna que emigraram das aldeias, nota-se que êles tendem a manter seus respectivos grupos-locais, formando núcleos mais ou menos coesos nas cidades em que residem. Em Aquidauana, por exemplo, essa separação é nítida: além de Aldeinha — que é suburbana à cidade —, os Terêna, vivem em dois outros lugares, denominados respectivamente, "Guanandi" e "Buraco Quente"; enquanto no primeiro vivem 11 pessoas provenientes de Ipegue e apenas uma vinda de Bananal, na segunda vivem 10 pessoas de Bananal e sòmente uma de Ipegue. Isso atesta a importância do grupo-local nos movimentos migratórios dos Terêna, com sua tendência a sobreviver onde quer que seus componentes emigrem, seja para cidades, seja para outras aldeias — como é o caso dos índios de Lalima em sua mudança para Cachoeirinha e sua localização no lugar chamado Capão, a que já nos referimos no capítulo V.

É claro que a sobrevivência do grupo-local nas cidades não pode ser explicada sòmente pela "consciência de grupo-local". Concorre também aí o parentesco combinado com as relações de compadrio. A religião, que a princípio julgamos ser primordial, mostrou ser um fator de ordem secundária ou complementar no agrupamento dêsses índios urbanizados por áreas de vizinhança. Os grupos de vizinhança — e os estamos considerando num sentido amplo — congregam indiferentemente "católicos" e "crentes", embora êstes e aquêles tendam a ter "vida de vizinhança" em separado, determinada pelas obrigações religiosas dêstes últimos sem-

pre mais controlados por sua Igreja. Todavia, o número de "protestantes" residentes em cidades é muito menor do que o dos "católicos". Descontando-se os sem-religião (5,37%) e os não computados (7,02%), em 242 indivíduos, 197 (81,40%) se identificam como *católicos* e apenas 15 (6,19%) se dizem *protestantes*. E essa diferença entre os números de "católicos" e o de "crentes", mantém-se mais ou menos a mesma nas três cidades visitadas, tomadas separadamente. Êsse alto número de "católicos" pode ser explicado, por sua vez, pela vergonha dos Terêna em se apresentarem ao entrevistador como indivíduos sem religião e, portanto, ainda não "civilizados"... A baixa percentagem de índios da categoria *sem-religião*, numa população de vida religiosa tão pobre — como já demonstramos nos capítulos anteriores —, só pode ser entendida, quando se considera a deformação que sofre o dado ao ser fornecido pelo entrevistado. Dizer-se "católico" já é um hábito para o Terêna. E de todos os Terêna que conheci, quer nas cidades, quer nas aldeias, apenas um estava ligado a uma associação católica ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), pertencendo sua filha à "União das Filhas de Maria" e sendo seu enteado "Congregado Mariano". Já os que se dizem "crentes" tendem, em maior número, a se ligarem à sua Igreja, devido à maior impositividade desta, sempre mais exigente e ocupando muito mais o tempo de seus adeptos nos freqüentes cultos que promove.

Mas como essa população urbanizada ganha o seu sustento? Em sua maioria, i.é, 75% em Campo Grande e em Miranda, e 90% em Aquidauana, êsses índios se acham vinculados a ocupações de caráter urbano, de onde se destacam a de *empregado de hotel* (cozinheiro, copeiro, arrumador de quartos), de *operário de construções* (pedreiro, pintor e ajudantes) e as *empregadas domésticas* (cozinheira, lavadeira e copeira). Há ainda barbeiros, sapateiros, empregados da Noroeste do Brasil, bem como casos de trabalhadores braçais da Prefeitura (diaristas), garis, de auxiliares de escritório, de padeiro, de porteiro de cinema e de escola, para citar algumas das categorias ocupacionais por êles preenchidas. Com referência às ocupações de caráter rural, temos a de *lavrador diarista* que representa o trabalho mais procurado por aquêles que não conseguiram "emprêgo na cidade", apesar de nela morarem. Geralmente ficam trabalhando em fazendas ou sítios próximos à cidade, ganhando salários abaixo

da média, em comparação com seus "patrícios" ligados a atividades urbanas.

Essa é, em síntese, a situação dos Terêna residentes em cidades. Mesmo tendo uma vida bastante diferente de seus irmãos aldeados (195), os Terêna urbanizados nem por isso deixaram de continuar *Terêna*, i.é, de permanecerem fiéis à sua origem étnica e, de certo modo, ao seu grupo-local. A perda de sua identificação étnica, a par de sua desvinculação do grupo-local, começa nas gerações seguintes às dos índios emigrados, obedecendo a certos mecanismos. A assimilação parece se tornar possível sòmente em casos especiais, quando se conjugam fatôres como o *tempo* de moradia na área urbana, com seus reflexos nas *gerações seguintes*, o *casamento interétnico* e a *mestiçagem* resultante, mas, sobretudo, a maior ou menor *desorganização familial*, de influência decisiva no ajustamento das primeira e segunda gerações na estrutura urbana-nacional. Note-se que estamos falando de assimilação das gerações sucessivas à do Terêna emigrado de suas aldeias, e não dêste emigrante que continua se (i) identificando com sua aldeia de origem ou seu grupo-local, (ii) mantendo "lotes" nas mesmas e (iii) a elas retornando quando das festividades profanas ou aos rituais mágico-religiosos remanescentes do antigo *Oheokoti*. As barreiras que obliteram os caminhos da assimilação dêsse Terêna emigrante, serão examinados no capítulo final dêste trabalho. Por ora, vamos nos limitar a apontar certas regularidades que surgem da observação do contingente Terêna nascido nas cidades.

As regularidades observadas podem ser sintetizadas pela seguinte proposição: *A assimilação é mais viável, progressivamente, a partir das gerações subseqüentes àquela que se fixou nas cidades.* E como corolário, teríamos então: *Aquelas famílias que se teriam organizado (ou formado) nas aldeias e, posteriormente, se mudado para as cidades, teriam menos possibilidades de verem seus membros assimilados à so-*

(195) O único grupo que mantém certa semelhança a êsses Terêna urbanizados, é o de Aldeinha, devido ao fato de seus componentes estarem ligados à cidade de Aquidauana quase tanto quanto os que nela residem. A separação que fizemos obedeceu a um critério metodológico, segundo o qual a comunidade Aldeinha podia ser, como realmente foi, estudada no capítulo reservado às aldeias, sublinhando-se, entretanto, seu caráter peculiar.

ciedade brasileira local, do que aquelas famílias formadas em fazendas ou nas próprias cidades. Enquanto aquelas manteriam maior estabilidade e permaneceriam mais ligadas às comunidades de onde vieram ou onde nasceram, estas entrariam mais fàcilmente em processo de desorganização, permitindo maior marginalização de seus membros, notadamente das gerações mais novas, e abrindo caminho para a "dessegregação" e, em conseqüência, facilitando a assimilação. O leitor já deve ter visto, nessa altura, que estamos usando um esquema especial de referências, com o objetivo de tornar intelegível um processo de tão difícil verificação empírica. Êsse esquema, recentemente elaborado por DANIEL GLASER, compreende as situações de "segregado", de "marginal", de "dessegregado" e de "assimilado", como categorias sociológicas dispostas num "continuum", por meio das quais se pode apreender a dinâmica da identificação étnica (196). A hipótese básica de GLASER é de que "a mudança do padrão de identificação de uma pessoa, ocorre de acôrdo com o continuum acima referido". "Isto significa que uma pessoa não pode mudar de um padrão de identificação segregadora a uma assimiladora sem, primeiro, tornar-se marginal e, depois, dessegregado. Entretanto, a mudança pode ocorrer em qualquer direção do continuum. Mudar de dessegregação para o marginal e para a segregação, é comum" (197). Embora não estejamos adotando êsse esquema de uma maneira integral — pois muitos dos resultados de sua aplicação são discutíveis —, êle não deixa de se constituir num instrumento útil para os fins que temos em vista, pois, forjado na análise de situações em que operam minorias (étnicas, religiosas e nacionais), mostra-se mais refinado e reforça o nosso critério de medir a assimilação pelo padrão de identificação étnica (198).

O que se deve ter em vista é que a assimilação dêsse contingente urbanizado começaria com a marginalização individual (objetivos pluralísticos e incertos do indivíduo, ambivalência na avaliação de pessoas

---

(196) "Continuum": "segregating" ←→ "marginal" ←→ "desegregating" ←→ "assimilated" (1958:33).

(197) Idem: 35. "Ethnic identification refers to a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby to relate himself to others". (idem:31).

(198) Definimos assimilação, no início dêste capítulo, como o processo pelo qual um grupo étnico se incorpora noutro, perdendo sua peculiaridade cultural e sua identificação étnica. Leia-se, também, a nota de rodapé, n.º 172.

de seu próprio grupo, etc.), seguida de uma reorganização da personalidade baseada num plano diferente, de "desagregação", onde o indivíduo passa a se referir de uma maneira desprestigiosa à identidade que lhe é atribuída (Terêna, índio), ao mesmo tempo que manifesta sua preferência por identificações mais inclusivas (como matogrossense, brasileiro). Essa é a impressão que se tem, depois das entrevistas e da observação direta do comportamento dêsses Terêna urbanizados, notadamente dos mestiços interétnicos e, sobretudo, daqueles indivíduos cujas famílias entraram em desorganização. A vantagem dêsse esquema teórico, por mais reservas que sôbre êle se possa fazer, é que permite uma visão mais prática do problema da assimilação individual, pois que trabalha com categorias bem definidas e lògicamente congruentes.

O resultado da análise focalizada sôbre os Terêna residentes nas cidades, mostra que mais do que uma *variante* do processo de assimilação, êles representam uma etapa mais adiantada de um *processus*, na medida em que formam um contingente populacional integrado numa estrutura (urbana) que cria condições para a assimilação. Indica que o processo de aculturação por si só não é suficiente (apesar de necessário) para levar uma dada população a ser assimilada por outra, majoritária e dominante política e tècnicamente. Pelo menos é o que nos permite induzir o exame minucioso das relações entre os Terêna, em seu conjunto (aldeados e não-aldeados), e os representantes da sociedade nacional, localizados na região sul de Mato Grosso. A assimilação começa a se tornar possível quando os Terêna saem de sua aldeia e passam a residir em fazendas ou em cidades. Enquanto nas fazendas êles se ajustam a uma estrutura rural, nas cidades são levados a se integrar no sistema urbano-nacional de estratificação, ocupando as camadas mais baixas, o que os torna de um modo geral saudosistas do "bom tempo" da vida nas aldeias. Mas por várias razões êles se mantêm na cidade, nela criam seus filhos ou nela constróem suas famílias. Por outro lado, os Terêna aldeados apesar de integrados à estrutura econômica regional — pois são mão de obra ativa no mercado de trabalho —, continuam mais resistentes à mudança cultural e mais apegados à sua etnia. Segregados em aldeias independentes ou em Reservas, êles permanecem em comunidades de alto "esprit de corps", o que torna improvável sua assimilação. Como estamos vendo, a mobilidade social, combinada com a acul-

turação permite, em certas circunstâncias, que o processo de assimilação seja levado a suas últimas conseqüências ou, em outras palavras, que êle se complete.

VIII — OS MECANISMOS DA ASSIMILAÇÃO

No exame a que procedemos, quanto ao processo de assimilação, destacando duas de suas dimensões mais explicativas — a aculturação e a mobilidade —, chegamos a indicar certos mecanismos psico-sociais que nêle operam e que nos pareceram básicos. Nosso propósito agora é levar adiante a análise, tentando discernir o conteúdo mesmo dêsses mecanismos por meio de um levantamento dos fatôres sócio-culturais que estimulam e favorecem a assimilação, bem como daqueles que a dificultam ou a impedem. Aos primeiros chamaremos de *convergentes* e aos segundos de *divergentes*.

Fatôres convergentes

1. A atração que a cidade exerce na população Terêna, como um todo, leva-nos a considerá-la como um dos fatôres mais importantes no processo de assimilação, notadamente quando a vida urbana cria perspectivas de melhor *remuneração*, maior *recreação* e melhor *educação* de seus filhos. Isso ocorre tanto por "ouvir dizer", como por experiência própria, considerando-se que é raro o Terêna adulto, homem, que desconhece Aquidauana ou Campo Grande, para citarmos apenas as cidades mais desenvolvidas e que, por êsse motivo, maiores atrações podem oferecer. A sua mobilidade é muito grande: ou vai à cidade para realizar suas compras (pois nela consegue artigos mais barato do que nas povoações que se sucedem ao longo das vias férreas), ou passa por ela quando vai trabalhar em fazendas ou em colônias distantes de suas aldeias. Em seu retôrno, conta aos seus o que viu na cidade, o que

[P.128 is blank]

fêz e ilustra seu relato com uma ou duas bugigangas que comprou. Êsse "trazer" a cidade pouco a pouco para a aldeia, torna a comunidade predisposta às coisas urbanas e começa a criar uma expectativa, a princípio confusa, mas que gradativamente se vai esclarecendo, na proporção em que se vão tornando mais nítidas as vantagens que elas podem oferecer. Naturalmente que isso não é o suficiente para tirar o Terêna definitivamente de sua aldeia. As experiências que tivemos com a população aldeada, sobretudo com a comunidade de Cachoeirinha, mostram que o Terêna emigra sòmente quando se sente hostilizado por seu grupo ou pelo Encarregado do Pôsto Indígena ou, ainda, quando não encontra condições para o seu desenvolvimento. Exemplo disso temos na saída de Cachoeirinha dos índios ALEXANDRE e LÚCIO, e, de Ipegue, do índio SIMÃO. Os dois primeiros saíram, com suas famílias, respectivamente para Miranda (num sítio próximo à cidade) e para Araribá (aldeia no Estado de São Paulo) por motivos diversos: o ALEXANDRE, pelo fato de Cachoeirinha não apresentar boas condições (pastagens, água) para a criação de seu gado, ao mesmo tempo que já não gozava do apoio do então Encarregado e havia brigado com o Capitão TIMÓTEO; quanto ao LÚCIO, considerado o índio mais rico da aldeia, e por êsse motivo invejado e respeitado — pois chegava a empregar em suas plantações seus próprios patrícios —, sua recente saída parece ser devida antes ao fato de Cachoeirinha se haver tornado "pequena" para o desenvolvimento de suas roças, do que à tensão que existia entre êle e a comunidade (199). A história do índio SIMÃO é outra: possuidor de um rebanho bovino bastante grande, de umas 250 cabeças, decidiu tentar a vida na cidade de Campo Grande, pelo fato de Ipegue e Bananal não mais comportarem um número tão grande de reses, de um dono só; sendo flagrante a falta de recursos na Reserva, seus patrícios passaram a hostilizá-lo, cortando seu gado (geralmente na orelha) e reclamando junto ao Pôsto Indígena o prejuízo que "tanta vaca assim trazia para os roçados, não havendo cêrca que chegasse..." Ao contrário dos dois que saíram de Cachoeirinha,

(199) Como já nos referimos na nota n.º 139, o Lúcio, graças ao seu passado, havia adquirido um grande sentido de competição e uma notável organização de trabalho. Daí achar que Cachoeirinha não poderia lhe dar mais nada, não só por não dispor de assistência técnica alguma, como pelo fato de ouvir dizer que São Paulo oferecia as melhores oportunidades possíveis a quem tivesse capacidade de trabalho.

mas que se mantiveram na mesma atividade, o SIMÃO resolveu experimentar a cidade, não sendo, entretanto, bem sucedido (200). Todavia, a maior parte de indivíduos que vai para a cidade, sai da aldeia por razões de atrito na comunidade (201) e é levada para a cidade pelas perspectivas de melhoria de vida acima assinaladas. Não conhecemos casos recentes de mudanças para colônias de Fazendas; parece que os índios nelas residentes são remanescentes daquela população dispersa antes da criação das Reservas Indígenas.

A população que denominamos urbanizada é constituída por indivíduos de pouco ou nenhum capital e que por êsse motivo se acomoda nas classes menos favorecidas da cidade. Não obstante, para êles a vida na cidade representa a elevação de seu nível de vida em relação à aldeia ou à fazenda, pelos salários que desfrutam, pela maior freqüência de trabalho que conseguem (visto ser mais amplo o mercado de trabalho), como ainda pela perspectiva de uma vida recreativa mais rica e variada (o que nem sempre se concretiza) e pela esperança de dar a seus filhos melhor instrução (o que em geral se realiza, mas nem sempre dentro das escolas e sim pela "praxis" urbana). Como o processo de urbanização parece constituir o mecanismo dos mais eficientes na assimilação — como vimos no capítulo anterior —, a atração que a cidade exerce no Terêna pode ser considerada como fator de grande relevância para sua incorporação na sociedade nacional, o que equivale a dizer, para sua assimilação.

2. O Serviço Militar é outro fator importante, mas que, naturalmente apenas na população masculina. Representa para o jovem Terêna perspectivas de *novas experiências*, fornece-lhe um *documento* que lhe amplia de uma maneira ponderável as possibilidades de conseguir emprêgo mais estável de sorte que, finalmente, quando êle retorna à aldeia,

(200) Comprou uma modesta casa de negócio (bolicho) e lá quase perdeu todo o seu dinheiro. A última vez que o vimos em Campo Grande havia comprado uma casa, prêsa ainda a inventário, e tentava salvar o seu dinheiro contratando um advogado.

(201) Como fonte dêsses atritos desempenha papel relevante a divisão politico-religiosa da comunidade. Comprova isso, a grande quantidade de indivíduos que Bananal e Ipegue canalizam para Campo Grande e Aquidauana. Enquanto Bananal está em primeiro lugar, entre as aldeias, com 23,91%, Ipegue em segundo, com 18.11%, as demais aldeias, são extremamente inexpressivas enviando, em números absolutos, de 1 a 2 indivíduos no máximo.

a condição de *reservista* é constantemente fonte de prestígio, sobretudo em relação aos mais novos e às jovens solteiras da comunidade.

A êsse desejo de viajar e de conhecer novos lugares — já indicados em várias pesquisas sôbre a mobilidade de povos tribais em contextos interétnicos (202) —, não poderia ficar isento o jovem Terêna, sobretudo por ter diante de si a oportunidade de sair da aldeia sem gastar dinheiro, "com cama, comida e roupa", como alegam. Para êle, a caserna lhe dá ainda a possibilidade de ser tratado como "civilizado", igual ao "purutuya". Também a expectativa de instrução, no sentido extremamente prático e moderno de apreender o *regulamento* da vida entre os "civilizados", i.é, os costumes e as leis da sociedade brasileira, adestrando-se para o convívio interétnico, representa um dos estímulos mais poderosos para o Terêna se engajar na vida militar, embora por um tempo curto. Em algumas ocasiões pudemos ouvir nas aldeias, durante discussões, as frases "fulano desconhece o regulamento", ou "beltrano foi soldado, mas não apreendeu o regulamento", ou ainda "sicrano apreendeu o regulamento, mas em vez de nos ensinar é o primeiro a brigar", etc., etc., tôdas elas referindo-se à condição de reservista como a obrigação do indivíduo ser "mais civilizado". Por outro lado, a má vontade que os funcionários do S.P.I. manifestam para com os jovens Terêna reservistas, bem revela quanto essa condição faz do indivíduo uma pessoa mais reivindicativa e mais adestrada na defesa de seus interêsses.

Mais recentemente, todavia, parece que o Serviço Militar, como fornecedor de um documento indispensável para alguém que deseje emprêgo melhor remunerado, tende a exercer uma atração cada vez maior. Nas entrevistas que realizamos em Cachoeirinha e nas cidades, verificamos quanto é necessário a Carteira de Reservista para ocupações urbanas. Juntamente com a Carteira de Trabalho, é a de Reservista o documento mais desejado pelo Terêna, seja para os aldeados (alguns), seja para os urbanizados (todos). Adiante nós veremos porque a falta de documentos pode ser considerada como um fator divergente. Queremos apenas esclarecer que, tendo sido necessário o documento apenas para as ocupações

(202) Cfr., por exemplo, em relação à África, I. Schapera, 1947:115 e ss.; em relação à América do Norte, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 e ss. Quanto ao papel do Serviço Militar, ver especialmente Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 e ss. (América Central).

citadinas, já nas ocupações rurais, como nas fazendas ou nas colônias, essa exigência não se dá, o que nos leva a crer que os Terêna destribalizados (mas não urbanizados) em menor grau seriam estimulados a fazer o Serviço Militar.

3. Uma terceira ordem de fatôres convergentes pode ser encontrada no plano da organização da família, através do *casamento interétnico* e o *compadrio*. No capítulo anterior vimos o alto índice de mestiços interétnicos nas cidades, em relação ao índice de mestiços intertribais. Comparndo êsses índices com os obtidos na população aldeada (especificamente Cachoeirinha), verificamos que a proporção se invertia de forma tal a nos levar a diagnosticar a tendência atual do matrimônio nas zonas urbanas. O que se vê é uma tendência da população urbanizada a contrair uniões com indivíduos doutra etnia, sobretudo o contingente feminino que olha o marido "purutuya" como um meio de melhorar o seu padrão de vida. Nas entrevistas realizadas nas cidades e nas aldeias a elas suburbanas, como Aldeinha, Passarinho e Moreira (como ainda em Limão Verde, mas por motivo de sua composição étnica múltipla), verifica-se essa expectativa da mulher, alimentada por exemplos conclusivos como a ocorrência de casamentos satisfatórios realizados por suas amigas. Já quanto ao homem parece que a dificuldade é maior; e mesmo quando ocorre um casamento, quase sempre êle se realiza com uma mulher de côr. Não se pode negar que barreiras criadas pelo preconceito dificultam as uniões interétnicas, notadamente quando os homens são índios. Mas, por outro lado, e isso é que devemos ter em conta, o homem Terêna é que não melhora sua situação casando-se com uma "civilizada", qualquer que seja sua côr (203). Pelo contrário. Geralmente piora essa situação: quando mora na aldeia e para aí leva sua companheira, ela raramente se ajusta à comunidade Terêna, sendo inclusive discriminada pela comunidade; quando vive na cidade (situação

(203) A única mul[illegible] outra etnia, para a qual se nota um visível entusiasmo do jovem Terêna, é a japonêsa. Baseados nas experiências de alguns que trabalharam em colônias de japonêses (no município de Campo Grande ou em Terenos), e que nelas observaram a grande capacidade da mulher para o trabalho agrícola, os jovens Terêna começam a olhar a mulher japonêsa com grande interêsse. Naturalmente isso ocorre com o Terêna aldeado, uma vez que é êle que se dedica às atividades de plantio e não vê nas mulheres de seu próprio grupo boas companheiras de trabalho na roça. (Cfr. nossa comunicação, 1958 (b).

mais comum e realmente mais fácil de se levar a bom têrmo), geralmente tem que possuir alguns bens materiais que fundamentem a conquista, o que torna bastante caro o casamento, não apenas por razões financeiras mas, sobretudo, por seu afastamento gradativo (em certos casos imediato) de seu grupo étnico, muito embora continue a se considerar Terêna, falando o idioma e em ocasiões fortuitas encontrando-se com seus antigos companheiros.

A ampliação da rêde familiar por meio do compadrio, constitui uma técnica de acomodação do Terêna na sociedade brasileira, quando os padrinhos convidados para o batismo de seus filhos são escolhidos dentre a população neobrasileira regional ou entre os "purutuya" que desfrutam de posições privilegiadas na cidade ou nas fazendas. No tempo em que os Terêna se dispersaram pelas fazendas — desde a guerra do Paraguai até a passagem da Comissão Rondon —, o batismo e conseqüentemente o compadrio (o mais formal possível) ocorria de uma maneira quase que compulsória, quando das visitas dos padres às "colônias", geralmente com o beneplácito do fazendeiro. Os sobrenomes que os Terêna trazem hoje, adotados de seus padrinhos, são um atestado dêsse período. No presente, excetuando-se provàvelmente a população ainda residente em fazendas, isso já não ocorre com tanta freqüência: nas aldeias, o compadrio intra e intertribal é quase que absoluto (204), como que reforçando a solidariedade tribal ameaçada pelo intenso processo de mudança a que o grupo está submetido; nas cidades, o compadrio interétnico é mais comum não apenas porque o mercado é naturalmente mais amplo, mas sobretudo pelo desejo do índio de com isso se elevar socialmente. É evidente que aqui funcionam os mesmos mecanismos que levam os indivíduos das classes mais pobres a procurarem, pela técnica do compadrio, ascender na escala social; sòmente que em relação aos grupos étnicos — como é o caso dos Terêna —, mais do que ascenção social, o compadrio representa integração na estrutura dominante. Entretanto, desnecessário é sublinhar que o compadrio é uma técnica raramente utilizada por indivíduos do grupo "soi disant" protestante: a instituição de resultados paralelos

(204) Nas aldeias o único padrinho "purutuya" é o Encarregado do Pôsto, por razões óbvias.

ao compadrio, para o "crente", é a fraternidade evangélica que se estrutura sôbre as associações de culto.

4. Entre tôdas as agências aculturativas que vêm minando a resistência tribal à mudança, as mais eficazes têm sido as missões religiosas. Se isso é verdade para todos os grupos indígenas que foram submetidos ao proselitismo religioso ou à catequese, nas Américas, na Ásia ou na África, como bem atesta copiosa bibliografia, os Terêna, òbviamente, não iriam escapar a essa contingência. Nos dois capítulos precedentes, principalmente no VI, demos bastante atenção aos resultados do proselitismo religioso no que se refere à configuração das comunidades que o receberam (seccionando-as em dois grupos político-religiosos antagônicos), como também ao papel que as missões desempenharam e continuam desempenhando no processo de aculturação. Resta-nos indicar, neste capítulo, até onde a atuação das missões permite considerá-las como fatôres convergentes no processo de assimilação.

Como já foi dito, não se pode entender o proselitismo religioso se tomarmos as missões como um todo, sem diferenciar a ação católica da protestante. Tanto uma quanto outra apresentam aspectos peculiares. A ação das missões católicas, principalmente no século XIX, deve ter sido relativamente eficiente na tarefa de quebrar e confundir a antiga religião Terêna, conquanto não tenha conseguido introduzir um sistema de crenças mais ou menos coerente e passível de diminuir a "distância cultural" existente entre aquêle povo tribal e a civilização européia, representada por seus missionários. Parece que a única conseqüência dessa atividade missionária — no que se refere à ideologia tribal — foi criar uma nova identidade para o índio: a de *cristão*. Essa identidade foi recebida pelo Terêna como equivalente à de *civilizado*, mas nem por isso assim aceita pelo "purutuya", para o qual o índio continuava a ser sempre "bugre". As distâncias entre o "purutuya" e o índio, naquela época, eram bem maiores do que a atualmente existente, considerando, por exemplo, que o Terêna apenas veio a usar roupa no século XX, bem como a se tornar um grupo caracteristicamente bilíngue, para citarmos alguns aspectos mais evidentes. O conceito de católico, como categoria de identificação pessoal ou grupal, surgiu recentemente, como resultado da penetração protestante que tornou a designação de cristão demasiadamente ampla. Mas como paralelamente à ação protestante não se

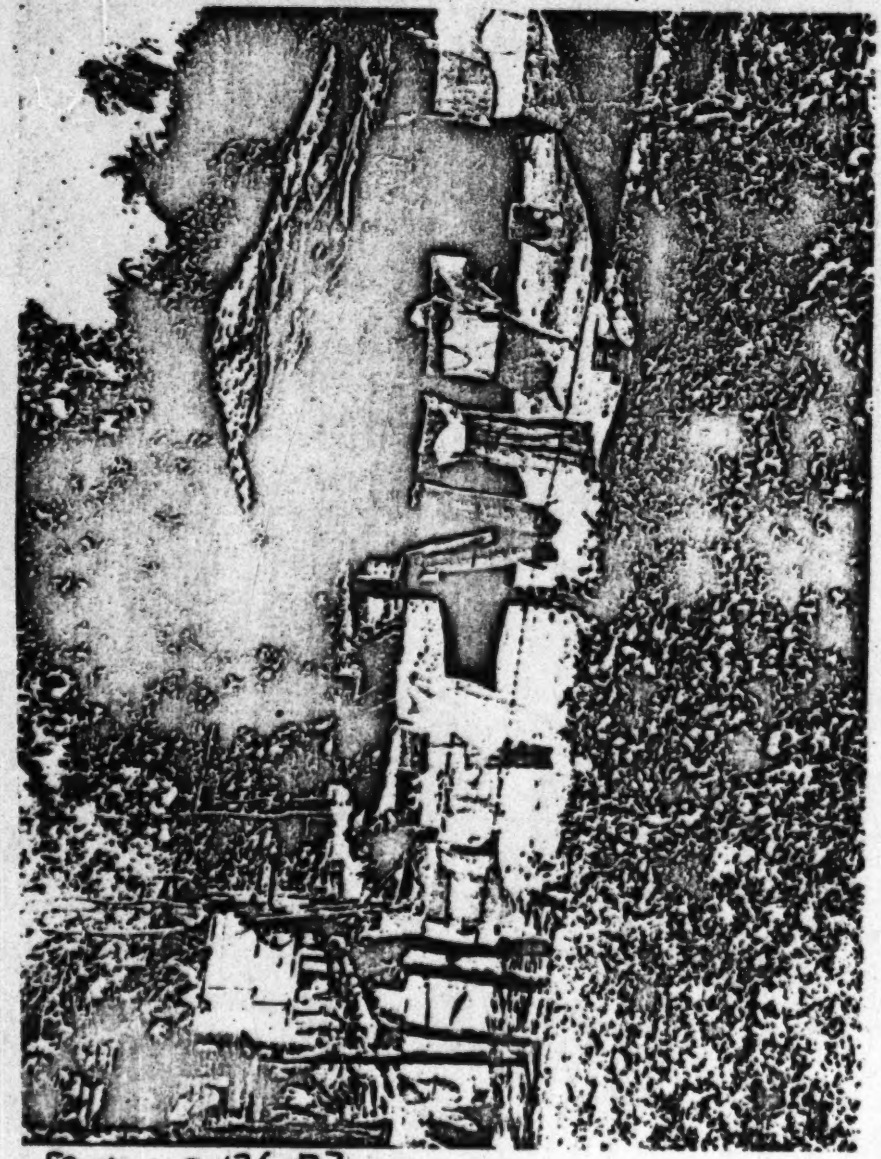
desenvolveu uma ação católica eficaz, os índios "católicos" continuaram a identificar-se a si mesmos como tais, diante da população neobrasileira, mais por hábito do que por convicção, refletindo assim posições apenas conservadoras. A ideologia protestante, no entanto, introduzida por técnicas muito mais eficazes — às quais já nos referimos no capítulo VI — acabaria por galvanizar uma parte da população Terêna, embora menor, mas que veio a conquistar uma "consciência de grupo" ou "consciência de partido" bem mais poderosa. Os mecanismos que atuaram na conversão ou, mais precisamente, no recrutamento de indivíduos para o novo grupo político-religioso, já foram examinados no capítulo acima referido. Sublinhe-se apenas, considerando os Terêna como um todo e excluindo casos individuais, o fato dêsses mecanismos refletirem uma tendência do grupo à mudança (bem maior do que os atuais mecanismos conservadores que operam na manutenção do grupo "soi disant" católico), e conseqüentemente abrindo o caminho para a assimilação. Tivemos assim na atuação das missões católicas do século passado (205) um instrumento importante de perturbação da ideologia tribal, embora de nenhuma maneira decisivo na quebra da resistência do grupo à mudança, para a qual concorreram fatôres muito mais poderosos, como o cativeiro e a desorganização social. Mas é fora de dúvida que essa ação missionária se constituiu num fator *convergente*, de qualidade não muito diferente daquele resultante da ação protestante no presente século. O papel dos padres Redentoristas, pode-se dizer, passa para um segundo plano de relevância, por não colhêr resultados tão positivos (enquanto instrumentos de mudança cultural), daqueles alcançados por seus antecessores ou por seus atuais competidores, os protestantes.

5. A participação dos Terêna na política regional ou nacional marcou seu início em 1864, quando tiveram que entrar no conflito Brasil-Paraguai,

(205) Os missionários que teriam chegado a trabalhar mais intensamente com os Terêna, teriam sido os frades Franciscanos, substitutos dos padres Jesuítas após 1767, data da expulsão da Companhia de Jesus. No capítulo IV, mostramos o precário contato que os Terêna tiveram com a rala população neobrasileira e com as missões até a "Guerra do Paraguai". Mesmo assim, êsse contato chegou a alcançar resultados mais positivos, do que atualmente alcançam os Redentoristas, em virtude de na época não ter tido lugar a competição protestante e, em segundo lugar, provàvelmente, pela intrínseca ineficiência dêsses Redentoristas, mais preocupados talvez com o trabalho nas cidades e junto às povoações neobrasileiras.

[facing p. 136-A]

Jovem Terêna, aprendiz de *Koixomuneti*, levando ao peito uma efígie do "Coração de Jesus". (Cachoeirinha, 1955)



"Favela" Terena, em Aquidauana (1958)

[facing p. 136-B]

como aliados das fôrças do Império e na defesa de suas aldeias invadidas e saqueadas pelas tropas de SOLANO LOPEZ. Essa data assinala provàvelmente o nascimento de uma consciência política em seu sentido mais elementar, como a de se aperceber da existência de uma categoria mais ampla, chamada Nação Brasileira, a que passavam a pertencer compulsòriamente, com muitos deveres e sem nenhum direito. A República e as revoluções que a sucederam até 1930/32, tiveram seus reflexos no sul de Mato Grosso, envolvendo grupos-locais Terêna através dos "Coronéis" regionais, que invadiam e roubavam suas aldeias.

Depois do Estado Novo, com o restabelecimento da vida democrática no País, os partidos políticos começaram a procurar as aldeias Terêna com o objetivo de conquistar eleitores, entre aquêles que por ventura soubessem assinar seus nomes. Para o índio isso representava, de um lado, relações mais simétricas com o "civilizado", pelo menos enquanto durasse a propaganda eleitoral; por outro lado, passava a receber nessa época uns poucos presentes e um vale (que em 3 de outubro de 1955 foi de Cr$ 130,00), se votasse em determinado candidato. Não é demais esclarecer que êsse vale devia ser descontado em mercadorias, na casa de negócio do candidato ou de alguém de seu partido, tornando com isso ainda mais irrisória a importância com que se comprava seus votos.

Em 1955, até às vésperas das eleições, havia 39 eleitores (sendo 9 mulheres) apenas em uma das aldeias, precisamente em Cachoeirinha. Em Passarinho, Moreira e União, juntas, não devia chegar a cinqüenta o número de eleitores. Nas demais aldeias, infelizmente não pudemos levantar o montante de eleitores, uma vez que corria a notícia de que o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, considerando a atuação partidarista de alguns Encarregados de Postos no agenciamento de eleitores para as eleições anteriores, havia decidido recolher os títulos dos índios. Isso, naturalmente dificultou o nosso trabalho, pois na época pertencíamos ao quadro de funcionários daquela repartição. Mas não chegou a impedir que, em Cachoeirinha, comunidade em que permanecemos largo tempo, fizéssemos tal levantamento e conquistássemos a confiança da comunidade para fins de discussão de assuntos políticos. Provàvelmente em tôdas as aldeias Terêna (apar não falar nas Guarani), os partidos políticos promoveram pequenos comícios, autorizados alguns pelos Encarregados, outros pelos próprios "Capitães", os quais muitas vêzes

votavam contra o partido do Encarregado, numa evidente demonstração de antagonismo entre a comunidade e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Mas a técnica mais comum, era o envio de caminhões às aldeias, para trazerem os Terêna à cidade, onde teriam de assistir a grandes comícios nelas organizados. Em Cachoeirinha, por exemplo, vimos o PSD e o PTB, partidos então coligados e na oposição, enviar caminhões à Reserva, que retornavam cheios de índios, eleitores ou não, ansiosos para aproveitarem um passeio gratuito à cidade de Miranda. Quando a UDN, partido situacionista, promovia o seu comício, os *mesmos* índios voltavam para a cidade, em idênticas condições, só pensando em aproveitar ao máximo uma oportunidade de recreação. A fidelidade política era proporcional ao valor dos presentes recebidos e das promessas formuladas à pessoa do "Capitão" ou dos líderes da comunidade. Noutras palavras, tratava-se de conquistar as pessoas mais influentes da aldeia, sobretudo o "Capitão", que possuía sempre um eleitorado, fiel à sua pessoa e não aos partidos ou candidatos "purutuya". Haja vista que nessa comunidade que estamos tratando, todos os votos (com exceção de um ou dois) estavam prometidos ao partido situacionista, pelo fato do Prefeito de Miranda encher de presentes o "Capitão" da aldeia, apesar de ser ao mesmo tempo o maior explorador do trabalho indígena, seja em sua fazenda (vizinha à Reserva), seja em sua usina de açúcar e aguardente (próxima às aldeias de Passarinho e Moreiar), onde paga miseràvelmente seus empregados, em sua totalidade índios de Passarinho.

A reação dos índios destribalizados varia da seguinte maneira: os residentes em fazendas, têm menos liberdade ainda de voto, tendo de acompanhar sempre o seu patrão, o fazendeiro (no quadro político êle segue o mesmo destino do camponês neobrasileiro); os índios urbanizados, tendem a votar nos candidatos indicados pelo Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, alegando que êsse é o partido dos operários e que êles, como tais, não poderiam deixar de apoiar os seus candidatos. Verifica-se aí o nascimento de uma consciência política mais congruente, e mais compatível com um sistema democrático, coisa que não acontece nas aldeias e nas fazendas, integradas ainda numa estrutura paternalista (cada uma a seu modo) e ideològicamente inconseqüentes. O certo é que tanto os aldeados como os destribalizados em seu conjunto, são levados pela atuação dos partidos políticos a se aperceberem da existência de

uma estrutura mais ampla que os obriga a se manifestarem por meio do voto. Naturalmente que a consciência dêsse mecanismo varia na proporção indicada acima, ficando os índios urbanizados na posição "mais esclarecida". Vale a pena mencionar aqui, como ilustração de uma mudança que se está processando na situação dos Terêna, a candidatura de um de seus líderes mais ativos, o "crente" PATRÍCIO LILY, para vereador na cidade de Miranda nas próximas eleições de outubro de 1958 (206). Não há dúvida de que a politização gradativa dos Terêna tem servido de incentivo à assimilação, enquanto modo de contribuir para a intensificação das relações interétnicas com objetivo claramente definido, qual seja o de exercer um papel na política do "purutuya", i.é, obter relações simétricas, ou, em alguns casos, como o dos índios urbanizados, propugnar pelos direitos da classe a que pertencem. Por essa razão, podemos considerar a atuação dos partidos políticos, direta ou indiretamente, como um fator *convergente* de suma importância no processo de assimilação.

6. Com exceção dos fatôres apontados nos dois primeiros parágrafos (1 e 2), nos quais tratamos da atração que as cidades exercem no Terêna, e do Serviço Militar como fonte de novas experiências e vantagens ao jovem índio, os demais fatôres atuam exclusivamente no nível da aculturação, não exercendo nenhuma influência ponderável na mobilidade social. O caso do vereador, em perspectiva, acima referido, não nos permite dizer da importância da politização nesse último nível, uma vez que êle parece ser o único de que até agora temos notícia. Não há caso nem de mobilidade espacial, nem de ascenção social por motores políticos. O fator que representa papel mais relevante na ocorrência de mobilidade social é o *mercado de trabalho*. Nele, como já foi dito várias vêzes, os Terêna ocupam um lugar importante, por vários pontos de vista.

Êsses índios constituíram a mão de obra básica, durante muito tempo,

(206) Êsse Terêna, apesar de morar numa aldeia — e "grosso modo" estar classificado como índio aldeado — constitui uma das exceções, talvez a mais evidente, pelo fato de tanto quanto os índios urbanizados, vive ligado à cidade como assim impõe sua profissão de professor de música e líder evangélico, a cuja história já nos referimos no capítulo V. (Quando êste trabalho estava na imprensa, em suas provas finais, soubemos que o Terêna Patrício Lily havia desistido de se candidatar, alegando [illegible] político, embora não lhe faltasse convite para integrar chapas partidárias).

das fazendas que se formavam no sul de Mato Grosso, especialmente nas proximidades da região por êles ocupada. Com a estrada de ferro e o conseqüente crescimento populacional no sul do Estado, naturalmente a importância dêles diminuiu, sem, contudo, deixarem de ser recrutados para os trabalhos agrícolas, de pastoreio e, sobretudo, de extração de lenha e casca de angico, continuando a garantir, dessa maneira, seu lugar no mercado de trabalho regional. Dessas modalidades de trabalho, são insubstituíveis nas tarefas extrativas, para as quais desenvolveram uma técnica primorosa, aliada à grande resistência que demonstram numa atividade das mais penosas. É voz corrente em Mato Grosso, de que não há melhor "casqueiro" que o Terêna. Numa "mesa redonda" que organizamos em Duque Estrada, em 1955, pudemos ouvir depoimentos de três fazendeiros, unânimemente favoráveis ao índio como trabalhador, apesar de inicialmente haverem procurado diminuir o seu valor, só mudando de atitude e pondo de lado os esteriótipos depois de cerrada discussão entre si, por nós estimulada. Concordaram, finalmente, que o Terêna é o braço da região e, mesmo, o braço mais desejado: "trabalha bem, vive com pouco e é muito obediente".

A extração da casca do angico ou, simplesmente, a da lenha, aparecem como as atividades de produção preferenciais do Terêna aldeado, excluindo-se, naturalmente, o trabalho em suas próprias roças. Em 1957 um chefe de turma de trabalhadores podia ganhar Cr$ 80,00 por dia, enquanto seus comandados Cr$ 65,00. Essas empreitadas não lhes rendem muito como poderia parecer, em virtude das despesas serem muito altas: alimentação, gasto de roupas e de instrumentos de trabalho; além disso, os dias em que permanecem longe de suas famílias — cêrca de uma semana a um mês — são considerados como de muito sacrifício: dormem pior, sem mulher, comida deficiente e o dinheiro que trazem não compensa... Mas, mesmo assim, preferem vagar de fazenda em fazenda, i.é, "changuear", retornando sempre à aldeia, do que abandoná-la e, com sua família, instalar-se numa "colônia" qualquer. O padrão de trabalho da maioria dêsses índios é a combinação da "changa", i.é, do trabalho esporádico para patrões, com o plantio em seus próprios "lotes", na aldeia.

O trabalho não-braçal na cidade, ou o artezanal no campo, para o índio aldeado, representa uma "economia do corpo", e por êsse motivo

um estímulo ao abandono das atividades tradicionais de produção. Tomemos, à guisa de ilustração, o caso do índio ABLINDO: êsse Terêna, jovem de 28 anos, havia se iniciado na profissão de padeiro, na cidade de Aquidauana, onde passou a morar com sua mulher e um filho pequeno, deixando sua comunidade de origem, Cachoeirinha, "para experimentar". Morava na casa do patrão, anexa à padaria, e sua mulher trabalhava na mesma casa, como doméstica. Diz êle que apesar da patroa — espôsa do dono — ser muito implicante com os empregados da padaria, êle estava aguentando e de lá não sairia por espontânea vontade. "Já estava abrindo pão e, em pouco tempo eu ia deixar de ser ajudante! Como padeiro — afirmava com certa veemência — acabaria ganhando Cr$ 2.500,00 e se chegasse a "mestre", poderia ganhar Cr$ 7.500,00!" Pelas informações que nos deu, não se poderia dizer que seu trabalho (pelo menos o de ajudante de padeiro) fôsse muito melhor do que aquêle que realizava na aldeia ou nas fazendas: trabalhava das 22 horas até às 12 horas do dia seguinte; descansava umas quatro horas e reiniciava as atividades, fazendo polvilho até às 20 horas, quando, então, jantava e às 22 horas retomava o trabalho de fazer pão. Esta era a sua rotina diária. E apesar disso, ponderava: "A única coisa ruim era a dor na vista (devido ao polvilho, à poeira ou à luz fraca) e o sono; já o corpo não se cansava muito, como acontece no trabalho do campo; mas, o mais importante, era que não se *estragava!*" Esta preocupação de economizar o corpo, pudemos verificar, era comum à maioria dos Terêna com que falávamos. Um dêles, por exemplo, nos explicou que desistira de trabalhar em "bateção" de café, porque seus braços e seus pulmões já não aguentavam..." A tendência dos jovens — dizem êles próprios — "é procurar ou uma profissão (como padeiro, marceneiro, etc.) ou montar um "bolicho" e ganhar dinheiro na sombra". Veremos adiante, porque isso não passa de uma expectativa, raramente realizada, como ilustra muito bem o próprio ABLINDO, hoje "changueando" e tentando fazer sua roça no "lote" da família.

Êsse cuidado com o corpo — que não estamos afirmando ser peculiar ao índio — é um dos fatôres que com certo vigor têm atuado na mobilidade social do Terêna, impelindo-o a tentar mudar de "profissão", ou, melhor, a adestrar-se numa profissão não-braçal, onde quer que surja uma oportunidade. Não sendo as poucas atividades artezanais na própria

aldeia, como a ourivesaria, o trabalho em couro ou a profissão de alfaiate, suficientes para dispensar aquêles que as exercem das tarefas agrícolas e das empreitadas nas fazendas, a ida às cidades (mobilidade física) aparece para o Terêna como a única possibilidade de realmente mudar de ocupação (mobilidade horizontal) ao mesmo tempo que poderá elevar-se na vida social (mobilidade vertical). Embora essa nova ocupação nem sempre seja alcançada, como no caso do ARLINDO, as tentativas e os esforços em obtê-la resultam sempre em novas experiências para o indivíduo e, indiretamente, para o grupo. Podemos concluir que o mercado de trabalho, urbano ou rural, *na medida em que atrai o Terêna para fora de sua aldeia*, está criando condições para sua assimilação.

Fatôres divergentes

1. A existência de *aparência física* peculiar bem como de *idioma*, cria barreiras extraordinàriamente difíceis de se vencer, porquanto discriminam o Terêna por onde quer que êle se movimente. Isso se aplica aos índios aldeados, e em certo sentido aos de fazenda — no que se refere à fenotipia —, mais do que entre os residentes em cidades, os quais, em sua maioria, falam correntemente e sem sotaque o português, ao mesmo tempo que se vestem melhor, em quase nada se diferenciando do neobrasileiro das classes menos favorecidas. Seu próprio tipo físico o confunde com a população biològicamente mestiça (207) que, por sua vez, jamais se atribui a condição de descendente de índios, mas, ao inverso, demonstra grande desrespeito pelo "bugre" — têrmo pelo qual a população não-indígena pejorativamente denomina os índios da região. Já os Terêna aldeados, em sua maioria, falam mal e com sotaque, além de se trajarem de uma maneira mais rústica, quer os homens, quer as mulheres. Isso torna fácil identificá-los onde quer que apareçam, tornando possível aos "bolicheiros" (208), por exemplo, atendê-los sempre

(207) Dizemos "biològicamente mestiça", apesar de reconhecermos estar caindo numa tautologia. Com isso queremos deixar claro que os mestiços (interétnicos), até agora referidos, continuam a manter o mesmo estilo de vida e a mesma consciência de grupo que caracteriza o Terêna "biològicamente puro". Apesar da mestiçagem continuam a ser Terêna e como tal reconhecidos pela comunidade.

(208) Cf. nota n.º 141.

em último lugar e não raro com má vontade, numa flagrante discriminação. Por diversas vêzes tem ocorrido casos de agressões gratuitas a grupos de indivíduos, quando de suas compras nas cidades. Uma delas, de conseqüências mais graves, deu-se em Miranda, envolvendo uma família Terêna de Cachoeirinha e um grupo de policiais da cidade: conta o principal agredido que estava parado numa calçada, juntamente com seu filho e outros companheiros, quando dêles se acercaram dois ou três soldados que passaram a ofendê-los; com a reação, embora tímida de seu filho, os policiais passaram a agredí-lo, fazendo o grupo debandar a tiros; um dêsses tiros o alcançou, prostando-o ao chão, ferido na perna. Isso lhe custou algum tempo no hospital, às custas do S.P.I., que tentou processar os agressores, e pelas informações que recebemos, sem nenhum resultado positivo. Isso ilustra quanto a mera presença do índio fora de sua aldeia, i.é, numa casa de comércio ou numa cidade, pode estimular atitudes discriminadoras, que podem chegar até à agressão. O simples aspecto exterior do índio especialmente o aldeado, permite distinguí-lo onde quer que esteja. Naturalmente isso dificulta a ocorrência do conhecido fenômeno do "passar" de um grupo minoritário (étnico ou nacional) para o majoritário e dominante.

O conhecimento da língua portuguêsa é hoje indispensável ao Terêna, em qualquer situação que se encontre: facilita as relações interétnicas, ampliando sobremaneira sua área de mobilidade social ou meramente geográfica. Tanto assim que nas aldeias tidas como tradicionais e ètnicamente homogêneas, sòmente as crianças até seis ou oito anos não falam o português. Nessas aldeias, encontram-se muitos velhos que jamais chegaram a falar correntemente o português, pois viveram numa época em que as relações da comunidade com a sociedade brasileira tinham um caráter tão escravagista, que ao índio não cabia escolher trabalho ou mudar de patrão. Com a proteção oficial — como vimos no capítulo IV — êle passou a ser mais dono de si, podendo se decidir para a alternativa que melhor lhe conviesse. Ganhou assim um mínimo de liberdade, conquanto bastante limitada face à pobreza do mercado de trabalho regional. Por essa razão, não se encontram homens de 15 a 60 anos que não falem relativamente bem o português naquelas aldeias classificadas como *antigas* ou tradicionais. Nas aldeias de formação mais recente ou de composição étnica múltipla, tanto as crianças como os

velhos falam o português pelo fato de o haverem apreendido graças ao contato com famílias neobrasileiras (nas fazendas de onde saíram para formar as novas aldeias) ou por suas relações com indivíduos de tribos diferentes (como os Guaikuru, em Lalima, ou os Kaiwá, em Francisco Horta). Já nas cidades, i.é, entre os Terêna urbanizados, o conhecimento do idioma Terêna é mais raro nas novas gerações e mais comum entre os velhos (emigrados de aldeias).

Excusado insistir sôbre a importância do idioma Terêna e da fenotipia mongolóide, como fatôres que contribuem para dificultar a assimilação, porquanto se caracterizam em ser "marcas raciais".

2. Há outros fatôres, entretanto, que atuam de uma maneira divergente no processo de assimilação, enquanto dificultam a obtenção pelos Terêna de empregos mais bem pagos e com certa estabilidade. É a falta de *documentos*, aliás já mencionada páginas atrás, quando tratamos do Certificado de Reservista. Os "passes", que o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios fornece, não são aceitos pelas emprêsas empregadoras ou, quando muito, são parcialmente aceitos, i.é, os patrões alegando que os "passes" não possuem o valor de Carteira de Trabalho (para cuja extração é preciso certidão de nascimento, tirada em cartório), ou, pelo menos, certificado de Reservista, acabam por racionalizar os baixos salários que pagam. As entrevistas realizadas, contudo, denunciam que já existe uma consciência entre os Terêna de que é indispensável possuir um documento de identidade, principalmente Carteira de Trabalho, sem o qual não poderão obter melhores empregos. Embora sejam os índios residentes nas cidades os que mais falta sentem de documento, os aldeados já começam a ver quanto isso é necessário, mormente aquêles que vivem em comunidades próximas aos centros urbanos (como Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira ou Cachoeirinha).

Conquanto as ocupações artezanais, industriais ou simplesmente urbanas (limpeza pública, empregados de Escola, de Cinema, serventes, etc.) exerçam grande atração para o Terêna, não se pode deixar de assinalar que depois de realizados seus objetivos, é comum se sentirem deslocados na nova atividade, a ponto de retornarem à aldeia para trabalharem em suas roças, mesmo que lhes custe abaixar seu nível de vida. Mesmo os Terêna razoàvelmente empregados nas cidades e desfrutando um nível de vida muito superior ao melhor da aldeia, quando não retornam a

ela, ficam lamentando não estar trabalhando na *lavoura*. Êsse é um ponto significativo, pois mostra o vigor com que a cultura plasma no indivíduo certos padrões que só com muito custo, e em condições singulares, êle perde. Tão sedimentada está a atividade agrícola na conduta do Terêna comum, que isso tem dificultado a sua fixação "definitiva" na cidade. Êsse apêgo às atividades de plantio, pode ser considerado como um segundo fator, de ordem econômica ou de produção, que, dificultando a permanência do índio nas cidades, oblitera um dos caminhos à assimilação: o da urbanização. Evidentemente que isso não é verdadeiro para os Terêna destribalizados — que trabalham e vivem em fazendas — pois se de um lado dispensam documentos, de outro *continuam* a exercer atividades agrícolas; os mecanismos que operam num tal contexto são de outra ordem, e, provàvelmente mesmo, os mais eficientes no processo de assimilação. A pobreza de informações pormenorizadas, a respeito dessa população "de fazenda", que nos permitisse inferir com o mesmo grau de probabilidade a natureza dos mecanismos "assimiladores", como fizemos em relação aos Terêna aldeados e aos urbanizados, leva-nos a indicar sòmente que os índios daquela categoria ("de fazenda"), mais do que os outros das categorias restantes (aldeados e urbanizados), encontram-se mais adiantados no caminho da assimilação, quer por sua condição de destribalizados, quer por permanecerem em contextos rurais, cuja "distância cultural" em relação à vida de aldeia é bem menor do que a existente entre esta e a vida urbana.

3. O Serviço de Proteção aos Índios será tratado nesse parágrafo como um fator *divergente* no processo de assimilação. Como já mencionamos em vários locais dêste trabalho, foi graças à ação protecionista do S.P.I. que a população Terêna (para nos restringirmos apenas a ela) conseguiu sobreviver ao impacto da sociedade brasileira, representada, hist̀oricamente, por sua face pastoril. A criação das Reservas Indígenas originou condições infinitamente superiores em relação à fase do "cativeiro", a que os Terêna ficaram submetidos desde a guerra do Paraguai. Reorganizados alguns grupos-locais remanescentes, formadas novas comunidades, em terras defendidas pelo govêrno federal, a população Terêna pôde resistir aos efeitos altamente dissociativos do contato interétnico, mormente numa época em que o equipamento defensivo (cultural e biológico) dêsses índios era bastante reduzido e pouco eficaz. Provàvel-

mente isso explica o fenômeno da sobrevivência Terêna, em contraposição ao desaparecimento dos demais sub-grupos Guaná, os Layâna e os Kinikináu, atingidos em primeiro lugar pela frente pastoril, depois de bastante trabalhados pelos missionários jesuítas e franciscanos; quando da passagem da Comissão Rondon — época que marca o início da proteção, à base de uma nova ideologia indigenista —, essas tribos ou tinham desaparecido completamente enquanto grupos (os Layâna), ou estavam extremamente reduzidas (os Kinikináu), sem condições para aguentar os altos e baixos da própria proteção.

Asseguradas as suas terras, o resultado dessa ação protecionista foi a *segregação*. Note-se bem: não uma segregação imposta pelo S.P.I., por meios diretos, persuasivos ou violentos; mas uma conseqüência natural da criação de Reservas, numa área em que a população tribal era bàrbaramente explorada. Não foram poucos os fazendeiros e "coronéis" que se manifestaram contra a prática protecionista, pois que esta vinha a lhes "usurpar" terras e mão de obra gratuita. Acredita-se entre os Terêna que a maioria da população que não retornou às aldeias, não o fêz porque se acomodou em fazendas, cujos proprietários pagavam ou teriam passado a pagar o trabalho indígena, de uma maneira adequada; habituados ao lugar e tendo trabalho garantido, aquêles Terêna — que entraram em processo intenso de destribalização — optaram por permanecer nas fazendas em que já se encontravam, ou, então, vieram a constituir mão de obra móvel, passando de fazenda a fazenda, de acôrdo com as oscilações do mercado de trabalho regional.

A condição de segregação a que está submetida a população aldeada, estimula a emergência de mecanismos psico-sociais contrários à assimilação: torna mais sólido o "nós tribal", diminui as possibilidades de contato interétnico e *marca* socialmente a situação de índio, tutelado. Examinemos êste último aspecto da segregação, porquanto os dois primeiros — o revigoramento da consciência tribal e a criação de impecilhos ao contato interétnico — já foram tratados em capítulos anteriores. A discriminação mais flagrante do índio que tivemos a oportunidade de presenciar, levou a chancela do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, por ocasião das eleições de 1955. Naquele ano, em fins de setembro, portanto às vésperas do pleito, a Inspetoria Regional (IR-5), sediada em Campo Grande e responsável pela supervisão e articulação dos Postos Indígenas,

do sul de Mato Grosso, com a diretoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decidiu recolher os títulos dos índios eleitores, alegando que a politicagem regional iria prejudicar os interêsses dos índios e a sua administração. Ponderava — com certa razão — que, se os índios votassem, os funcionários do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, sobretudo os Encarregados, acabariam por se tornar cabos eleitorais, como já vinha acontecendo em algumas aldeias; o resultado disso seria uma futura disputa dos cargos de Encarregados de Postos Indígenas, pois que êles passariam a representar poder político, importância eleitoral. Pois bem. Essas foram as razões que levaram o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios — através de sua Inspetoria — a tomar uma atitude que veio contrariar frontalmente os princípios básicos de uma política indigenista, tendente a garantir ao índio a obtenção de direitos para cujo usufruto estivesse em condições. Desde que alfabetizado e, na maioria dos casos, reservista, êsse índio eleitor deixava automàticamente de ser tutelado (malgrado ser "sui generis" essa tutela) — e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, interpretando de uma maneira positiva a prática protecionista, não teria outra coisa a fazer senão garantir a obtenção e gôzo de um direito conquistado. Deixemos, entretanto, as implicações indigenistas daquela atitude e passemos a examinar seu aspecto sociológico.

A primeira providência dos Encarregados dos Postos Indígenas foi recolher os títulos nas próprias aldeias. Nelas conseguiram recolher sòmente uma parte, provàvelmente a menor — a se julgar por Cachoeirinha, onde foram poucos os que concordarem em se desfazer dos títulos; grande parte dos índios, alegava que seus títulos se encontravam ou nos partidos (na cidade), ou com o próprio Juiz Eleitoral, em cujas mãos deveriam buscar para votar. Em conseqüência disso, alguns Encarregados querendo cumprir a todo custo a determinação superior, acabaram por ir às cidades no dia de eleição e lá impedir por todos os meios que o índio votasse. Foi uma verdadeira caçada e extremamente difícil, uma vez que, se os funcionários do S.P.I. eram ajudados por determinado partido, eram impedidos por outro que sabia contar com os votos dos índios daquela aldeia. Muitos votaram, é verdade. Talvez a maioria, pois nem todos os funcionários procuraram ser tão eficientes... Mas o resultado disso, foi tornar claro para o índio que a distância entre êle e a sociedade dos "purutuya" é pràticamente intransponível. E ainda: ser índio e

viver aldeado, sob as vistas do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (209), é aguentar também a discriminação, que começa pela ação do próprio órgão protetor de seus direitos.

4. Além das barreiras até agora indicadas, a saber: (1) as étnicas (fenotipia e língua), (2) aquelas criadas pelo mercado de trabalho urbano (falta de documentos e preferência pelo trabalho agrícola) e (3) as nascidas pela intervenção do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregação e discriminação), concorrem também para dificultar o pleno funcionamento dos mecanismos de assimilação, aquelas barreiras que chamaremos "sociais", porque operam no nível de *organização da vida associativa*.

A primeira delas emerge da dificuldade que encontra a população Terêna egressa das aldeias em *manter o mesmo índice de vida associativa*. Quer localizando-se em fazendas, quer em cidades — principalmente em cidades — as famílias Terêna passam a participar de relações mais impessoais, mais ralas e limitadas a um pequeno grupo de patrícios (geralmente vizinhos, parentes e compadres) e a uns poucos companheiros de trabalho. A intensa "vida social" das aldeias (festas, jogos, visitas, etc.) não encontra símile nas fazendas e nas cidades. Tôda aquela interação tipicamente tribal a que estavam habituados, vai desaparecendo. A própria vida recreativa do Terêna emigrado, que a princípio parecia enriquecer-se muito com sua trasladação para as áreas urbanas, por exemplo, mostra-se muito mais pobre, pois é inacessível às camadas menos favorecidas da população, nas quais êle se acomoda.

Essa *integração nos estratos mais baixos*, por sua vez, pode ser considerada como uma segunda barreira a se levantar entre os Terêna e a sociedade nacional. A população destribalizada, desde o momento que sai de sua aldeia, mesmo que não se desvincule totalmente de seu grupo-local, passa a viver ou como um camponês sem terra (quando se localiza em fazendas), ou como um trabalhador braçal (quando reside em cidades). Raras são as exceções, aliás já mencionadas parágrafos atrás. Mas o fato dessa população destribalizada (sobretudo a urbanizada),

(209) Os índios destribalizados (urbanizados e residentes em fazendas), como também os moradores em aldeias não possuidoras de Pôsto Indígena, não chegaram a ser impedidos de votar, porquanto, na prática, escapavam do contrôle do S.P.I.

passar a vender melhor sua fôrça de trabalho, não é suficiente, pois suas necessidades e suas despesas aumentam consideràvelmente a ponto de não compensar o abandono das aldeias por razões meramente econômicas (210). Essa população, òbviamente, é impedida de desfrutar de tôdas as vantagens anunciadas pela vida urbana; participando do sistema nacional de estratificação, os Terêna destribalizados começam a enfrentar aquelas mesmas dificuldades, comuns às classes mais pobres da população regional. Somadas as "barreiras de classe" com as "barreiras étnicas", o resultado é a limitação da vida associativa, de molde a reduzir extraordinàriamente o seu campo de ação na sociedade nacional (rural ou urbana) e a desistimular sua assimilação.

A conseqüência mais importante da existência dessas barreiras, é a fixação precária nas cidades e mesmo nas fazendas da grande maioria dos Terêna destribalizados. Concorre também para isso, embora não possamos precisar em que grau, as dificuldades que encontram os Terêna de formar família fora das aldeias. A *diminuição do mercado matrimonial*, face à menor possibilidade de casamento intra ou intertribal, leva o jovem Terêna (mais do que a jovem casadoira) a procurar sua companheira nas aldeias. De um lado, devido à aspiração das jovens Terêna destribalizadas em casar-se com um "purutuya", como vimos no parágrafo 3, nas páginas dedicadas aos fatôres convergentes; de outro, pela dificuldade que encontra o homem Terêna em conseguir uma mulher que não seja índia. O *preconceito "racial" existente (muito mais atuan-*

(210) Vimos noutro lugar (Cf. 4, pp. 115/16) que outros motores também concorreram para atrair os Terêna à **cidade** e como êles — os motores — não foram suficientes para nelas fixá-los. Quanto às **fazendas**, como lugar para residir e trabalhar, elas não exercem, como jamais exerceram, atração ao Terêna aldeado ou mesmo urbanizado; se essa "população Terêna de fazenda" existe hoje, isso é devido às sucessivas lutas política e militares que envolveram a região, desde a guerra com o Paraguai, levando a população Terêna a um engajamento compulsório às fazendas, num tempo em que as Reservas Indígenas ainda não tinham sido constituídas: tal população é formada, atualmente, de remanescentes dos grupos-locais dispersos em tempos pretéritos e que não mais retornaram às aldeias posteriormente reorganizadas. Entretanto esta população continua ainda a ser identificada como pertencente a um grupo étnico definido, como comprova a facilidade com que seus componentes foram identificados por nossos informantes de Aldeinha, quando nos indicaram o montante da população Terêna residente nas fazendas do município de Aquidauana. (Cf. pág. 101). Isso não exclui, todavia, a **assimilação** à população neobrasileira rural, de gerações sucessivas de **mestiços interétnicos**, através das fazendas, que sempre funcionaram como agências de mudança cultural.

te na mulher "purutuya"), aliado à perspectiva de baixo nível de vida, práticamente impede o matrimonônio interétnico, quando o pretendente é índio. Se é verdade que a ocorrência de casamento interétnico tem favorecido a assimilação, a ponto de o classificarmos como um dos fatores convergentes, é verdade também que êle abrange apenas uma categoria populacional, a saber, o sexo feminino. A população masculina casadoira é compelida a continuar ligada o mais possível às comunidades de origem, para garantir suas mulheres. Considere-se, ainda, a expectativa dos pais (quando ambos são Terêna) em ver seus filhos e filhas casados com indivíduos do seu próprio grupo étnico. Isso faz com que essas famílias—notadamente as formadas em aldeias— exerçam certa pressão não só em seus filhos, como também em suas filhas, para que mantenham relações regulares com o grupo-local, onde deverão achar, certamente, seus cônjuges. Essa pressão, entretanto, pode ser entendida aqui como uma forma de garantir cônjuges para seus filhos (as) sem que isso indique maior preconceito em relação ao "purutuya": pelos casos colhidos e pelos depoimentos registrados, conclui-se que êles ficam, em regra, muito satisfeitos com o casamento interétnico, especialmente quando êste vem melhorar a situação de seus filhos e dêles próprios.

Antes de entrarmos — à guisa de conclusões — na recapitulação dos pontos principais dêste ensaio, será conveniente mostrar como êsses fatôres convergentes atuam no processo de assimilação. É plenamente aceitável a idéia de que da ação mútua de fatôres contrários (convergentes combinados com divergentes) emergem certos mecanismos, cujas conseqüências no indivíduo são a incerteza, a pluralidade de objetivos, a ambivalência na avaliação de pessoas de seu próprio grupo, etc., etc... Quando, então, se acrescenta a isso a desorganização da família, ou seja a desarticulação do menor grupo inclusivo, o mecanismo de marginalização (já em atividade) passa a operar com grande eficácia, tornando improvável que o indivíduo evolua (em termos do "continuum" de GLASER) para uma condição "segregadora", muitas vêzes com seu retôrno à comunidade de origem; ao contrário, ou permanece "marginal" ou evolui para uma condição de "dessegregação" (em que parece estar a maior parte de indivíduos, nascidos e criados nas cidades ou nas fazendas); desta para a de "assimilado' — que constitui a etapa final do processo — a distância é menor, embora, como vimos, de difícil verificação empírica

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

(211). Esclareça-se, entretanto, que nem sempre é possível conhecer todos os momentos de um *processus* real, apesar de se ter uma noção de suas etapas mais significativas. Por êsse motivo, jamais pensamos estar descrevendo o fenômeno da assimilação com a mesma precisão com que se poderia descrever a organização social de uma tribo ou o sistema de comunicações de uma sociedade complexa. Não será ocioso, pois, lembrar aqui as palavras de TALCOTT PARSONS quando adverte que mesmo não se conhecendo as leis que governam um processo, será sempre possível "descrevê-lo" em têrmos de seus momentos inicial e final — e possívelmente inferir sôbre seus estados intermediários — até alcançar generalizações empíricas sôbre êle (212). Êsse foi o nosso procedimento, propiciado pelo exame minucioso dos dados colhidos no campo. Acreditamos que pela análise dos fatôres sócio-culturais que atuaram de uma forma convergente ou divergente no processo de assimilação, conseguimos indicar as bases sôbre as quais operam os mecanismos psico-sociais.

Conclusões

I. Os Terêna, tendo sido o último sub-grupo Guaná a entrar em contato contínuo e sistemático com a sociedade brasileira, tiveram, naturalmente, um desgaste muito menor em relação aos Exoaladi, aos Layâna e aos Kinikináu, quer do ponto de vista físico (depopulação), quer do ponto de vista cultural (deculturação). Isso explica sua sobrevivência às vicissitudes por que passaram depois da guerra do Paraguai, com seu cativeiro, a desorganização dos grupos-locais e sua dispersão pelas fazendas que se formavam. Com a criação das Reservas Indígenas, êles ainda tiveram fôrças para se reorganizarem em aldeias, enfrentarem

(211) "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e. g. "Nordic"), althoug the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated patter is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). Quanto à composição do "continuum", veja-se nota n.º 172 e n.º 196.

(212) "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it. — A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons, 1952:201).

as epidemias e a competição com a população neobrasileira regional, pois ainda constituiam um grupo bastante numeroso e altamente integrado.

II. Conquanto a maioria dos Terêna houvesse gradativamente retornado à vida de aldeia, um contingente menor permaneceu nas fazendas, onde se ajustou, entrando em processo de destribalização. Hoje, encontramos o seguinte quadro: uns acham-se instalados permanentemente nas "colônias", daquelas fazendas que lhes dispensaram um tratamento melhor, equivalente ao dano ao camponês neobrasileiro; outros, ficaram circulando de fazenda em fazenda, obedecendo aos ciclos das colheitas e à oferta de trabalho. Não obstante, essa população destribalizada continua a identificar-se, em seu conjunto, como pertencente a um grupo étnico definido e a ser reconhecida pela "comunidade" Terêna como seu componente. A ocorrência de casamento interétnico faz com que, através da mestiçagem e da desorganização familiar, se verifique a assimilação individual; em certo sentido essa assimilação torna-se mais fácil de se realizar nas zonas rurais do que nas áreas urbanas, em face da menor "distância cultural" existente entre aquelas zonas e as aldeias, apesar de surgirem as cidades como as mais poderosas agências de mudança.

III. Com a progressiva urbanização dos núcleos populacionais neobrasileiros, i.é, com a formação das cidades, tanto índios aldeados como destribalizados passaram a ser atraídos por elas, a ponto de numerosas famílias se instalarem ns áreas urbanas e suburbanas e nelas residirem à custa de suas ocupações citadinas. Apesar de destribalizados e urbanizados, êsses Terêna continuaram a se manter ligados às suas aldeias de origem, (i) identificando-se com elas, (ii) mantendo "lotes" nas mesmas e (iii) a elas retornando quando das atividades profanas ou aos rituais mágico-religiosos. A assimilação dêsse contingente urbanizado, tende a ocorrer nas gerações seguintes à do Terêna emigrado, segundo certas condições, sendo a mais importante: a desorganização familiar. Quer em relação a êste contingente urbanizado, quer em relação àquele apenas destribalizado — referidos no parágrafo anterior — os mecanismos de assimilação são os mesmos, variando, òbviamente, seu conteúdo.

IV. Embora a análise em profundidade a que foram submetidos apenas os Terêna classificados como *aldeados* e como *urbanizados*, tenha sido suficiente para visualizarmos o processo de assimilação, a exclusão

dos Terêna *destribalizados*, a saber, os residentes em fazendas, impôs a êste trabalho uma séria limitação, que tentamos contornar pelo uso, talvez abusivo, de um conjunto muito pobre de dados, obtidos freqüentemente por técnicas indiretas. Entretanto, a viabilidade dêsse procedimento, defensável do ponto de vista metodológico, nos permitiu tratar os Terêna como um todo, classificá-los em categorias sociológicas objetivas e sôbre elas emitir generalizações. A manipulação dos conceitos de aculturação e de mobilidade social propiciou-nos antever dois aspectos ou condições básicas do processo de assimilação. Finalmente, o esmiuçamento dêsse processo, através do exame dos mecanismos psicosociais dêle emergentes — realizado com o auxílio de um esquema teorético particular (Glaser) —, levou-nos a compreender os aspectos dinâmicos da identificação étnica e sua importância para a sobrevivência dos Terêna, enquanto *grupos*.

V. A conclusão final a que se chega é que a população Terêna, malgrado esteja *integrada* à estrutura econômica regional, nada indica que em futuro próximo venha a ser *assimilada* pela sociedade brasileira ou pòr seus segmentos sócio-culturais (213). Talvez nem mesmo isso chegue a ocorrer algum dia, se persistirem as mesmas condições que têm levado a quase totalidade dessa população a permanecer *aldeada*. A assimilação de alguns *indivíduos*, geralmente filhos e netos de índios emigrados de suas comunidades, destribalizados ou urbanizados, não é suficiente para nos permitir diagnosticar a população Terêna, em seu conjunto, como estando em vias de incorporação à sociedade nacional.

(213) Cf. Julian H. Steward. 1955:43-63.

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana

BIBLIOGRAFIA CITADA

ADAMS, RICHARD N.
1956 — "La Ladinización en Guatemala" in Integracion Social en Guatemala, (seminário de Integracion Social Guatemalteca), Guatemala. pp. 213-244.

AGUIRRE, D JUAN FRANCISCO
1898 — Etnografia del Chaco. Boletin del Instituto Histórico Argentino, 19, Buenos Ayres.

ALINCOURT, LUIZ D'
1857 — "Reflexões sôbre o systema de defesa que se deve adotar na fronteira do Paraguay, em conseqüência das revoltas e dos insultos praticados ùltimamente pela nação dos índios Guaycurus ou Cavaleiros; pelo sargento mor engenheiro Luiz d'Alincourt, Cuyabá, 1826" — in Revista do I.H.G.B., XX, Rio de Janeiro.

ALMEIDA, MÁRIO MONTEIRO DE
1951 — Episódios Históricos da Formação Geográfica do Brasil — Fixação das Raias com o Uruguai e o Paraguai. Edição Pongetti, Rio de Janeiro.

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO FRANCO DE
1845 — "Parecer sôbre o aldeamento dos índios Uaicurus e Guanás, com a descrição de seus usos, religião, estabilidade e costumes", in Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geográf. Bras., vol. VII, Rio de Janeiro.
1850 — "Continuação do parecer sôbre os índios Uaicurus e Guanás..." — R.I.H.G.B., vol. XIII, Rio de Janeiro.

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949 — "Mudança Cultural dos Terêna" in Revista do Museu Paulista, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo.

AZARA, FELIX
1809 — Voyages dans l'Amerique Meridionale depuis 1781 jusqu'en 1801. Ed. C.A. Walckenaer, Paris.

[P 154 is blank]

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

1943 — Descripcion y Historia del Paraguay y del Rio de La Plata. Edições Bajel, Buenos Aires.

ABREUDO, FERNANDO DE

1950 — Um trem corre para o Oeste — Estudo sôbre a Noroeste e seu papel no sistema de viação nacional. Livraria Martins Editôra S.A., São Paulo.

BACH, J.

1916 — "Datos sôbre los indios Terêna 'de Miranda" in Anales de la Sociedad Cientifica Argentina, LXXXII, Buenos Aires.

BALDUS, HERBERT

1937 — Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira. Cia. Editôra Nacional.

1945 — "Introdução" a Os Caduveo de Guido Boggiani. Edições Martins.

1950 — "Lendas dos índios Tereno" in Revista do Museu Paulista, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo.

BALDUS, HERBERT E EMILIO WILLEMS

1939 — Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia. Cia. Editôra Nacional.

BEALS, RALPH

1953 — "Acculturation" — in Kroeber, Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory. University of Chicago Press, pp. 621-641.

CABEZA DE VACA, D. ALVAR NUÑEZ

1837 — Voyages, Relations et Memoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amerique, publiés pour la première fois en Français, pour H. Ternaux — Compan — Comentaires D'Alvar Nuñes Cabeça de Vaca, Adelantado e gouverneur du Rio de la Plata — Valladolid 1555. Paris, ed. Arthus Bertrand, 1837.

1946 — Naufrágios y Comentarios segunda edición, Espasa — Calpe Argentina, S.A., Buenos Aires.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE

1949 — Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul, col. Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editôra Nacional, São Paulo.

COLSON, ELIZABETH

1953 — The Makah Indians: A Study of an Indian tribe in modern American Society. University of Minnesota Press. Great Britain.

ELLIOT, JOÃO HENRIQUE

1870 — "Itinerario das viagens exploradoras emprehendidas pelo Sr. barão de Antonina para descobrir uma via de comunicação entre o pôrto da villa de Antonina e o Baixo — Paraguay na provincia de Mato-Grosso: feitas nos annos de 1844 a 1847 pelo sertanista o Sr. Joaquim Francisco Lopes, e descriptas pelo Sr. João Henrique Elliot" — in Revista Trimensal de História e Geografia ou Jornal do I.H.G.B., vol. X (1848), 2.ª edição, Rio de Janeiro.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

EWALD, ROBERT H.
1957 — "San Antonio Sacatèpequez: Culture Change in a Guatemala Community" — Social Forces, vol. 36, n.º 2, December.

FERREIRA, ALEXANDRE RODRIGUES
(Ms.) — Memória sôbre os gentios Guanaãs e Guaicurus (1791) manuscrito original pertencente ao Dr. A.J. de Melo Morais — Copiado no Rio de Janeiro, 14 de abril de 1868, pelo Dr. J.A.A. de Carvalho que o assina.

FERREIRA, JOAQUIM ALVES
1905 — "Noticia sobre os indios de Mato Grosso dada em oficio de 2 de Dezembro de 1848 ao Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negocios do Império, pelo Diretor Geral dos Indios da então Provincia" — in *O Arquivo* de Mato Grosso, ano I, vol. II, Cuiabá.

FERNANDES, FLORESTAN
1952 — "A Função Social da Guerra na Sociedade Tupinambá" in Revista do Museu Paulista, Nova Série, vol. VI.

FONSECA, JOÃO SEVERIANO DA
1880 — 81 — Viagem ao redor do Brasil. 1875-1878. I. Rio de Janeiro.

FORTES, MAYER
1938 — "Culture Contact as a Dynamic Process: An investigation in the Northern territories of the Gold Coast" — in Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa. Oxford University Press.

GLASER, DANIEL
1958 — "Dynamics of Ethnic Identification", in American Sociological Review, vol. 23, n.º 1, February.

HAY, ALEXANDER RATTRAY
1947 — Social Relations and Structures: A study in Principles of Sociology, Harpen & Brothers, N.Y.

LEFORT, CLAUDE
1952 — "Société sans Histoire et Historicité" in Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, vol. XII.

LEVERGER, AUGUSTO
1862 — "Roteiro da Navegação do rio Paraguay desde a foz do São Lourenço até o Paraná", in Revista Trimensal do Instituto Histórico, Geográfico e Ethnográfico do Brasil, XXV, Rio de Janeiro. 211-284.

LUNDBERG, G.A., C. SCHRAG e O. LARSEN
1954 — Sociology — Harper & Brothers, New York.

MERRIL, F.E. e H.W. ELDREDGE
1957 — Society and Culture: An Introduction to Sociology. Puentice — Hall, Inc., New York.

ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA

MERTON, ROBERT

1951 — Social theory and Social Structure: toward the Codification of theory and Research, — Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

MÉTRAUX, ALFRED

1944 — "Estudios de Etnografia Chaquense" — Anales del Instituto de Etnografia Americana. Universidade Nacional de Cuyo, vol. V. 263-314.

1946 (a) — "Ethnography of the Chaco". Handbook of South American Indians, vol. I, pp. 197 ss., ed. Julian H. Steward, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Washington, pp. 197-370.

1946 (b) — "Twin Heroes in South American Mithology" — in Journal of American Folklore, V. LIX, n. 232.

MISSÃO RONDON

1949 — Relatório dos trabalhos realizados de 1900-1906 pela Comissão de Linhas Telegráficas do Estado de Mato Grosso, apresentado às autoridades do Ministério da Guerra pelo Major de Engenharia Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, como chefe da Comissão. Publicação n.º 69-70 do Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, Ministério da Agricultura, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

NADEL, S.F.

1957 — The Theory of Social Structure — Ed. The Free Press — Glencoe, Illinois.

NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND

1912 — La vie des indiens dans de Chaco. (Amerique du Sud) Tome VI, fascicule III, Revue de Géographie (Annuelle) Librairie Ch. Delagrave, Paris.

OBERG, KALERVO

1948 — "Terena Social Organization and Law". American Anthropologist, vol. L, n.º 2.

OBERG, KALERVO

1949 — The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil — Simthsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication n. 9, Washington.

OGBURN, W.F. e NIMKOFF, M.F.

1950 — Sociology — Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachussets.

OLIVEIRA, ROBERTO CARDOSO DE

1957 — "Preliminares de uma pesquisa sôbre a assimilação dos Terêna" — Revista de Antropologia, vol. 5, n.º 2, S. Paulo.

1958 (a) — "Urbanização sem Assimilação: Estudo dos Terêna Destribalizados". Ciência e Cultura, vol. 10, n.º 3 — São Paulo.

1958 (b) — Aspectos Demográficos e Ecológicos de uma Comunidade Terêna. Boletim do Museu Nacional, n.º 18, N.S., Antropologia, Rio de Janeiro.

O PROCESSO DE ASSIMILAÇÃO DOS TERENA

1958 (b) — Aspectos Demográficos e Ecológicos de uma Comunidade Terena. Boletim do Museu Nacional, n.º 18, N.S., Antropologia.

OSBORN, L.D. e NEUMEYER, M.H.
1936 — A Comunidade e a Sociedade. Cia. Editôra Nacional, São Paulo.

PARSONS, TALCOTT
1952 — The Social System. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

PIMENTA BUENO, JOSÉ ANTÔNIO
1840 — "Extrato do discurso do Presidente da Provincia de Mato Grosso, o Doutor José Antônio Pimenta Bueno, na abertura da Assembléia Legislativa Provincial em o dia 1 de março de 1837" — in Revista do I.H.G.B., II, Rio de Janeiro.

PRADO, FRANCISCO RODRIGUES DO
1839 — "História dos Indios Cavaleiros ou da Nação Guaicuru" in Revista do I.H.G.B., vol. I, Rio de Janeiro.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A.R.
1952 — Structure and Function in Primitive Society. Cohen & West Ltd., London.

REDFIELD, ROBERT
1949 — Civilização e Cultura de "Folk": Estudo de variações culturais em Yucatan. Livraria Martins Editôra S.A., São Paulo.

REDFIELD, R., R. LINTON e M.J. HERSKOVITS
1936 — "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation". American Anthropologist, n.s., 38.

RICHARDS, AUDREY I.
1938 — "The Villages Census in the Study of Culture Contact". Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa. Oxford University Press.

RIBEIRO, DARCY
1951 — "Noticia dos Ofaié — Xavante". Separata da Revista do Museu Paulista, Nova Série, vol. V, São Paulo.
1957 — Culturas e Linguas Indígenas do Brasil. Separata de Educação e Ciências Sociais, n.º 6. Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais. Rio de Janeiro.
(Ms.) — A assimilação dos índios no Brasil (Pesquisa realizada sob os auspícios da UNESCO e do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios).

SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, JOSÉ
1910 — El Paraguay Catolico, con sus principales provincias convertidas a la Santa Fé y vazzallage del Rey de España por la predicación de los misioneros celosos de la compañia de Jesús, en gran parte arruinada por los mamelucos del Brasil y restabelecidas por los mismos misioneros — año de 1770, Ed. Hermanos, Buenos Aires.

3:Oliveira SK7Guarn

SCHADEN, EGON

1948 — "Relações intertribais e estratificação social entre índios sulamericanos". Sociologia, vol. X, ns. 2-3.

1954 — Aspectos fundamentais da cultura Guarani — Tese para cátedra de Antropologia da F.F.C.L. da U.S.P. — Publicação da F.F.C.L. da U.S.P. Boletim n.º 188, série Antropologia, n.º 4.

SCHAPERA, I.

1947 — Migrant Labour and tribal Life: A study of conditions in the Bechaunaland Protectorate. Oxford University Press.

SCHMIDEL, ULRICH

1837 — Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique. Publiés pour la première fois en français pour H. Ternaux — Compans. Histoire veritable d'un voyage curieux, par Ulrich Schmidel de Stnasbourg, Nuremberg, 1599. Paris, Arthur Bertrand. Librairie de la Société de Geographie de Paris.

1944 — Derrotero y viaje a España y las Indias. Coleccion Austral, Espasa-Calpe S.A., Buenos Aires.

SCHMIDT, MAX

1903 — "Guaná" in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XXXV, Berlin. (Tradução manuscrita de Klaas Axel Woortmann).

1917 — Die Aruaken. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Kulturverbreitung. Studien zur Ethnologie und Soziologie. (Tradução manuscrita existente no Museu Nacional).

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

1954 — "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation". American Anthropology, n.º 96.

SODRÉ, NELSON WERNECK

1941 — Oeste — ensaio sôbre a grande propriedade pastoril. Ed. José Olimpio, Rio de Janeiro.

STEINEN, KARL VON DEN

1940 — Entre os Aborígenes do Brasil Central. Departamento de Cultura, São Paulo.

STEWARD, JULIAN H.

1955 — Theory of Culture Change: the Methodology of Multilinear Evolution. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

TAUNAY, ALFREDO D'ESCRAGNOLE

1931 — Entre os nossos índios. Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo.

1948 — Memórias do Visconde de Taunay, ed. Instituto Progresso Editorial (IPÊ), São Paulo.

INDICE DOS ASSUNTOS

[P.161]

[P 162 is blank]

ABIPOM 32
Aculturação 44, 50, 109-127, 129, 139; área de... 36; processo de... 112, 119; ...intertribal 36, 38
Agachi (*Agaxi*) 71, 77; rio... 62
Albuquerque (forte de...) 34
Aldeias Indígenas
Aldeinha 62, 73, 86-91, 94-95, 109
Araribá 33, 73
Bananal 23, 40, 46, 48, 70, 72-73, 75, 78, 82-87, 94, 99, 104, 107, 109, 116
Brejão 67, 73, 90-92, 94, 99, 109
Buriti 48, 67, 73, 91-95, 99-100, 109
Cachoeirinha ("Bookoti", "Imokovookoti") 43, 48-49, 53, 62, 66, 69, 71-77, 81-82, 86, 99, 102, 104, 108-109, 116, 138
Francisco Horta 73, 96-97, 109
Ipegue 48, 71-73, 82-86, 99, 109
Lalima 62, 72-73, 75-76, 80-82, 86, 99
Limão Verde 62, 73, 86-90, 94, 99, 109
Moreira 23, 62, 73, 77-81, 83, 86, 94, 99, 101, 109
Passarinho 62, 73, 77-78, 81, 86, 94, 99, 101, 109
São João 73
União 73, 77-81, 83, 86, 99, 100, 109
Apa (rio) 59-60
Aquidauana 61-62, 68, 72, 75, 82, 87-89, 92, 110; rio... 60, 88
ARUAK 20, 24, 32, 41, 43
ARUAK (grupos)
CHANÁ 25, 31, 62, 64
CHOARANA 27; EXOALADI 26, 30, 34-35, 37, 63-65, 151
GUANÁ 19, 22, 24-25, 29-30, 32-33, 35, 46, 50-53, 57-67, 107
KINIT'INAU 19, 26, 28, 30, 35-36, 46, 62, 64-65, 67, 72, 77, 80, 82, 89, 92, 146, 151
LAYÂNA 28, 30, 37, 63-66, 72, 77, 80, 139, 144
NIGUECACTEMIC 28, 30
TXANÉ 20, 24, 44, 48
Ascenção Social 45
Assimilação 23, 74, 111-112, 119, 124, 126, 128-153; processo de... 112, 119; fatôres convergentes na... 129-142; ...divergentes na... 142-151
Barreiras étnicas e sociais 148-149

[P. 163]

Barro Preto 95
Bonôso 107
Brilhante (rio) 68
Camadas Sociais 40, 42, 45-46
Campo Grande 61, 102, 104, 110
Cartas Anuas 22
Chaco 20, 24-26, 32, 35, 43-44, 51, 53, 56
Composição Étnica 99, 114
Comissão Rondon 23, 67-68, 75, 134, 146
Compadrio 133-135
Comportamento religioso 39, 53, 108
Consciência étnica 118, 125; ...política 130; ...tribal 27, 112, 118, 122
Cultura 38, 39, 63, 100, 118
Cutape (fazenda de) 69
Demografia 20, 22, 28, 59, 74, 81, 83, 86, 89, 91, 120
Divisão dual (metades: "Xumonó" e "Sukirikionó") 46-49, 54, 56, 117
Divisão de trabalho 43-44, 116
Duque Estrada 72, 77, 83, 100
Dourado 66, 73, 97, 103
Economia indígena 100-104
Endogamia 45, 46
Eleições 137-138
Escravos 30, 33, 40, 42
Estereótipos 108
Estigmatização 43-44
Estratificação 33, 39-43, 46, 49, 126, 149
Estrutura Social 50, 64, 118; ...tribal 39, 45, 47
Exogamia 50
Família
    bilocal 44, 50
    extensa 44, 85
    matrilocal 44, 50
    neolocal 50
Função (latente e manifesta) 52
Guerra do Paraguai 20, 27, 50, 58-60, 64-66, 71-72, 87, 93, 134, 136, 145, 151
GUAIKURU (Mbayá-Guaikuru) 19, 27, 29-38, 41, 43-44, 53, 58, 72, 80-81, 92, 144
    EYGUAYEGUIS 31, 34
    KADIWÉU 19, 33, 53, 66, 73, 80
    PAYAGUÁ 32-33
Guanandi (córrego) 81
GUARANI 19, 31, 62, 99-100, 107
    KAIWÁ 19, 96-97, 144
GUATÓ 32, 37
GUAXI 31-32, 37
Havaiano (terminologia de parentesco) 50

[P. 164]

Heróis míticos 42, 44-45; "Pitanoé" ("Taipuyukê") 54; "Yurikoyuvakai" 44, 53-54
Integração 44, 63, 98, 134, 148; ...econômica 74, 98
Interação social 113; ...interétnica 73, 113, 143; ...intertribal 32-33, 36-38, 52, 113
"Ivuixote-Vogomoto" (corrida de cavalinhos) 49, 114-115
KASKIHÁ 44
"Kauti" 40-42, 45-47
KAYAPÓ 30
"Koipihapati" 52, 117
"Koixomuneti" 51-52, 116-117
"Kohixoti-Kipahê" (dança do bate pau) 49, 114-115
Maracaju (serra) 59-60, 65-66, 75, 90-91, 93, 96
Matrimônio 37, 44, 46, 159-160; ...interétnico 99, 122; ...intertribal 99
Memória tribal 39, 66
Mercado de trabalho 139-142
Mestiços 121, 149
Migrações 27
Miranda 22, 28, 52, 61, 65, 67-68, 71-72, 75, 77-78, 81, 83, 86, 110, 121; rio... 26, 59-60, 66, 75, 82
mitologia 53-54, 118
Missões religiosas 63-64, 70, 75, 79, 85, 87, 94-96, 101, 104, 135; ...Católicas: Jesuíta 27, 57, 62, 64, 136, Franciscana 27, 64, 136, Redentorista 87, 92, 105, 108, 115-116, 136; ...Evangélicas: Inland South America Mission 85, South America Indian Mission 85
Mobilidade 110-129, 139, 142
"Mokovi" 32
Mondengo (rio) 58
Monogamia 50
"Mootó" (Tadique, "tchucutchu") 48-49, 116-117
Mudança cultural 112-114, 136, 149
Mudança social 108, 125
"Naati" 40-42, 45-48
Nioac 73, 90-92, 121
Noroeste do Brasil (Estrada de Ferro) 61, 70, 83
OYAIÉ-XAVANTE 19, 93
"Ohcokoti" 48, 51-52, 56, 108, 116-118, 124
Paraguai (rio) 24-26, 31, 35, 37, 40, 57-58, 71
Paraná (rio) 58-59
Parnaíba (rio) 57, 59
Pléiades 51, 53, 66, 116
Poliginia 50
Porto Esperança 61
"Purutuya" 121, 132, 138, 148-150
Reconstrução histórica 23

[P.165]

Religião 50-51, 53, 105-107, 118
Reservas Indígenas (Política de...) 67, 73
Segregação 146
Serviço de Proteção aos Índios 19, 23, 61, 67-68, 70, 73, 80-82, 84-87, 90-91, 93, 95, 101-102, 105-106, 109, 115, 132, 137, 143, 145-148
Serviço Militar 131-132
Sidrolândia 95
Simbiose 33, 38, 43-44
Sincretismo religioso 108, 117
Solidariedade social 52, 100; ...no grupo de 'sibling' 50, 118
'Status' 42-43, 45, 49, 108
Tauney (vila de) 82-86
Toba 32
Txikito 32
Urumbeva (rio) 90-91
Urbanização 120, 131, 152
Vacaria (campos de) 57, 59, 66
Vassalagem 31
Vida associativa 148-149; ...cerimonial 39, 48
Xamakôko 31-32, 37, 40
Xamanístico (ritual) 107-108, 117
Xeres (campos de) 57, 59
Xiriguano 44
"Xuna-Xati" (Schunachati) 41-42, 45, 47
"Yunakalu" 48, 116
"Waherê-Txané" (Machatichané) 40-42, 45-48

[P.166]

4: Baldus E-5 (1934) 1944 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

000

The Succession of the Chiefs among the Terena
[Die Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno]

by Dr. Herbert Baldus

Stuttgart: 1944
Ethnologischer Anzeiger
Vol. 4, Part II, pp. 38-42

Translated from the German by Shelton Hicock

Human Relations Area Files
1966

[Title page]

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihâ (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
415 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé.-- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

602 /41 cont./
622 When Ečiviagatí died about 1925, Nalikí, as his eldest son and the oldest of his brother's sons, became chief of Mureira. Nalikí was therefore already 80 years old then. He had two sons
622 and two daughters. The eldest son is married to a daughter of
591 the chief of Passarinho and lives with his father in Mureira (but
602 in his own hut). The second son is married to a daughter of the chief of Cachoeirinha and also lives with his father in Mureira. The oldest daughter was married to the eldest son of the chief of Lalima and died in childbirth. The second daughter also lives in Lalima; she is married to the second son of the chief there.

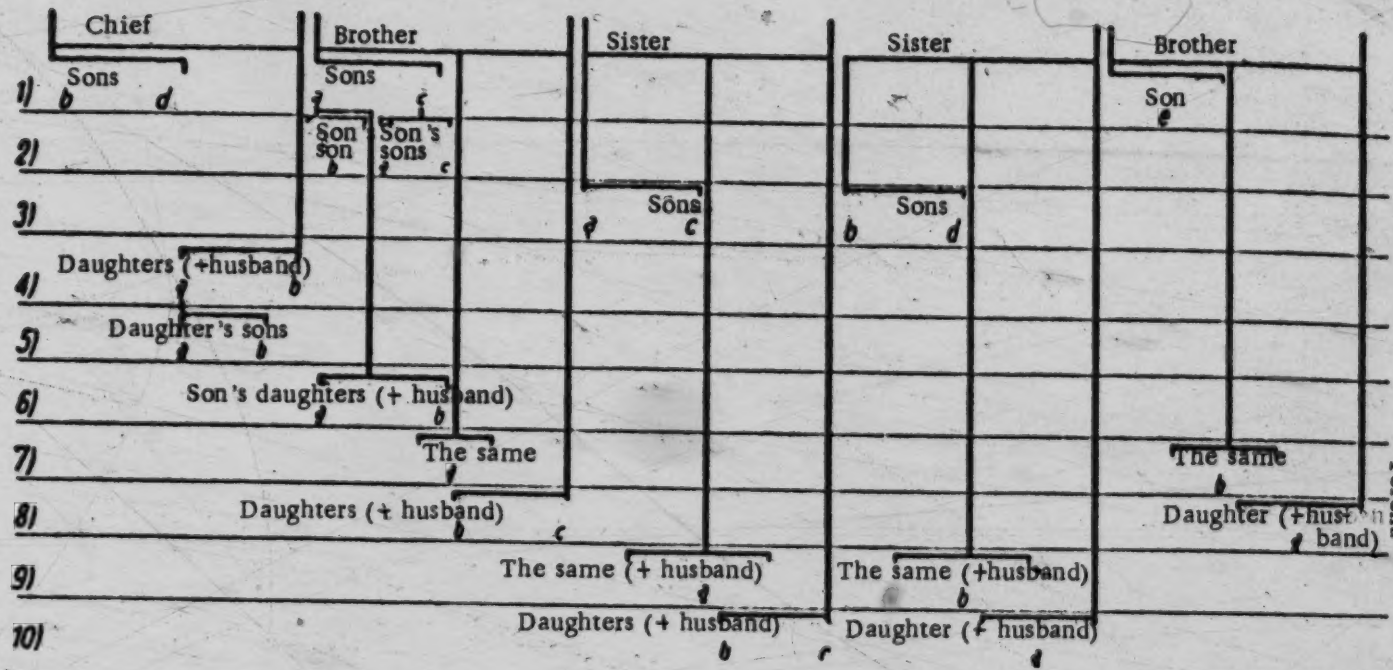
622 The order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is the following:
602 1. The oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
2. The oldest among the sons and brother's sons of No. 1 (that is, either the oldest among the chief's son's sons or the son's sons of one of his brothers).
3. The oldest among the chief s sister's sons.
4. The husband of the oldest daughter of the chief.
5. The oldest among the sons of the oldest daughter of the chief.
6. The husband of the oldest daughter of No. 1, that is, of the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
7. The next oldest brother of the chief.
8. The husband of the oldest among the chief's brother's daughters.
9. The husband of the oldest sister of the chief.
10. The husband of the oldest among the chief's sister s daughters.

/42/ According to what has been said, it seems that one may assume that if the chief has no descendants and siblings, the succession does not fall to the relatives of his wife, but to the oldest brother of his father and his descendants or, if such a one does not exist, to the husband of the oldest sister of his father and his descendants. I could not find out anything about this, however.

The following presentation, in which in any given case the oldest, and thus the legitimate individual to succeed, is always indicated, may serve as an example to clarify the order of succession:

4: Baldus--7 E-5 (1934) 1944 SK7 Guana SK7 Terena

122
602



/42 cont./

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagati, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
59/ the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

Ethnologischer Anzeiger

herausgegeben von

M. Heydrich, Köln

Band 4

Teil II

Referate, Forschung und Umschau

Mit 32 Tafeln, 17 Abbildungen, 3 Karten und 5 Diagramme im Text

[Title Page]

4: Baldus SK7 Guana

[P. 38]

Die Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno.

Von Dr. Herbert Baldus.

Über die soziale Stellung des südamerikanischen Häuptlings und deren Auswirkung bei Heirat und Erbfolge ist bisher nur wenig bekannt geworden. Die meisten Beobachter der Jäger und Sammler und der „niederen" Feldbauer begnügen sich, ihn als primus inter pares zu schildern, dessen Autorität lediglich im Krieg und außerordentlichen Fällen zu entscheidender Bedeutung wachsen könne. Aber wir kennen doch schon von manchen Indianern, z. B. dem wandernden Sammler- und Jägervolk der Tschamakoko und dem seßhaften Feldbauerstamm der Kaskihá[1]), den wesentlichen Unterschied, daß bei ihnen der gewöhnliche Mann Gattinnenfolge übt, während die Frau eines Häuptlings oder dessen ältesten Sohnes bei der Heirat zu ihrem Schwiegervater oder Gatten übersiedelt. Ich konnte ferner bei den Jägervölkern der Tschamakoko und Bororo beobachten, daß sie, wie wir es auch z. B. von den Guaykurú wissen, an ein „edleres Blut" der Häuptlinge und dadurch an deren Berechtigung zu einer Vorzugsstellung zu glauben scheinen.

Zu eingehenderem Studium der Heirat und Erbfolge der Häuptlinge hatte ich erst im Februar 1934 bei den unweit von Miranda im Süden des brasilianischen Staates Matto Grosso lebenden Tereno Gelegenheit. Obwohl dieser Arawakenstamm wahrscheinlich schon seit Mitte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts in friedlichen und zweifellos seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts in immer

[1]) Vergl. H. Baldus: Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco, Leipzig 1931 (Verlag C. L. Hirschfeld), S. 69f., 73.

enger werdenden Beziehungen zu den Weißen steht, hat er doch außer seiner Sprache noch gewisse Einrichtungen seiner Gesellschaftsordnung bewahrt.

Die Tereno, deren Anzahl laut den verschiedenen Berichten seit mehr als hundert Jahren zwischen zwei- bis viertausend Individuen schwankt, haben von altersher Feldbau betrieben und sich zu Dorfgemeinschaften vereinigt, von denen gegenwärtig elf bestehen. Die folgenden Angaben verdanke ich dem Häuptling des Dorfes Mureira, den die Brasilianer José Correia nennen. Sein Tereno-Name war zuerst Kalapetí; das heißt Linkshänder, hat aber nur die Bedeutung eines Namens, so daß es ein Zufall war, als José später wirklich ein Linkshänder wurde. Den Namen gibt sofort nach der Geburt ein Alter, der ein naher Verwandter der Mutter oder des Vaters ist. Als Joses Mutter starb, gab ihm ein alter Verwandter seines Vaters einen neuen Namen: Nakili. Wenn nämlich einer der Eltern stirbt, erhalten alle Kinder der Familie andere Namen, damit der überlebende Elter nicht durch ihre bisherigen Namen an das Vergangene erinnert werde und traurig sei. Stirbt auch der überlebende Elter, werden die Namen seiner Kinder nicht mehr gewechselt. Die Namen anderer Personen, zum Beispiel des Witwers oder der Witwe, bleiben bei einem Todesfall unverändert.

Die Gatten finden sich nach dem Tode wieder und bleiben dann zusammen. Mein Gewährsmann, der Witwer ist, sagt: Ich habe noch die Hoffnung, meine Frau in der anderen Welt zu treffen. — Ich frage, wie die andere Welt aussieht. — Er sagt: Die andere Welt ist wie hier. Früher wurde der Tote ins Wasser geworfen oder, wenn das nicht möglich war, verbrannt. Wenn einer tot war, kam nichts aus ihm heraus; nur der Eingeweidewurm kam heraus, wenn er die Krankheit gewesen war. Im Wasser wird der Tote wieder ein Tier. Er war, bevor er Tereno war, ein Tier. Auch der Verbrannte wird Tier. Wenn das Tier stirbt, lebt es in der anderen Welt weiter. Die andere Welt ist unter der Erde. Niemals hört mein Leben ganz auf.

Lange vor der Geburt essen Vater und Mutter nicht das Gürteltier, den kleinen Ameisenbären und die Frucht des Araxikú, weil sonst das Kind im Mutterleibe stürbe und nicht herauskäme. Dieselben Meidungen üben sie auch nach der Geburt und legen sich dabei hin. Die Mutter bleibt lange liegen; der Vater aber jetzt nur noch zwei bis drei Tage; früher waren es fünf Tage.

Es gibt keine Regel, nach der entweder Knabengeburten lieber gesehen werden als Mädchengeburten oder umgekehrt; eine derartige Bevorzugung richtet sich nach dem individuellen Geschmack.

Freit ein Jüngling um ein Mädchen, so hält er ihr eine Ansprache, die man ungefähr folgendermaßen übersetzen kann: „Ich möchte, ich liebe dieses Weib, ich würde verheiratet sein wollen, ich möchte, ich möchte, ich liebe." — Ist das Mädchen mit ihm einverstanden, erklärt es kurz und bündig: „Ich will." — Dann werben die Mutter des Jünglings bei der Mutter des Mädchens und der Vater des Jünglings beim Vater des Mädchens. Der Jüngling gibt den Schwiegereltern Geschenke, die diese mit Geschenken erwidern. Vorehelicher Geschlechtsverkehr findet nicht statt. Soll die Ehe vollzogen werden, so hören der künftige Gatte von seinem Vater und die künftige Gattin von ihrer Mutter, daß man sich beim Koitus auf die Seite und zwar einander

gegenüber zu legen hat. „Zuerst müßt ihr es so machen, denn seit Anfang des Stammes ist es so gemacht worden; später könnt ihr es machen, wie ihr wollt."

Soll es nicht sogleich Kinder geben, so nimmt die Frau ein Verhütungsmittel: sie brät eine bestimmte Schnecke, stellt den Saft davon in den Morgentau und trinkt ihn sehr früh morgens; sie kann zu demselben Zweck auch eine gewisse kleine Wahlfrucht, die wie die Abacaxy (also wie eine Ananas) riecht, essen, aber nur, wenn diese reif ist.

Früher gab es keinen Streit aus Eifersucht zwischen Mann und Mann, Mann und Frau oder Frau und Frau; heute kommt so etwas vor.

Es gibt Frauen, die faul sind. Dann macht der Mann ihre Arbeit. Aber es gibt auch Männer, die faul sind und ihre Arbeit von der Frau machen lassen.

Ich verdanke meinem Gewährsmann, der zuerst Kalapiti und später Nakili hieß, ein paar Mythentexte, die ich sicherlich von keinem anderen Tereno mehr hätte erfahren können. Ich werde sie an anderer Stelle veröffentlichen. Ich verdanke ihm auch die Angaben über die Erbfolge der Häuptlinge, die mir zweifellos kein anderer Tereno so gründlich und ausführlich hätte machen können. Denn Nakili ist nahezu neunzig Jahre alt. Er hat am Kopf tiefe Narben vom Paraguaykrieg, und er erzählt mir, wie er damals, also 1865, als etwa zwanzigjähriger Bursch gegen die paraguayischen Soldaten gekämpft hat. Jetzt ist er ein rüstiger Greis von hoher, schlanker Gestalt, mit vollem Haar, in dem erst wenige graue Strähnen zu sehen sind, mit einem weißen Schnurr- und sogar Kinnbärtchen, mit guten Schneidezähnen im Unterkiefer und einigen Backenzähnen, mit schmalen, versunkenen Augen in dem länglichen, edelgeformten, gelbbraunen Gesicht, mit einer angenehm kühlen, trockenen Hand, mit feiertäglich neu und sauberem buntem Hemd, Hose und riesigem Strohhut, mit einem langsamen, aber jugendlich aufrechten Gang. Er ist sehr bescheiden, doch nicht ohne empfindliches Selbstgefühl; er ist ausgewählt höflich, taktvoll zurückhaltend und von sanfter Herzlichkeit. Seine Geistesfrische und vor allem seine Hilfsbereitschaft zeigten sich dadurch, daß er von morgens sieben bis nachmittags fünf Uhr meine absonderlichsten Kreuz- und Querfragen ausführlich zu beantworten suchte; allerdings gab er mir dann nach einigen Tagen eine Erklärung, die sich übersetzen läßt mit „Mein Kopf ist weit entfernt", und die bedeuten sollte: Ich habe Kopfweh.

Jedes Dorf hat seinen Häuptling. Vor dem Paraguaykrieg gab es acht Dörfer. Über allen stand ein Oberhäuptling. Sein Geschlecht ist ausgestorben. „Wäre es nicht gut gewesen, einen neuen zu wählen?" frage ich. — „Ja," sagt Naliki, „aber man hat nie daran gedacht."

Die Tereno leben in Einehe. Die Kinder gehören zur Verwandtschaft des Vaters. Doch sind auch die mütterlichen Verwandten[1]) nicht ohne Bedeutung, denn oft sagt der Vatervater der Kinder ihrem Mutterbruder, er solle

[1]) Sowohl „mein Vatervater" wie „mein Muttervater" heißt ootô, „meine Vatermutter" wie „meine Muttermutter" ooté, „mein Vaterbruder" wie „mein Mutterbruder" lulô, „meine Vaterschwester" wie „meine Mutterschwester" öngó, „mein Vaterbrudersohn", „meine Vaterbrudertochter", „mein Mütterbrudersohn" und „meine Mutterbrudertochter" nevoangé. — In meiner Arbeit „Tereno-Texte" werde ich sämtliche Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen der Tereno veröffentlichen.

ihnen etwas, das sie sich besonders wünschen, von der Jagd mitbringen. So war es früher und so ist es oft heute noch. Der Vater sorgt nur für das gewöhnliche Essen seiner Kinder, nicht aber für besonders gewünschte Leckerbissen.

Während das Volk stets innerhalb des Dorfes heiratet, der Mann für die Frau das Haus baut und sie die Herrin des Hauses wird, heiraten Häuptlingskinder nur untereinander oder, wenn das nicht möglich ist, zumindest entfernte Verwandte von Häuptlingen[1]), heiraten also außerhalb des Dorfes, und nicht selten siedelt dabei der Mann zum Schwiegervater über. Nalikis Muttervater war schon vor dem Paraguaykrieg Häuptling des Dorfes Mureira. Er hieß Himuná. Sein Nachfolger war Nalikis Vater, der Ečiviagati hieß. Er war der älteste Sohn des Häuptlings von Abacaxi. Gewöhnlich wird der älteste Häuptlingssohn der Nachfolger seines Vaters, wenn er nicht ältere Vaterbrudersöhne hat (s. u.). Da aber die Söhne Himunás sämtlich gestorben waren und keine männlichen Nachkommen hinterlassen hatten, da Himuná auch keine Bruder- und Schwesternsöhne hatte, und da Ečiviagatis Vater noch sehr rüstig war, siedelte Ečiviagati als Gatte von Himunás ältester Tochter zu seinem Schwiegervater über und wurde später als dessen Nachfolger Häuptling von Mureira; die Herrschaft über Abacaxi nach dem Tode seines Vaters überließ er seinem jüngeren Bruder.

Als Ečiviagati etwa 1925 starb, wurde Naliki als sein ältester Sohn und der älteste seiner Brudersöhne Häuptling von Mureira. Naliki war damals also schon achtzig Jahre alt. Er hatte zwei Söhne und zwei Töchter. Der älteste Sohn ist verheiratet mit einer Tochter des Häuptlings von Passarinho und wohnt bei seinem Vater in Mureira (aber in einer eigenen Hütte). Der zweite Sohn ist verheiratet mit einer Tochter des Häuptlings von Cachoeirinha und wohnt auch bei seinem Vater in Mureira. Die älteste Tochter war mit dem ältesten Häuptlingssohn von Lalima verheiratet und starb bei einer Geburt. Die zweite Tochter wohnt auch in Lalima, sie ist mit dem zweiten Sohn des dortigen Häuptlings verheiratet.

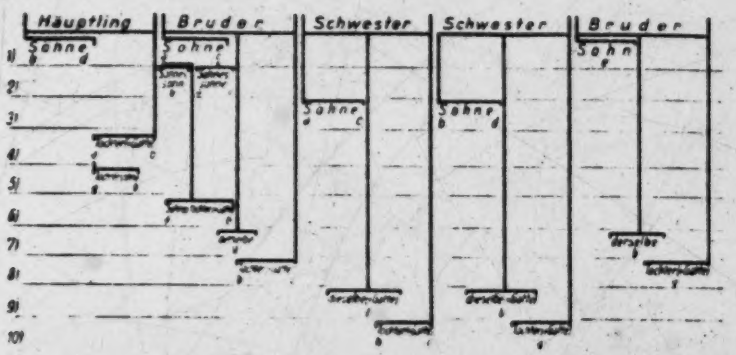
Die Erbfolgeordnung der Terenohäuptlinge ist folgende:

1. Der älteste unter den Söhnen und Brudersöhnen des Häuptlings.
2. Der älteste unter den Söhnen und Brudersöhnen von Nr. 1 (also entweder der älteste unter den Sohnessöhnen des Häuptlings oder den Sohnessöhnen eines seiner Brüder).
3. Der älteste unter den Schwestersöhnen des Häuptlings.
4. Der Gatte der ältesten Tochter des Häuptlings.
5. Der älteste unter den Söhnen der ältesten Tochter des Häuptlings.
6. Der Gatte der ältesten Tochter von Nr. 1, also des ältesten unter den Söhnen und Brudersöhnen des Häuptlings.
7. Der nächstälteste Bruder des Häuptlings.
8. Der Gatte der ältesten unter den Brudertöchtern des Häuptlings.
9. Der Gatte der ältesten Schwester des Häuptlings.
10. Der Gatte der ältesten unter den Schwestertöchtern des Häuptlings.

[1]) Die Verwandtschaft reicht bis zu den Enkeln von Vetter und Base, die man auch noch amori, „mein Enkel", nennt.

Nach dem Gesagten scheint anzunehmen zu sein, daß, falls der Häuptling keine Nachkommen und Geschwister hat, die Erbfolge nicht an die Verwandten seiner Frau fällt, sondern an seinen ältesten Vaterbruder und dessen Nachkommenschaft oder, wenn ein solcher nicht da ist, an den Gatten seiner ältesten Vaterschwester und deren Nachkommenschaft. Ich konnte darüber aber nichts in Erfahrung bringen.

Zur Verdeutlichung der Erbfolgeordnung diene folgende beispielhafte Darstellung, bei der immer das jeweils älteste und somit erbfolgeberechtigte Individuum kennzeichnet:



Gewöhnlich übernimmt also der älteste unter den Söhnen und Brudersöhnen die Nachfolge. Wenn er, wie im Falle Eciviagatis, zu Lebzeiten des Häuptlings auf diese Nachfolge verzichtet, um der Nachfolger seines ohne männliche Erben gebliebenen Schwiegervaters zu werden, so erbt der nächstälteste Bruder oder Brudersohn die Herrschaft. Es ist auch vorgekommen, daß der Schwiegervater keine männlichen Erben hatte und der Vater nur einen einzigen. Dann übernahm nach dem Tode der beiden dieser die Herrschaft über beide Dörfer, bis sein ältester Sohn sich verheiratete und nun Häuptling eines der zwei Dörfer wurde, gewöhnlich des Dorfes seines Muttervaters.

Den anderen Söhnen steht es gewöhnlich frei, nach ihrer Verheiratung im Dorfe des Vaters oder des Schwiegervaters zu leben. Es ist nur nötig oder erwünscht, daß sie zum Schwiegervater übersiedeln, wenn dieser ohne männliche Erben ist und sie seine älteste Tochter geheiratet haben.

Hinterläßt ein Häuptling beim Tode nur minderjährige Söhne, Brudersöhne, Sohnessöhne, Brudersohnessöhne und Schwestersöhne, so übernimmt der Gatte seiner ältesten Töchter oder Enkelin oder, wenn keine verheirateten Töchter oder Enkelinnen da sind, der Gatte seiner ältesten Schwester die Nachfolge bis zur Heirat des Erben des verstorbenen Häuptlings. Nur wenn keine Tochter, Enkelin und Schwester verheiratet ist, kann der nächstälteste Bruder die Herrschaft bis zur Heirat des Erben führen.

Das Charakteristische der Erbfolgeordnung der Tereno-Häuptlinge ist jedenfalls die Gleichstellung der Söhne und Brudersöhne des Häuptlings zwecks Berechtigung des ältesten unter ihnen zur Nachfolge.

5:Rohde E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

000

Some Notes on the Terena Indian Tribe
[Einige Notizen über den Indianerstamm der Terenos]

by Rich. Rohde

Berlin: 1885

Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin
Vol. 20, pp. 404-409

Translated from the German by Shelton Hicock

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

5:Rohde--1 E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[53] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[38] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[53] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[821] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[228] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

5: Rohde SK7 Guana

ZEITSCHRIFT

DER

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR ERDKUNDE

ZU BERLIN.

ALS FORTSETZUNG DER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ALLGEMEINE ERDKUNDE

IM AUFTRAGE DER GESELLSCHAFT

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

Prof. Dr. W. KONER.

ZWANZIGSTER BAND.

MIT IV KARTEN.

BERLIN,

VERLAG VON DIETRICH REIMER.

1885.

[Title Page]

5: Rohde SK7 Guana

Name	Mündet in	Länge		Quellabstand		Stromgebiet	
		g. M.	Km.	g. M.	Km.	g. Q.-M.	Q.-Km.
Uruguay	la Plata	188,0	1395,0	146,0	1083,3	6500,0	327908,9
Usa	Petschora, r.	90,6	672,1	51,0	378,4	1676,4	92308,0
Var	Mittelländ. M.	18,2	135,0	9,5	70,5	22,7	1250,0
Velino	Tiber, l.	10,0	74,2	8,0	59,4	68,0	3744,3
Vienne	Loire, l.	50,1	372,0	31,9	237,6	389,9	21467,0
Vilaine	Viscayischer B.	30,0	222,6	18,0	133,6	197,6	10882,4
Volturno	Tyrrhen. M.	21,0	155,8	11,0	81,6	101,66	5597,7
Waag	Donau, l.	50,6	375,4	25,0	185,5	293,8	16179,5
Wardar	Salonichi-B.	45,0	336,0	25,5	189,2	547,45	30442,3
Warnow	Ostsee	21,5	159,5	11,4	84,7	50,8	2797,0
Warte	Oder, r.	93,5	693,8	54,5	404,3	495,7	27282,0
Weichsel	Ostsee	140,3	1040,1	70,0	519,4	3476,0	191406,0
Welikaja	Peipus-See	45,3	336,0	18,0	138,6	474,45	26124,0
Werra	Weser	38,0	282,0	19,66	145,9	100,8	5547,1
Weser	Nordsee	49,0	363,6	30,0	222,6	836,3	46050,3
Whig, Wuig	Onega-B.	41,7	307,4	29,0	215,2	681,9	37550,0
Wiatka	Kama, r.	147,3	1093,4	46,0	341,3	2149,5	118356,0
Wieprz	Weichsel, r.	33,8	250,7	22,0	163,2	199,8	11002,3
Wilia	Njemen, r.	60,4	448,0	32,5	241,1	462,3	25488,4
Windau	Ostsee	39,5	293,4	25,0	183,7	203,9	11229,0
Wisloka	Weichsel, r.	25,9	192,0	10,0	74,2	134,2	7391,0
Witegra	Onega-See	10,8	80,0	7,0	51,9	—	—
Witschegda	Dwina, r.	148,8	1104,1	64,0	479,9	2149,5	118356,0
Wolchoff	Ladoga-See	29,5	218,7	25,5	189,2	212,0	11684,0
Wolga	Kaspisches M.	458,4	3401,3	218,0	1617,5	26495,0	1458894,0
Worona	Choper	53,9	400,0	32,0	237,4	—	—
Woronesch	Don, l.	66,1	490,7	35,0	259,7	365,1	20102,4
Worskla	Dnjepr, l.	58,2	432,0	37,3	277,8	370,8	20415,6
Yang-tse s. Ta-Kiang							
Yönne	Seine, r.	36,8	273,0	31,5	234,0	197,9	10887,3
Zambesi	Indischer Oc.	330,0	2448,6	187,0	1387,5	5832,0	321127,0
Zna (Wolga)	Oka, r.	55,3	410,7	35,0	259,7	375,0	20647,9
Zna	Twertza, r.	20,1	149,3	6,5	48,2	—	—

XVII.

Einige Notizen über den Indianerstamm der Terenos.

Von Rich. Rohde.

Das Gebiet der Terenos-Indianer erstreckt sich im Westen der brasilianischen Stadt Miranda bis zur bolivianischen Grenze. Das erste Dorf derselben liegt zwei Leguas, das letzte ungefähr 12—14 Leguas von genannter Stadt entfernt. Die Terenos sind Chaco-Indianer und wanderten vor ungefähr 60 Jahren vom bolivianischen Chaco nach ihrem jetzigen Wohnsitz. Sie ähneln in ihrem Äusseren sehr den Lenguas und haben auch manche Sitten und Gebräuche mit denselben gemein. Die Männer sind meistens schlank und gross, dabei muskulös; die Weiber mittelgross, ebenfalls kräftig, viele korpulent. Das

Gesicht ist breit mit hervorstehenden Backenknochen, die Nase breit, platt gedrückt, die Naslöcher gross, die Augen dunkelbraun, der Mund breit, wulstig, die Haare blauschwarz, straff und grob. Die meisten ziehen sich die Augenwimpern und Barthaare aus, jedoch scheint die gegenwärtige Generation diese Unsitte ablegen zu wollen, denn ich sah einige junge Mädchen und Männer, die mit sehr schönen Wimpern ausgestattet waren. Die Terenos nennen sich Christen, trotzdem sie vom christlichen Glauben keine Ahnung haben. Ihre Kinder werden weder getauft noch eingesegnet, auch kennen sie unsere christlichen Festtage nicht. Nie habe ich einen Terenos beten sehen, und keiner trug einen Rosenkranz, der hier als das Hauptkennzeichen des katholischen Glaubens gilt. Sie halten an ihren alten Sitten fest und beten, wie ihre Ahnen, noch immer die Sterne an. Im Krieg gegen Paraguay leisteten sie den Brasilianern gute Dienste, und infolge dessen haben einige Caciquen von Brasilien das Patent als Alferes erhalten, welches sie mir mit grossem Stolze vorzeigten und mich baten, es laut vorzulesen. Ich besuchte 6 Dörfer (Aldeas), die sich wenig von einander unterschieden. Ein Aldea besteht aus 3—6 Familienhütten und einigen kleinen Ranchos. Die Familienhütten sind niedrig, jedoch sehr lang und geräumig, und in mancher derselben wohnen 30 und mehr Personen, welche unter einem gemeinsamen Oberhaupt stehen. In den meisten Fällen ist dies der älteste Mann der Familie. Alle Töchter bleiben in der Hütte, in der sie geboren sind, und verheiraten sich daselbst. Sobald ein Mädchen heiratet, wird ein neues Bett gebaut, und der junge Ehemann zieht in die Familienhütte seiner Frau. Ich habe in einer Hütte 12 solcher Betten gezählt, die in 2 Reihen, ähnlich wie in einem Krankenhause, aufgestellt waren. Da die meisten Männer zwei Frauen haben und in der Regel mit jeder Kinder zeugen, so müssen die Bettständer sehr gross gemacht werden. Die meisten sind so gross, dass sechs erwachsene Personen darauf schlafen können. Ist die Fruchtbarkeit in einer Familienhütte so gross, dass diese zu klein wird, so bauen die jüngsten Familien sich in der Nähe kleine Hütten oder gründen ein neues Familienhaus. Die innere Einrichtung ist in allen Hütten die gleiche. Die Betten sind in ein oder zwei Reihen aufgestellt. In der Nähe des Bettes hat jede Familie ihr Eigentum in grossen Netzen und Taschen, entweder an einem Hüttenpfosten oder an ein Yntocoqui aufgehängt. Ferner erblickt man hier viel Thongeschirr und Kalabassen in allen Grössen und Formen, die alles mögliche bergen und teils auf dem Boden stehen, teils aufgehängt sind. Einige Weberahmen, Bogen, Pfeile, Lanzen und Flinten vollenden die Ausstattung.

Jedes Dorf hat einen Kommandanten (Unterhäuptling), und über die ganze Nation herrscht ein Cacique, der von der brasilianischen Regierung ein Patent als Capitão erhalten hat. Dieser Beherrscher aller Terenos empfing mich sehr freundlich, zeigte mir vor allen Dingen

sein Patent und dann eine Photographie des Kaisers Pedro II., den er seinen Amigo nannte. Sehr interessant sah sein Kostüm aus. Die nackten Beine hatte er mit einem Chiripá umwunden, während der obere Teil in einen abgetragenen Soldatenrock ohne Knöpfe eingezwängt war. Nachdem ich einige Flaschen Caña geopfert, schenkte er mir einen Fliegenwedel, und wir nahmen aufs Herzlichste von einander Abschied.

Das Hauptbekleidungsstück der Terenos ist der Chiripá, ein viereckiges Stück Zeug, das um die Lenden gewickelt wird. Diesen Chiripá tragen beide Geschlechter. Viele Männer waren mit Hemden oder Hosen bekleidet. Junge Mädchen mit bunten Kattunjacken auf dem blossen Körper sah ich häufig. Letztgenannte Kleidungsstücke kaufen oder tauschen sie in Miranda ein. Junge Mädchen und Frauen bemalen sich ihre Gesichter mit schwarzer Farbe, während die Männer nur bei Festlichkeiten den Körper damit schmücken. Da der Rio de Miranda salziges Wasser hat, versorgen die Indianerweiber den Ort mit süssem Quellwasser. Täglich sieht man früh Morgens viele Weiber, mit Wasserkalabassen gefüllte Netze am Stirnband tragend, in Miranda.

Die Terenos pflanzen Baumwolle, Mais und hauptsächlich Mandioca. Letztgenannte Wurzel bildet den Hauptbestandteil ihrer Nahrung. Ein Mehl (farinha de mandioca), das sie aus genannter Wurzel machen, findet in Miranda stets guten Markt. Für Webereien entwickeln die Terenos viel Geschmack und Geduld. Oft arbeitet ein Mädchen an einer Hängematte sechs Monate und darüber. Dafür sind aber auch diese Sachen dauerhaft und solide gemacht. Die Hängematten sind weiss mit blauem oder rotem Muster. Die blaue Farbe gewinnen sie von einer Pflanze, die sie Uito nennen (jedenfalls Indigo). Die Stengel und Blätter genannter Pflanze werden gekocht und das Garn dann in diese Brühe getaucht. Die rote Wolle, die häufig in ihren Webereien vorkommt, stammt von rotem Flanell her, den sie in Miranda eintauschen. Dieser Flanell wird in Stücke geschnitten, zu Charpie zerzupft und dann wieder gesponnen. In allen Hütten sah ich Weberahmen in allen Grössen mit angefangener Arbeit. Sie schätzen ihre eigenen Fabrikate, da dieselben sehr dauerhaft sind, sehr hoch und bequemen sich nur sehr ungern dazu, dieselben umzutauschen. Wenn sie es thun, so verlangen sie dafür einen unverschämt hohen Preis. Sehr beliebt sind die rotweissen Taschen mit blauweisser Perlstickerei; solche Taschen bilden meistens das erste Geschenk der Braut an den Bräutigam.

In der Fabrikation von Thonwaren sind die Terenos gleichfalls sehr geschickt und entwickeln dabei einen ganz besonderen Geschmack. Die Fabrikation ist sehr einfach und ohne alle Werkzeuge. Der Töpfer kniet auf dem festgestampften, harten, glatten Boden; ihm zur Seite liegt ein Haufen zähen Thons, von dem er ein Stück in Kugelform zusammenballt, dieselbe rollt er hierauf zu einer langgestreckten Walze aus und formt daraus einen Ring. Solcher Ringe legt er nun mehrere über-

einander und drückt und glättet mit den Händen das so entstandene Gefäss so lange, bis es die richtige Form hat. Ist das Gefäss so weit fertig, so wird mit einer Schnur in die noch weiche Thonmasse das Muster eingedrückt, für einige Tage in der Sonne getrocknet, worauf dasselbe auf sehr einfache Art gebrannt wird. Man bedeckt nämlich die Geschirre mit trocknem Holz und steckt dann letzteres an. Nach einigen Stunden wird das Geschirr herausgenommen und auf dem noch glühendheissen Gefäss mit Palosantoharz das eingedrückte Muster ausgemalt. Später, wenn das Geschirr erkaltet ist, wird die Zeichnung mit roter und weisser Farbe vollendet. In allen Hütten findet man Thongeschirr von allen möglichen Formen und Grössen und für alle möglichen Zwecke verwendbar. Ich sah Schalen von über einem Meter Durchmesser, die zur Bereitung von Mandiocamehl gebraucht werden. Gerne hätte ich einige derselben mitgenommen, jedoch war es mir unmöglich dieselben zu transportieren. Die Töpferei betreiben übrigens beide Geschlechter, jedoch fällt das Eindrücken der Muster wie das Ausmalen derselben den Frauen zu.

Korb- und Hutflechterei besorgen die Männer. Die Körbe sind meistens aus gespaltenem Bambusrohr gearbeitet, während das Material für Hüte von den getrockneten Blättern einer Fächerpalme — Carnaubas genannt — gewonnen wird. Die Hüte finden guten Markt in Miranda und lassen, trotz des billigen Preises, was Festigkeit anbetrifft nichts zu wünschen übrig.

Die Hochzeit wird auf zweierlei Weise gefeiert. Die ältere Ceremonie geht mit der Zeit ein, da die Kultur mit Macht vorschreitet und das Feuergewehr bald Bogen und Pfeile verdrängt haben wird. Die Ceremonie ist folgende: Gegen Mittag gehen sechs junge Mädchen, sämtlich mit Federn und Malerei geschmückt, nach der Hütte des Bräutigams. Derselbe übergiebt ihnen Bogen und Pfeile, worauf die Mädchen singend und tanzend diese Waffen der Braut überbringen und dann nach Hause gehen. Nach Sonnenuntergang holen sechs junge Männer, in derselben Weise geschmückt, den Bräutigam ab und führen ihn tanzend und singend nach der Hütte der Braut. Sobald er die Hütte betritt, reicht er der Braut die rechte Hand und die Ehe ist geschlossen. — Gebräuchlicher jedoch ist eine zweite Art der Verheirathung, denn dabei giebt es Caña zu trinken. In der Hütte der Braut versammeln sich alle Familienglieder und ebenso im Hause des Bräutigams. Darauf geht der Bräutigam mit seiner ganzen Familie nach der Hütte der Braut. Voraus wird eine grosse Korbflasche Caña getragen; dahinter folgen Musikanten, die die Yntaca und Ujoe spielen, und zuletzt der Bräutigam mit dem Rest der Familie. Die Braut sitzt auf einer Hängematte nnd hat neben sich ebenfalls eine grosse Flasche Caña stehen. Der Bräutigam setzt sich nun neben die Braut, darauf tauscht dieselbe ihre Flasche Caña mit der Flasche des Bräutigams um.

Die Familie des Bräutigams geht dann nach Hause und trinkt den Schnaps der Braut aus. Der Bräutigam bleibt in der Hütte der Braut und leert mit deren Familie die andere Flasche. Durch dieses Wechseln der beiden Flaschen ist der Ehebund geschlossen. Der Ehemann bleibt stets in der Familienhütte seiner Frau. Sind daselbst noch mehr heirathsfähige Mädchen, so nimmt er sich eine zweite Frau, wobei jedoch keine Ceremonie stattfindet.

Upa a ne voty. Fest der sieben Sterne. Dieses grosse Fest der Terenos wird im Monat April gefeiert. Eine Woche vor dem Fest gehen zwei alte Männer von Hütte zu Hütte, der Eine bestellt Musikanten, der Andere ladet die Männer zur festgesetzten Nacht ein. Die Eingeladenen müssen bis zum Fest alles Nöthige besorgen, hauptsächlich aber Caña, denn je mehr zu trinken vorhanden ist, desto herrlicher ist das Fest. In der festgesetzten Nacht zwischen ein und zwei Uhr versammeln sich alle Männer auf dem Festplatze. Einer der ältesten Leute steht, eine Lanze in der Hand haltend, in der Mitte des Platzes, die Andern hocken, einen Kreis um den Alten bildend, an der Erde. Der Alte spricht nun, das Gesicht nach Osten gewendet: Ich bin der Grossvater aller Häuptlinge, die im Osten wohnen! Darauf zählt er alle ihm bekannten Namen derselben auf. Dann wendet er sich nach Norden, dann nach Westen, dann nach Süden und wiederholt dasselbe. Auf diese Weise giebt er sich für den Grossvater aller bedeutenden Männer der Welt aus. Darauf sieht er gen Himmel und bittet die sieben Sterne um Regen und fleht sie an, dass sie sein Volk vor Krieg, Krankheit, Schlangenbisse etc. bewahren mögen. Dieses Gebet dauert einige Stunden. Sobald das Gebet beendet ist, stösst der Alte ein Geheul aus, worauf die ganze Gesellschaft aufspringt, heult, klappert, schiesst und einen fürchterlichen Lärm mit allen möglichen Instrumenten macht. Der Alte geht dann nach Hause, während die Gesellschaft mit Geschrei und Skandal bis der Tag graut um den Platz zieht. Um diesen Platz sind 4—6 kleine Blätterhäuschen für die Musikanten gebaut. Gegen sechs Uhr abends giebt der vorher angeführte Alte mit der Yntaca ein Zeichen, worauf sich die Musikanten in ihre Häuschen begeben und eine lärmende Musik anstimmen. Nun wird die ganze Nacht durch getrunken und getanzt, und erst mit dem ersten Grauen des Tages zerstreuen sich die Festteilnehmer. Am zweiten Tag Vormittags versammeln sich alle jungen Männer auf dem Platze, stellen sich in zwei Parteien geteilt einander gegenüber und schlagen so lange auf einander los, bis eine Partei besiegt ist. Dieser Kampf geschieht ohne Waffen, jedoch werden die Fäuste kräftig gebraucht, und die Meisten haben nach dem Gefecht blutige Köpfe. Mir wurde ein junger Indianer gezeigt, der dabei ein Auge verloren hatte. Nach der Schlägerei versammeln sich alle in der Hütte des Häuptlings. Einer der Musikanten,

der sehr geschmückt ist, trägt ein Hirschgeweih in der rechten Hand und hinkt nach einer ihm bezeichneten Hütte, klopft daselbst mit dem Geweih an die Thürpfosten und hinkt wieder zurück. Darauf kommt der Besitzer der Hütte heraus und fragt, was man wünsche, worauf alle schreien: Ein Rind! (Kuh oder Ochse). (Dieses Rind kauft der ganze Stamm vor dem Feste). Der Mann geht dann zurück und holt das Rind, das sofort geschlachtet und verzehrt wird. Sobald das Fleisch aufgezehrt und der Caña ausgetrunken ist, gehen Alle nach Hause und damit schliesst das Fest.

Das zweite grosse Fest der Terenos heisst Mainu und dauert manchmal 14 Tage. Früh Morgens am ersten Tage geben sich sämtliche Männer an einer den Weibern gegenüber geheimgehaltenen Stelle ein Rendezvous, bemalen sich bis zur Unkenntlichkeit, stürzen dann, ihre Flinten und Bogen abschiessend, mit Geheul ins Dorf und gebärden sich, als ob sie Feinde wären und das Dorf überrumpeln wollten. Die Weiber haben sich während der Zeit mit Knütteln, Früchten etc. bewaffnet, und es entwickelt sich nun ein Scheingefecht. Die Weiber werfen ihren Männern Kürbisse, Knüttel etc. an die Köpfe und treiben sie endlich zum Dorf hinaus. Am Nachmittag kommen die Männer auf dem Dorfplatze zusammen und stellen sich in zwei Reihen auf. Hierauf erscheint ein wunderlich aufgeputzter Tänzer. Derselbe trägt einen Mantel aus Blättern, sein Kopf ist mit Hörnern und Federn aufgeputzt, der Körper mit schwarz und roter Farbe bemalt. Unter dem rechten Arm trägt er eine Lanze, in der linken Hand einen Knüttel, gebärdet sich als ob er sehr müde wäre, schneidet dabei alle möglichen Grimassen, hinkt einige hundert Schritte von der Gesellschaft fort, bückt sich, thut als ob er isst, kehrt wieder zur Versammlung zurück, und treibt so einige Stunden lang dieses Possenspiel, über welches sich die Zuschauer prächtig amüsieren. Dieser Tanz beschliesst den ersten Festtag. Auf dem Platze, meistens in der Mitte desselben, ist eine Hütte erbaut, in welche am Nachmittag des andern Tages die Männer treten. Fünf bis sechs derselben machen sich unkenntlich, indem sie Straussenfedern über ihre Augen hängen, den Kopf mit Federkronen schmücken, Gesicht und Körper bemalen und sich die Choatie um die Beine binden. Darauf tanzen sie, einer nach dem andern, zweimal um den Platz herum, und kehren schliesslich wieder in die Hütte zurück, worauf 5—6 andere denselben Tanz wiederholen. Dieser Tanz wird, so lange das Fest dauert, jeden Tag während einiger Stunden aufgeführt. Die Weiber dürfen die Hütte, in der sich die Männer verkleiden, nicht betreten, denn darin besteht der Hauptspass, dass die Weiber raten müssen, wer die Tänzer sind. Nach Massgabe des vorhandenen Caña dauert das Fest längere oder kürzere Zeit und schliesst mit der Erschöpfung des Stoffes.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

AMERICA INDIGENA

ORGANO TRIMESTRAL DEL INSTITUTO INDIGENISTA INTERAMERICANO

Vol. XXI

[Title Page]

Núm. 3

JULIO, 1961
MEXICO, D. F.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [117] *Assimilation of the Terena*), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population, which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16–18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, ... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5–6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29–30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

through the social field. But the continuity is essentially one of repetition. There is an expectation of sameness, depending upon how the concept is phrased. A structural principle is one which provides a fixed line of social behaviour and represents the order which it manifests" (R. Firth, 1955 : 2). Used in a heuristic sense, this concept of social structura would permit us to characterize the Terena social system—for taxonomic purposes or even for structural analysis—as having "a high degree of comparativity" (Cf. Nadel, 1957 : 125). Still, this would not present a complete picture of the existing social situation. This has been demonstrated by Raymond Firth in his 1936 classic *We, The Tikopia*, and in more recent articles (1954, 1955). He demonstrates the necessity of studying the way in which a social group reacts when, finding it impossible to fulfill the demands of the social structure, it must accept alternative behaviour. Taking for example a situation in which the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son are strictly regulated by structural precept, we might ask: What happens when there is no mother's brother (Cf. Firth, 1954 : 12-13)? Problems dealing with inheritance, name giving, social control, etc., arise when the necessary elements of the mother's brother/sister's son equation cease to exist, or perhaps never existed in a particular family. A recording of the responses of the group to such a contingency —responses which may at times become institutionalized particularly in cases of groups in transition— is just as interesting to the research worker as the examination of conventional behavior. In order to handle this problem, the specialist is forced to use the concept of *social organization*. "It (the concept of social organization) recognizes adaptation of behaviour in respect of given ends, control of means in varying circumstances, which are set by changes in the external environment or by the necessity to resolve conflict between structural principles" (Firth, 1955 : 2). Comparing, then, both these concepts, that of social structure and that of social organization, Firth makes clear that: "If structure implies order, organization implies a working towards order —though not necessarily the same order" (ibidem).

Even though there may be a tendency in the study of a structural system to emphasize the recording and analysis of the "highly stable uniformities" in order to make possible the construction of models, the above precise operational definition of these two concepts demonstrates that care must be taken not to exclude from the scope of the study the dynamic aspects of the social system, whether these aspects have reference to pathological items[6] or to more "normal" processes

[6] Durkheim, in "La Division du Travail Social", when he treats of the "Division du travail anomique" (Book III), observes that one of the most useful procedures for determining with the greatest precision the conditions

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the [127] presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

616
796
565

Naati

("class" line)

Waherê

(ethnic line)

Kauti

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

616
773

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616 773 stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut Yurikoyuvakái in two, both halves later growing into the twins" (1949 : 42). This version does not suggest the superiority of one twin over the other. In a version which we recorded of this same story, there is the suggestion, however, of the predominance of one moiety over the other—to the extent that the moieties may be considered to correspond to the twins. According to one old Terena: "Yurikoyuvakái had a brother Tapuyuké, somewhat shorter than he was. Ane day they started to cut the clouds so as to kill everything, because they did not want us to survive. But the more they cut the more the clouds grew. Then the two stopped cutting because they were tired. And each one went his own way." The versions recorded by Herbert Baldus tell us that "Anciently Orekajuvakái was just one and while he was still young his mother became angry with him because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the garden; she went to the garden, got a sickle and cut Orekajuvakái into two pieces. The piece from the waist up turned into people; and the other half became people too" (1950 : 218). Baldus indicates that there was another culture-hero myth among the Terena that referred to a malicious person who did not always act with the best of intentions, considerably different from the idea presented by Yurikoyuvakái. This second concerned the hero Pitanoé, who can be equivalent with Taipuyuké, of whom our informant from Cachoeirinha spoke. It appears that the myth that we recorded reconciles the two personalities of Orekoyuvakái and Taipuyuké (or Pitanoé), by making them originally a single person, who was only later divided into two, which gave birth to two distinct personalities which correspond to the two moieties Sukirikionó and Xumonó. The other versions collected by us and others, are really only variations of the theme we have presented. On the point of the superiority of one twin over the other, Altenfelder Silva supports the general hypothesis, saying that after Yurikojuvakái had been cut through the middle, "the top part grew to be another Yurikoyuvakái; the lower part became another person. But the first was the one who gave orders" (1949 : 349).

616 The impression gained from talking to the Terena is that the Sukirikionó are a little superior to the Xumonó, although this superiority is never reflected in ordinary social intercourse. It is probable that this difference of "ethos" has always been evident solely in the magico-religious ceremonies and in the secular games described above, without ever having influenced social norms. As we shall show, the role of the moieties in society was confined to the regulation of marriage, in conjunction with the strata.[9]

[9] The Portuguese term used here is *camada*, which is considered to be equivalent to the technical usage of "stratum".

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616 which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces
611 at work within the tribe.
565

565 It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum
582 system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

565
582
616

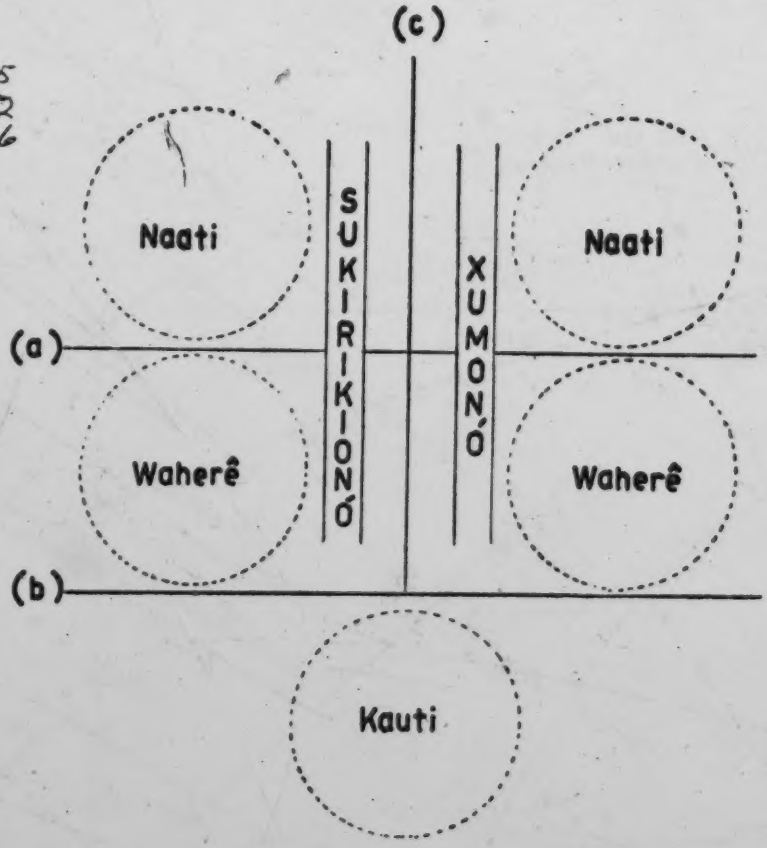


Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 555 [701] the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

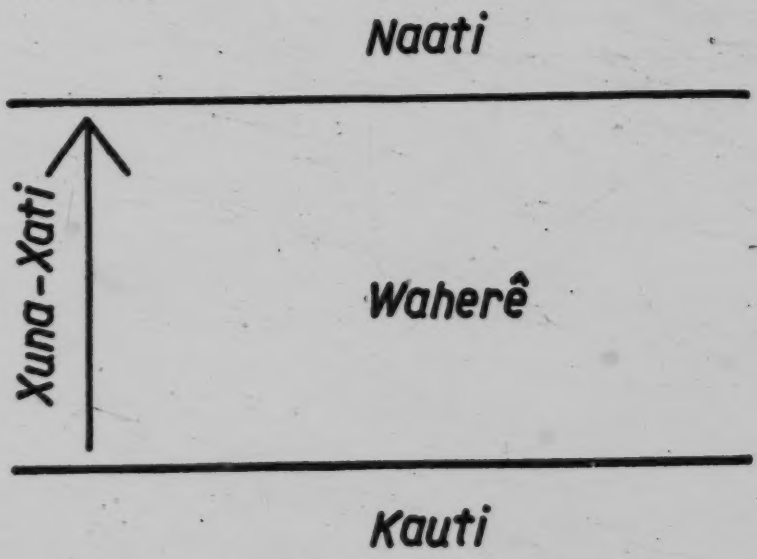


Figure III

582 565 557 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matrimonial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Na- 582
ati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of 565
the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mecha- 557
nisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is at- [554]
tested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each [622]
local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a [701]
single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold 565
assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodat- 554
ing the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) 611
in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, 851
but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *hiller* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

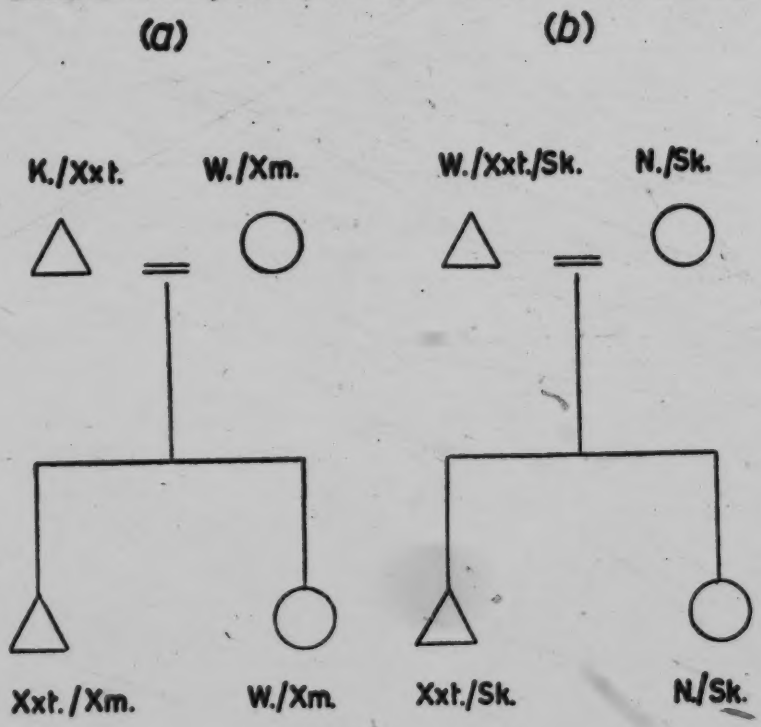


Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society. 565 534 557 611 [185 182]

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper. 121 [114 60]

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws. 582 [835]

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found 582 587

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

582
[587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly
835 a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena
773 myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

601

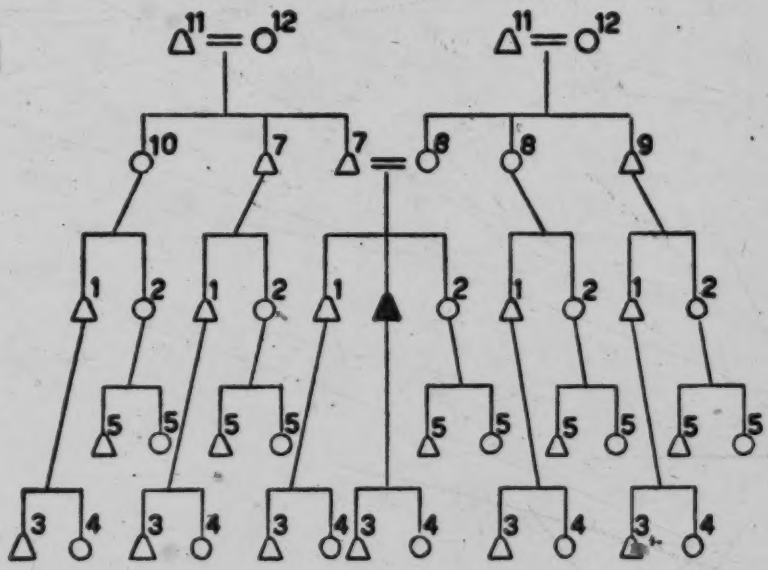


Figure V

(1) Andi, (2) Mongetxá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inziné, (5) Nevongó, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Ezno, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onzo. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of
[114] reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Ezno and Mongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Ezno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

835 man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words
773 of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their
[587] case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 173
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607]
place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606]
and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587]
the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554]
true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591]
and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [622]
Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection. [177]

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

182
571
[648]
[828]
[628]

REFERENCES

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949—"Mudança Cultural dos Terena" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo, pp. 271/379.

BACH, J.
1916—"Datos sôbre los indios Terena de Miranda" in *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, LXXXII, Buenos Aires, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1937—"A sucessão hereditária do Chefe entre os Tereno" in *Ensaios de Ethnologia Brasileira, Coleção Brasiliana*, pp. 70-85.
1950—"Lendas dos índios Tereno" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo, pp. 217-232.

BALDUS, HERBERT e EMILIE WILLEMS
1939—*Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia*. Companhia Editora Nacional.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE
1949—*Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul*. Coleção Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editora Nacional, São Paulo (vol. II).

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1922—*De la Division du travail Social*, 4ᵉ édit., Paris, Alcan.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1936—*We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London.
1954—"Social Organization and Social Change", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 84, pp. 1-20.
1955—"Some Principles of Social Organization", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 85, pp. 1-18.

113

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

113

HAY, ALEXANDER RATTRAY
1928—*The Indians of South America and the Gospel*, New York.
LEVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE
1949—*Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté*. Press Universitaire de France.
1954—"Social Structure", in *Anthropology Today* (ed. Kroeber), pp. 524-553.
LEVY, J. MARION, JR.
1952—*The Structure of Society*, Princeton University Press.
MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1951—*Outline of South American Cultures*, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven.
NADEL S. F.
1957—*The Theory of Social Structure*. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
OBERG, KALERVO
1948—"Terena Social Organization and Law", in *American Anthropologist*, vol. L nº 2, pp. 283/291.
1949—*The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso*, Brazil. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication nº 9, Washington.
OLIVEIRA, ROBERTO CARDOSO DE
1957—"Preliminares de uma pesquisa sôbre a assimilação dos Terêna", in *Revista de Antropologia*, vol. 5, nº 2, pp. 173-188.
(a) 1958—"Urbanização sem Assimilação: Estudo dos Terêna Destribalizados", in *Resumo das Comunicações à X Reunião Anual da Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência*, pp. 16-18.
(b) 1958—"Aspectos Demográficos e Ecológicos de uma comunidade Terêna", *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, nº 18, N. S., Antropologia. Rio de Janeiro.
1960—*O Processo de Assimilação dos Terêna*. Museo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
PARSONS, TALCOTT
1952—*The Social System*. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.
1952—"The Study of Kinship Systems", in *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. pp. 49-89.
RIBEIRO, DARCY
1957—"Culturas e Línguas Indígenas do Brasil", in *Educação e Ciências Sociais*, nº 6. Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais. Rio de Janeiro.
SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR, JOSÉ (P)
1910—*El Paraguay Católico*, con sus principales provincias convertidas a la Santa Fé y vassallage del Rey de España por la predicación de los misioneros celosos de la compañía de Jesús, en gran parte arruinada por los mamelucos del Brasil y retablecidas por los mismos misioneros —año de 1770. Ed. Hermanos, Buenos Aires, vols. I and II.
SCHMIDT, MAX
1917—"Die Aruaken. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Kulturverbreitug." Studien zur Ethnologie und *Soziologie* (Manuscript translation to be found in National Museum).
TAUNAY, ALFREDO D'ESCRAGNOLE
1931—*Entre os nossos Indios*. Cia. Melhoramentos de São Paulo.

7:Bach X-5 (1896) 1916 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

000

Data on the Terena Indians of Miranda
[Datos sobre los Indios Terenas de Miranda]

J. Bach

Buenos Aires: 1916

Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina
Vol. 82, pp. 87-94

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

7:Bach--1 X-5 (1896) 1916 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/87/

Data on the Terena Indians of Miranda

J. Bach (1)

114 1. The notes that we publish at the present time were handed over to me by the trader, Mr. J. Bach, in the year 1898, before he set out on a new trip to north Mato Grosso. Since that time no word has been had of him, not even in the bosom of his family; there is no doubt that he has perished in the course of his exploration. We believe that we are complying with the wishes of the one who has disappeared by publishing his notes on the little-known natives of Brazil. It has been necessary to correct these notes, which were written hastily, but no change has been made either in
197 content or arrangement. We note in passing that the Terena Indians belong, from the linguistic point-of-view to the Guaná Indians, and these in turn are of the Moxo-Aruak linguistic group.

[113] (See: Max Schmidt, "Guaná," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. XXXV, pp. 324-336, 560-604. 1903). (Robert Lehmann-Nitsche.)

M 621 175 [361] /87 cont./

Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16" longitude west of Paris.

M [727] [233] Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857. Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay, in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

G M 233 162 The fields are excellent and are well situated for the pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants; M 361 368 the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery, two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school, "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

G M 133 M 505 The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers. The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of G M 132 Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade, G M 134 and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands for agriculture.

G M 135 There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold, iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble, malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Tereña are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood.
They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of
menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl
only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
permitted among these Indians, there being some who have
five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married
with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the rela-
tives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast
and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and
lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead
man with everything that he owned in life, and what they can-
not bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were
owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end
they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping
ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left
by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch
their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves
completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/,
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[805] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas
[342] show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[92] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

/92 cont./

535 orchestra of drums and flutes. In front of the dancers are lo-
[122] cated two pairs of caciques, who witness the dance. They are accustomed to take part in the dance from the smallest Indian to the oldest; couples join up man with man and woman with woman, the men to the right and the women to the left of the music; when they arrive in front of the caciques, each pair is obliged to salute; the dance goes on in this way for three-
[114] quarters of an hour. I witnessed this dance in Agachy, when 48 couples took part, all of whom danced keeping time well with the music.

In the second dance the pairs of men form an arc in front of the music, but with their backs to it. The couples of women pass through the middle of the arc, and when they come out of it they split up, one to the right and one to the left, reuniting in front of the caciques. In this way the dance went on for half an hour, the men passing once more before the caciques
[114] for the defile. It was also in Agachy that I witnessed this dance.

[114] The third dance, which I saw right there, was similar to the first, but the dancers carried in their hands bunches of flowers and branches of wild plants, with which they saluted when they passed in front of the caciques.

[114] This fourth dance was witnessed by me in the aldea of Santa Ana. In front of the two pairs of caciques and four musicians with their drums and flutes, 22 couples formed up, men and women in equal parts. The dancers carried in their hands a piece of tacuara /a kind of bamboo/ more than one and one-half meters long. In files, the men to the /93/ right and the women to the left, and taking double steps to the rhythm of the music, they alternately struck the tacuaras against one another. This provided a pleasant sight; they did it so well and with such cleverness they seemed to be true artists. This dance lasted an hour and a half, without respite, leaving the dancers, on finishing, completely exhausted.

/93 cont./

/101/ I passed through all of the aldeas mentioned, starting my trip on February 21 and ending it on April 14 of the present year (1896).

/192

Terena Vocabulary

Man, oyhénó
Woman, sénó
Infant, calihónó
Head, tuty
Eyes, uqué
Nose, guirij
Mouth, pahó
Teeth, ohé

Tongue, nené
Ears, quenó
Neck, docó
Hair, tutijé
Forehead, uhónhó
Arm, daquij
Hand, mohúm
Fingers, toes, coava móhúm
Body, nninho
Chest, chéné
Milk, atuchéné
Heart, omisconé
Liver, apacaná
Lungs, japahytinán
Intestines, ocóhó
Legs, anunzéré
Foot, jévé

Scrotum, ayháquiá
Anus, acicicó
Beard, achenoyhó
Skeleton, hopéthij
Buttock, curócunan
Cemetery, petyayháquiá
God, tupá
Father or cacique, cóchómonetij
House, petij
Walls, yévépetij
Roof, tunucunanpetij
Door, pahápetij
Bed, ypé
Net, tuyty
Ball, uthó
Ollas, chóróná
No, acó
Yes, all right, honaijtij
Small, calij
Water pot or jug, camuchy
Knife, peritau
Necklace, chúrópé
Arrows, chumé
Bow, chequij
Kitchen, oyécótique

/93 cont./

192 Masculine member, quaú
802 Feminine member, syuquaú
Gender /sex/, cotorohytij
Alcohol, cumá
Water, uné
1, aú
2, cahú
3, sjatúlé
4, pacahé

Fire, jucú
Money, tiuquetij /94/
5, sjutohé
6, petequé
7, chipahé
8, chachámé
9, charquihé
10, chatijhómé

7: Bach SK7 Guana

ANALES

DE LA

SOCIEDAD CIENTÍFICA

ARGENTINA

DIRECTOR : DOCTOR HORACIO DAMIANOVICH

TOMO LXXXII

Segundo semestre de 1916

BUENOS AIRES
IMPRENTA Y CASA EDITORA DE CONI HERMANOS
684 — CALLE PERÚ — 684

1916

[Title Page]

7: Bach SK7 Guana

[P 87]

DATOS SOBRE LOS INDIOS TERENAS DE MIRANDA

POR J. BACH (1)

Miranda ha sido fundada en el año 1797 por Caetano Pinto de Miranda. La posición topográfica tomada por el Barão de Melgaço, es como sigue: 20°14′ latitud sud, 58°24′16″ longitud oeste de Paris.

Elevaron á Miranda á villa el 30 de mayo de 1857. Completamente destruída en el año 1865 por los paraguayos, fueron incendiados los campos y las casas y los habitantes que no pudieron huir, fueron asesinados; el ganado vacuno, la principal riqueza de este municipio, fué transportado, casi por completo, al Paraguay, en número superior á 300.000 cabezas. Así desvastado encontraron a Miranda, los que volvieron en el año 1871.

Los campos son excelentes y están bien situados para la industria pastoril. El municipio tiene cerca de 15.000 habitantes; la villa de Miranda tiene 78 casas con techo de tejas y un buen número de ran-

(1) Los apuntes que hoy publicamos, nos fueron entregados por el comerciante señor J. Bach en el año 1898, antes de que emprendiera nuevo viaje al norte de Mattogrosso. Desde esa época no se tiene noticia de él, ni siquiera en el seno de su familia; no cabe duda de que haya perecido en el curso de su exploración. Creemos cumplir con un deseo del desaparecido, entregando á la publicidad sus apuntes sobre indígenas tan poco conocidos del Brasil. Ha sido menester corregir estos apuntes, que fueron escritos al correr de la pluma, pero no se ha efectuado cambio alguno, ni en el contenido ni en la disposición. Recordamos de paso, que los indios Terena pertenecen, desde el punto de vista lingüístico á los indios Guaná, y éstos á su vez son del grupo lingüístico Moxo-Aruak.

(Véase: MAX SCHMIDT, *Guaná. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, tomo XXXV, página 324-336, 560-604. 1903). (*Robert Lehmann-Nitsche.*)

7: Bach SK7 Guana

ellos, además una iglesia, un cementerio, dos escuelas públicas para ambos sexos y un colegio particular, « Christovão Colombo », dividido en dos secciones, para ambos sexos, dirigido por el señor Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, siendo premiado como segundo colegio del curso primario en la República Brazileira.

El río Miranda es muy pequeño y desemboca en el rio Paraguay; es navegable por embarcaciones de poco calado; desde su desembocadura hasta la villa de Miranda hay 180 kilómetros, más ó menos. La única embarcación que navega este río hasta Miranda, es un pequeño vapor llamado *Erba*, perteneciente al señor Giusone Rebna, quien es el único que sostiene el municipio de Miranda con su comercio. El clima es regular, la temperatura marca en los días de más calor 34°C. en la sombra, y baja hasta cinco grados; en el invierno marca de 22° á 28° C. Miranda tiene terrenos fertilísimos para la agricultura.

Hay minerales en grandes cantidades, como ser oro, hierro, carbón de piedra, cristal de roca, mármol, malacacheta, que no se han explotado aún.

En el munipio de Miranda, existen varias tribus de indios, siendo la mas numerosa de ellas, la de los indios *Terenas*, quienes ocupan diversas aldeas, como ser: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha y Santa Ana.

Los Terenas son agricultores, y se ocupan, sobre todo, de la fabricación de la harina de mandioca; en general son muy laboriosos, tejen el algodón haciendo redes y otras telas; de la palmera trenzan sombreros, canastos, cernidores y esteras; de la pita y otras plantas fibrosas, el cordón para tejer bolsas, en las cuales tansportan sus productos al mercado: de barro fabrican fuentes, platos, ollas y muchas otras vasijas para el uso doméstico. Canjean sus productos por bebidas y artículos de fantasía. Para llevar sus productos al mercado van en grandes *turmas*, dirigidas por el cacique.

En lo que á su talla se refiere, los hay de estatura alta, mediana y baja. Son muy pocos los altos, pero todos son fuertes y musculosos. Los hombres son muy feos en su mayor parte, las mujeres pasables y alcanzan una edad muy avanzada. La proporción de los dos sexos es una tercera parte para el masculino y dos terceras partes para el femenino.

La mayor parte de ellos andan completamente desnudos y los más civilizados se cubren con ropa que les regalan los extranjeros.

Nacimiento. — Acostumbran matar al primer hijo, si es varón, pa-

7: Bach SK7 Guana

ra que los cristianos no puedan tomarlo como esclavo; las mujeres son muy apreciadas entre ellos. Acompañan al nacimiento de una criatura con grandes fiestas, que terminan siempre con borracheras.

Para dar á luz, la mujer va al monte, donde hace una excavación de unos 45 centímetros de largo por 35 centímetros de ancho aproximadamente, á la cual forran de hojas de palmera. En esta excavación dan á luz, y si la criatura es varón la matan en seguida, tomando á la misma excavación por enterratorio, después de lo cual van al río á bañarse y se someten luego á una dieta rigurosa, comiendo únicamente el corazón de la palmera llamado palmita.

Casamiento. — No se casan con parientes respetando la sangre. Acostumbran casarse muy jóvenes, á cualquier edad, no considerando el desarrollo físico. Á la aparición de la menstruación, hacen grandes fiestas, acompañadas de borracheras. Sientan á la joven india en una hamaca muy adornada, casi completamente desnuda, cubren á la joven solamente con la tanga ó julata, pintando el cuerpo con diversos colores. Encima de la cabeza hacen pender una campana, que hace repicar de minuto en minuto, una pariente anciana; á derecha é izquierda de la joven, se sientan los padres de ella, la demás parentela baila y canta alrededor de la joven, quien permanece en ayunas todo el día. La poligamia es permitida entre estos indios, habiendo algunos que tienen cinco, ocho y aun más mujeres, y depende esto del número de hermanas que tiene la primera mujer. Realizan el casamiento con mucha facilidad, deshaciéndolo del mismo modo y volviendo á casarse otras. Sólo festejan el primer matrimonio; para éste los novios reunen la parentela de ambas partes contrayentes, convidando á todos con una comilona y bebidas, fiesta que termina con cantos y bailes, y dura dos ó tres días.

Óbito. — Cuando muere un indio lloran todos, sin distinción de parentela. Acostumbran enterrar al muerto con todo lo que poseía en vida, y lo que no pueden enterrar se lo reparten entre ellos; los animales que poseyera el difunto, son canjeados por bebidas; por fin prenden fuego á la casa que habitó, y su llanto termina recién con la completa desaparición de los bienes dejados por el difunto.

Los parientes llevan el luto de la siguiente manera: se cortan el cabello, algunos se arrancan las pestañas y se rasguñan la cara, de suerte que se desfiguran por completo; este luto lo conservan durante cinco á siete lunas. Cuando muere un cacique también lo entierran con todo lo que poseía, con excepción del vestuario, que es heredado por el hijo, quien continúa en el poder.

7: Bach SK7 Guana

Sobre el enterratorio del cacique, construyen un pequeño rancho de hojas de palmera, en seña de distinción.

Cóchómonety ó Cacique. — El poder de cacique se hereda de padres á hijos. Cuando nace el primer hijo ó hija del cacique, éste, pocos momentos después, echa su aliento en la boca del recién nacido, lo cual significa que á la edad de 15 años, aproximadamente, recibirá el poder y será ordenado á cacique, siguiendo al padre en el poder apenas muera éste. Cuando los herederos llegan a la edad de 15 años, el cacique realiza una gran fiesta reuniendo, con este objeto, á todos los caciques de las demás aldeas. Vestido con una simple *julata* y pintado todo el cuerpo con diversos colores, el festejado es rodeado por todos los caciques invitados, quienes formando un círculo cerrado, dan vuelta alrededor del joven, cantando por espacio de dos á tres horas.

Terminada esta ceremonia se pasa á comer y beber, y dura la fiesta de dos á cuatro días, es decir, hasta que se hayan terminado comestibles y bebidas.

Astronomía. — Cada luna nueva es un mes y catorce lunas son un año. El sol se llama *paphúyty;* la luna : *calipahúquethy;* el mes *paphuyty;* las estrellas: *perphaty;* el cielo: *pipháyty;* la tierra: *piphéytó.*

Aldeas. — En el municipio de Miranda existen aproximadamente de doce á catorce mil indios Terenas y un gran número de aldeas, entre las cuales solo cito las que visité, siendo las principales las que se llaman: Agachy, Boquchina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana y Caytapé. Todas las aldeas presentan el mismo tipo de construcción, que es rústico, consistiendo las casas ó ranchos en tabiques de bambú con techo de paja ú hojas de palmera. Se diferencia una aldea de otra solamente, por el mayor ó menor número de ranchos.

Aldea Agachy. — Tiene esta aldea 26 ranchos, siendo los más grandes de 8 á 10 metros de largura, por 3 á 5 de anchura; es habitada por 367 indios.

Aldea Boquchina. — Tiene 18 ranchos, unos de 6 á 8 metros de largura por 3 ó 4 de anchura; es habitada por 298 indios.

Aldea Marro. — Tiene 24 ranchos, unos de 9 á 10 metros de largura, por 4 á 5 de anchura y otros más pequeños; la habitan 386 indios.

Aldea Marrinho. — Tiene 15 ranchos, los más grandes de 8 á 10 metros de largura, por 2 á 4 metros de anchura; demoran allí 257 indios.

Aldea Ipéqué. — Tiene 11 ranchos, unos de 5 á 7 metros de largo,

7: Bach SK7 Guana

por 2 á 4 metros de anchura, y otros más pequeños. Viven en ella 246 indios.

Aldea Santa-Ana. — Tiene 23 ranchos, unos de 6 á 10 metros de largura por 3 á 4 metros de anchura, con 379 indios.

Aldea Caytapé. — Tiene 19 ranchos unos de 8 á 10 metros de largura por 3 á 5 metros de anchura, y 315 indios.

Datos somáticos. — Los Terenas tienen el cutis color cobre obscuro, cara fea, chata, frente baja, cabello negro, lacio y grueso, poca barba, ojos negros, nariz pequeña, boca pequeña, dientes resistentes y muy blancos, orejas pequeñas, manos y pies pequeños.

El rancho. — El interior del rancho de estos indios, presenta camas rústicas de bambú, cubiertas con un cuero de vaca ú otro animal salvaje. El cuero sirve de colchón, las almohadas son unas bolsitas chicas rellenadas con paja, hay además en la choza varias hamacas, diversas vasijas de barro para agua y algunos bancos rústicos, mesa no tienen, su mesa es el suelo.

La cocina. — Es un señcillísimo rancho, ó mejor dicho techo de paja, de unos dos metros cuadrados y un metro y medio de altura, debajo del cual guardan platos, vasijas y demás enseres que corresponden á la cocina.

Culto. — Los Terenas creen que hay un Dios en el cielo y creen en las virtudes de la cola de la víbora cascabel, que tiene el don de comunicarse con las almas del otro mundo. La única fiesta religiosa que celebran, es la que concuerda con nuestra semana santa, es el pasaje de las siete estrellas; esta fiesta dura siete días. En todas las aldeas, delante de cada rancho, construyen un techo de dos aguas, de paja y de dos metros cuadrados por un metro y ochenta centímetros de altura, apoyado sobre seis bambúes. Debajo de este techo fijan una horquilla de bambú, de la cual penden un penacho y una calabaza. Van en grandes turmas, de rancho á rancho, y de media hora en media hora, cantando y haciendo ruido con la calabaza. Al cuarto día, en la madrugada, arman un grande barullo con bocinas, lanzan gritos y descargan con pólvora; es un ruido imponente, tan imponente que hasta los animales se asustan, acompañando la música con sus gritos y quejidos. El quinto día se presenta un enmascarado, con una bolsita en la mano, haciendo payazadas y pidiendo contribución á todos para el gran banquete que celebrarán todos ellos.

Acompañado de música y de tambores y flautas celebran el banquete y bailes, que terminan el séptimo día con grandes libaciones.

Thadique. — Es un juego de mano muy grosero, que consiste en

7: Bach SK7 Guana

trompadas entre hombres y entre mujeres, formados en dos grandes turmas que disponen los caciques, quienes deshacen también á las mismas, pues después de un pequeño combate todos desfilan en buena armonía.

Corrida de caballos. — De un pedazo de cuero hacen un caballo, al cual adornan con plumas y trapitos, montando luego sobre este caballito, como sobre caballito de palo. Á unos 35 metros del punto de partida colocan un aro y en el medio de éste cuelgan á un pajarito muerto, debiendo asir al pajarito con un palito duro y bien puntiagudo. Salen al mismo tiempo, corriendo á todo escape, debiendo pagar una botella de caña, el que pierde, y recibiendo dos botellas de caña el ganador. Esta fiesta dura generalmente dos á tres días, y no tiene tiempo marcado, festejándose en cada aldea en diversa época.

Bailes. — Presencié cuatro distintos bailes y todos ellos eran muy armoniosos; todos ellos fueron acompañados por una orquesta de tambores y flautas. Frente á los danzantes se ubican dos parejas de caciques, quienes presencian el baile. Acostumbran tomar parte en la danza desde el más pequeño indio hasta el más anciano; las parejas se juntan hombre con hombre y mujer con mujer, los hombres á diestra y las mujeres á siniestra de la música; llegando frente á los caciques, cada pareja está obligada á saludar; dura el baile, en esta forma, tres cuartos de hora. Presencié este baile en Agachy, cuando tomaron parte 48 parejas, quienes bailaban marcando bien el compás de la música.

En el segundo baile las parejas de hombres formaron un arco frente á la música, pero dándole la espalda. Las parejas de mujeres pasaban por el medio del arco, y al salir de éste se desprendían, una á diestra y otra á siniestra, volviendo á unirse frente á los caciques. En esta forma se continuaba el baile durante media hora, volviendo los hombres á pasar por delante de los caciques para el desfile. También fué en Agachy que presencié esta danza.

El tercer baile, que ví allí mismo, se asemejaba al primero, pero los danzantes llevaban en sus manos, ramos de flores y gajos de plantas silvestres, con los cuales saludaban al pasar por delante de los caciques;

Este cuarto baile, fué presenciado por mí en la aldea Santa Ana. Frente á las dos parejas de caciques y cuatro músicos con sus tambores y flautas, formáronse 22 parejas, hombres y mujeres á partes iguales. Llevaban, los danzantes, en las manos un pedazo de tacuara de más de un metro y medio de largo. En fila, los hombres á dies-

7: Bach SK7 Guana

tra y las mujeres á siniestra, y dando sus dobles pasos al compás de la música, batían alternativamente las tacuaras unos con otros. Ofrecía esto un bonito aspecto; lo hacían tan bien y con tanta presteza que parecían verdaderos artistas. Esta danza duraba hora y media, sin descanso, quedando, al finalizar, completamente rendidos los danzantes.

Recorrí todas las aldeas mencionadas, emprendiendo mi gira el 21 de febrero y terminándola el 14 de abril del año presente (1896).

VOCABULARIO TERENA

Hombre, *oyhénó.*
Mujer, *sénó.*
Criatura, *calihónó.*
Cabeza, *tuty.*
Ojos, *uqué.*
Nariz, *guirij.*
Boca, *pahó.*
Dientes, *ohé.*
Lengua, *nené.*
Orejas, *quenó.*
Pescuezo, *docó.*
Cabello, *tutijé.*
Frente, *uhónhó.*
Brazo, *daquij.*
Mano, *mohúm.*
Dedos, *coava móhúm.*
Cuerpo, *nninho.*
Pecho, *chéné.*
Leche, *atuchéné.*
Corazón, *omisconé.*
Hígado, *apacaná.*
Pulmones, *japahytinán.*
Intestinos, *ocóhó.*
Piernas, *anunzéré.*
Pie, *jéré.*
Miembro masculino, *quaú.*
Miembro femenino, *syuquaú.*
Escroto, *ayháquiá.*
Ano, *acicicó.*
Barba, *achenoyhó.*
Esqueleto, *hopéthij.*
Trasero, *curócunan.*
Cementerio, *petyayháquiá.*
Dios, *tupá.*
Padre o sea cacique, *cóchómonetij.*
Casa, *petij.*
Paredes, *yérépetij.*
Techo, *tunucunanpetij.*
Puerta, *pahápetij.*
Cama, *ypé.*
Red, *tuyty.*
Pelota, *uthó.*
Ollas, *chóróná.*
No, *acó.*
Si, está bien, *honaijtij.*
Pequeño, *calij.*
Pote o tinaja de agua, *camuchy.*
Cuchillo, *peritau.*
Collar, *chúrópé.*
Flechas, *chumé.*
Arco, *chequij.*
Cocina, *oyécótique.*
Fuego, *jucú.*
Dinero, *tinquetij.*

7: Bach SK7 Guana

Género, *cotorohytij*.
Alcohol, *cumá*.
Agua, *uné*.
1, *aú*.
2, *cahú*.
3, *xjatúlé*.
4. *pacahé*.
5, *xjutohé*.
6, *petequé*.
7, *chipahé*.
8, *chachámé*.
9, *charquihé*.
10, *chatijhómé*.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

The Terena and the Caduveo Southern

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far.

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes re-

[P. 1-A]

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100, 00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45, 00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75, 00
Total	220, 00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975, 00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3, 50
Salt, ½ kilo	1, 00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2, 00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1, 00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6, 00
Lard, ½ kilo	5, 00
Total for week	18, 50
Total for year	962, 00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975, 00
Food and household items	962, 00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122, 00
Total	2 059, 00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [371]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

191

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

618 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging
177 into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations.
[114] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de
[122] Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative
177 possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which
619 traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the
177 greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups
101 that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers
[648] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the
[792] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative
121 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various
177 forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./

121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
● 121 the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work.
I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

/12 cont./

/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/21 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

/14 The study of this process, however, first called for a
/21 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

/13 cont./

114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

/14 cont./

/2/ had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investi-
[14] gation in view of the short time available. Our stay in
[127] Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each
[000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical
[128] sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[82] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/24 cont./

121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[131] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
125 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/28 cont./

175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[167]

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

● 121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/29 cont./

121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
148 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná(26) show
241

26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses."(27) Already by this
148

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors."(28)

28. Ibidem.

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

114
121
128
[71]

29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikinau) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

/30 cont./

114
121
128

would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

175
640

The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh. . . ."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

G /38 cont./
M
175
648
571

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, charac-
M 175 terizing an entire period in which relations between representa-
648 tive parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous
571 forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation,
177 which must be taken into account if we are to understand
Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G
121 Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of
128 the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural
G complexes analyzed.
121 Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture,
[127] no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G
[173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

/121/ /173/ almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/121/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 /101/ And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

● /21

66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 178 565 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú 178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of
which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[596] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[569] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./
121

Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

G
B
175
648

Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

B
[653]

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

G
[361]

G
[162]

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikinau had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./
Gi
433 But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
511 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
241 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
439 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
Gi adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
[464] regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

● 121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

/2/ groups and, as intermediate situations, are the tribes that maintain "intermittent contact" and those with "permanent contact" with the national society. These four situations were conceptualized by Darcy Ribeiro (1957:7-14) through the examination of the "behavior" of the Brazilian indigenous groups over the last 50 years, in terms of the manner and rate of survival, the decharacterization or disappearance of their languages and cultures." (Idem:5.) The criterion used was "the systematic comparison of the situation in which the Brazilian indigenous groups were found at the turn of the century, with the situation in which they are found today, in terms of the degree of integration into the national society and, correlatively, the preservation or loss of cultural and linguistic autonomy." (Ibid.) Thus, "integrated" are the groups that "having experienced all of the constraints mentioned and having managed to survive, reached the 20th century isolated in the midst of the national population, into the

/98 cont./

121

> economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

62/ assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna com-
648 munities characterized above, it is seen that their components
177 continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive
[128] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of
[128] socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

> 157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[184] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/111/

VII. Acculturation and Mobility

/177 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with,
/167 in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

● /21 Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

/111 cont./

/2/ (Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen, 1954:437.) Not all, however, emphasize the group, but rather consider assimilation as "a gradual process by which the individual comes to share the expectations of another group and slowly acquires a new set of definitions /cited in English/." (Merril and Eldredge, 1957:42.)--Actually the two concepts correspond to two different aspects of the process of assimilation which was recognized by sociologists such as Ogburn and Ninkoff (1950) and Osborn and Neumeyer (1936)--and which here too we shall take into account, introducing only one observation as to the difficulty of verifying the correspondence between the concept and the reality which it claims to embrace, especially insofar as the second conceptualization is concerned; in this connection we use the term assimilated as the opposite of segregated (and, in certain cases, isolated) to indicate two extreme "conditions" set up on a continuum; this

/111 cont./

•/121

> in accordance with Glaser (1958:34), according to whom "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically... /cited in English/." And Glaser concludes with the admonition that "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him desegregating" (p. 32). /Cited in English./

assimilation, like acculturation, /112/ can also mean a "condition" as opposed to a "process"; in this case, the context in which they appear will suffice to elucidate them as a dynamic category (process) or a static one (condition), as we see in these respective examples: "assimilation--or acculturation--has led the Terêna groups to a radical change in their behavior...," and "not yet assimilated--or sufficiently acculturated--, the Terêna remain a people with a tribal consciousness strong enough to differentiate them from the regional population and to prevent their classification as a national variant or subculture...."

[177] [619]

We deem it fitting to underscore here this difference between the concepts of assimilation and acculturation--as "process" and as "condition"--in order to overcome an obvious ambiguity which incidentally has already been pointed out by Ralph Beals. (173)

173. 1953:627-628.

/112 cont./

/2/ Since this work by Beals, there has been a reformulation of the concept of acculturation (and its derivatives) on the part of a group of specialists in the social sciences, who drew up a document, in 1953, as a substitute for the "memorandum" of 1936 by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz. (174) In this

174. 1936:149-152.

document, acculturation was defined as "a culture change initiated by the conjunction of two or more cultural systems." (175)

175. Social Science Research Council, 1954:974.

In causal terms, the document adds, "acculturative change can be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it can be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological and demographic modifications induced by a cultural shock; it can be delayed by internal adjustments, following an acceptance of foreign patterns or features; or it can be an adaptation /two plates occur here/ /113/ in reaction of the traditional ways of life." (176) In this work, we have made use of this concept of

176. Ibid.

acculturation insofar as it has proved useful to an understanding of the consequences, in the cultural sphere, of the mechanisms of social, interethnic, and tribal interaction. At the basis of this, of course, there lies an implicit criticism of the theories of acculturation, insofar as they tend to regard cultural systems in themselves, often losing sight of the population or social group that bears them. (177) The emphasis given to behavior--

177. The approach of the British social anthropologists,

[text continues on p.164]

/113 cont./

/2/ which basically objectifies changes that occur in behavior, seems safer to us, even though we must acknowledge the importance of acculturation theories in any detailed study of sociocultural change.

as it was defined in the previous chapter--averts this danger, and at the same time permits us to deal with the process of acculturation in the terms proposed above.

Following this initial operational formulation of acculturation, the concept will become more precise when we compare it with that of social mobility, in the sense in which both /terms/ were used by Richard Adams, in his research on ladinización in Guatemala. (178) By Adams, social mobility

178. 1956:213-244.

is understood as a process of change "undergone by an individual when he gives up the customs of his own class or ethnic group in order to become a member of another class or ethnic group." (179) Here two forms of mobility are combined:

179. Idem: 214.

horizontal (for Adams, equivalent to physical mobility), and vertical (in the already traditional concept of Sorokin). As the counterpart to this, the acculturation process is defined as "the change which a community or entire society undergoes as it becomes culturally more similar to another. It refers to the change in customs of all the members of a group, to the extent that these customs serve less and less to differentiate

/113 cont./
/21/ this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121] 181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

● 121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/119 cont./

/121/ of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the
appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the
investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and
Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with
one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view
of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time
available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac,
the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna
families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher
than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families,
comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[621]

190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at
least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already men-
tioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how wide-
ly the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we
made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--
that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families,
a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried
out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of
individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which
add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to
162
369
125

191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 In order to
125 study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much
369

192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in
125 absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must
319 be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals,
162 not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

319 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these
162 three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/124 cont./

*177 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain
369 regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the
369 following proposition: Assimilation is more viable, progressively,
184 beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities. And as a corollary, we have then: Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves. Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating
● 121 assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis

196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

/125 cont./

/2/ occurs in accord with the continuum referred to above."
"This means that a person cannot change from a pattern of segregated identification to one of assimilation without, first, becoming marginal and, then, desegregated. Meanwhile, the change can occur in either direction of the continuum. To change from desegregation to marginal and to segregation, [128] is common." (197) Although we are not adopting this scheme

197. Idem:35.
"Ethnic identification refers to a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby to relate himself to others." (Idem:31.)
/Cited in English./

in its totality--for many of the results of its application are open to question--, it is a useful tool for the aims we have in mind, since, wrought from the analysis of situations involving minorities (ethnic, religious, and national), it is more refined and it strengthens our criterion for measuring assimilation by the pattern of ethnic identification. (198)

198. We defined assimilation, at the beginning of this chapter, as the process whereby one ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing its cultural peculiarity and its ethnic identification. See also footnote 172.

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] [123] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] [571] [829] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/126 cont./

*177 369 them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the [571] city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. [829] On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in [464] the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and [361] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated [186] in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi- [571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

●121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/151 cont./

*177 128 society might be described. Thus, it will not be idle to recall here the words of Talcott Parsons when he warns that even if one does not know the laws that govern a process, it is always possible to "describe it" in terms of its initial and final moments--and possibly to make inferences about its intermediary stages--until one reaches empirical generalizations about it. (212) This was the procedure we followed, aided by

212. "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it. --A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons 1952:201). /Cited in English./

• [12] a minute examination of the data gathered in the field. We believe that through the analysis of the socio-cultural factors that operated in a convergent or divergent manner in the assimilation process, we succeeded in indicating the bases on which the psycho-social mechanisms operate.

*177 178 Conclusions

I. The Terêna, as the last Guaná subgroup to enter into continuous and systematic contact with Brazilian society,

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [117] *Assimilation of the Terena*), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population, which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16–18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, ... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5–6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29–30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

through the social field. But the continuity is essentially one of repetition. There is an expectation of sameness, depending upon how the concept is phrased. A structural principle is one which provides a fixed line of social behaviour and represents the order which it manifests" (R. Firth, 1955 : 2). Used in a heuristic sense, this concept of social structura would permit us to characterize the Terena social system—for taxonomic purposes or even for structural analysis—as having "a high degree of comparativity" (Cf. Nadel, 1957 : 125). Still, this would not present a complete picture of the existing social situation. This has been demonstrated by Raymond Firth in his 1936 classic *We, The Tikopia*, and in more recent articles (1954, 1955). He demonstrates the necessity of studying the way in which a social group reacts when, finding it impossible to fulfill the demands of the social structure, it must accept alternative behaviour. Taking for example a situation in which the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son are strictly regulated by structural precept, we might ask: What happens when there is no mother's brother (Cf. Firth, 1954 : 12-13) ? Problems dealing with inheritance, name giving, social control, etc., arise when the necessary elements of the mother's brother/sister's son equation cease to exist, or perhaps never existed in a particular family. A recording of the responses of the group to such a contingency —responses which may at times become institutionalized particularly in cases of groups in transition— is just as interesting to the research worker as the examination of conventional behavior. In order to handle this problem, the specialist is forced to use the concept of *social organization*. "It (the concept of social organization) recognizes adaptation of behaviour in respect of given ends, control of means in varying circumstances, which are set by changes in the external environment or by the necessity to resolve conflict between structural principles" (Firth, 1955 : 2). Comparing, then, both these concepts, that of social structure and that of social organization, Firth makes clear that: "If structure implies order, organization implies a working towards order —though not necessarily the same order" (ibidem).

Even though there may be a tendency in the study of a structural system to emphasize the recording and analysis of the "highly stable uniformities" in order to make possible the construction of models, the above precise operational definition of these two concepts demonstrates that care must be taken not to exclude from the scope of the study the dynamic aspects of the social system, whether these aspects have reference to pathological items[6] or to more "normal" processes

[6] Durkheim, in "La Division du Travail Social", when he treats of the "Division du travail anomique" (Book III), observes that one of the most useful procedures for determining with the greatest precision the conditions

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] [120] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

M 142
M [147]

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

G 141
G 122 [114]

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organising and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

G [128]

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers or colonos on private fazendas. [640] [797] Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/12 cont./

/14 stimulate new studies that, some day, will make it possible
/21 to deal as a whole, with the necessary methodological strictness, with the problems of integration of the native populations into the national society.

Darcy Ribeiro
Rio de Janeiro, July, 1959

/13/ Introductory Note

/22 This work is the first report of our research on the Terêna Indians, carried out under the auspices of the Sacção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Divasão de Antropologia of the Museu Nacional.

/21 The research was planned for the recording and interpretation of the process of social interaction that has occurred in a systematic and continuous way between the Terêna and the national society, with the aim of uncovering the socio-cultural mechanisms that have affected the less generalized and more specific process we call here assimilation (1).

1. Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1957:173.

/14 The study of this process, however, first called for a
/21 general survey of the Terêna region, indispensable to the selection of the community where we should settle for a longer stay in the course of which we would carry out, in depth, our
[101] ethnological research. While this "survey" took up a month and a half and provided us with useful though superficial knowledge of eleven local groups, the rest of the time (some four months or so) that we spent in Mato Grosso on that first trip, i.e., from July to November, 1955--was devoted to the aldea

/16 cont./

114 administer questionnaires and carry out interviews among the urbanized Terêna.

122 We are deeply grateful to the employees of the 5.ª Inspetoria Regional of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, particularly to Messrs. Luiz Martins da Cunha and Américo Antunes de Siqueira, heads of the Cachoeirinha Native Post, our hosts, respectively, in 1955 and 1957-58, who, with their families, put us up for several months in their home, in the midst of one of the largest and most beautiful Terêna Indian

123 /17/ aldeas. We wish to thank and pay homage to the Terena population in the person of my fondly remembered friend, José Timóteo, "Captain" of Cachoeirinha, who died early in 1958, and to whose memory we dedicate this work.

122 To Dr. José Cândido de Melo Carvalho, Diretor-geral of the Museu Nacional, and Prof. Luiz de Castro Faria, Diretor of the Divisão de Antropologia, our gratitude for having financed the final part of this research, as well as having made its continuation possible when we entered the institution which they direct. /Page 18 is blank./

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construír lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

/15 cont./

123 to the techniques used, from "participant observation" with reference to the
125 use of questionnaires, we decided to mention them whenever necessary, thus endeavoring to make clear to the reader the origin and method of collecting the data analyzed.

128 As for its structure, the essay is divided into eight
[127] chapters: the first four were written on the basis of a bibliographic investigation, while the last four represent an attempt to describe the present situation of the Terêna and to interpret the process of socio-cultural change on the basis of the formulation of the problem of their assimilation with the regional neo-Brazilian population. Obviously they constitute the most important part of the work, as an introduction to which the first four chapters were written, namely: I) "The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup"--which aims to identify the population studied; II) "The Nature of Intertribal Interaction"--in which we attempt to analyze the type of relations between the great Guaná and Mbayá-Guaikurú groups; III) "Profile of the Traditional Culture"--which is a brief account of the pattern of the ancient Terêna-Guaná culture; IV) "History of Interethnic Relations"--a study of the waves of settlement in southern Mato Grosso on the part of our society and the consequences of that pioneering process in the modification of the regional native situation; V) "Present-
[127] day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups"--a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each local group (with the aid of the oldest informants in the community) and of whatever could be subjected to quantification, these methods being combined with bibliographic sources (chiefly SPI reports); VI) "Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities"--a comparative examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables, in order to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior; VII) "Acculturation and Mobility"--as two facets of the assimilation process, they provide the title for the most theoretical chapter in this work, in so far as it deals with a formulation of the conceptual system (used in the interpretation of a process)

/16 cont./

114 administer questionnaires and carry out interviews among the urbanized Terêna.

122 We are deeply grateful to the employees of the 5.ª Inspetoria Regional of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, particularly to Messrs. Luiz Martins da Cunha and Américo Antunes de Siqueira, heads of the Cachoeirinha Native Post, our hosts, respectively, in 1955 and 1957-58, who, with their families, put us up for several months in their home, in the midst of one of the largest and most beautiful Terêna Indian

123 /17/ aldeas. We wish to thank and pay homage to the Terêna population in the person of my fondly remembered friend, José Timóteo, "Captain" of Cachoeirinha, who died early in 1958, and to whose memory we dedicate this work.

122 To Dr. José Cândido de Melo Carvalho, Diretor-geral of the Museu Nacional, and Prof. Luiz de Castro Faria, Diretor of the Divisão de Antropologia, our gratitude for having financed the final part of this research, as well as having made its continuation possible when we entered the institution which they direct. /Page 18 is blank./

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from [123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave [571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities [829] they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/137 cont./

175 *177 648 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local "colonels," who invaded and robbed their aldeas.

*177 666 648 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of democratic life in the country, the political parties began to seek out the Terêna aldeas with the aim of gaining electors among those who might perchance know how to sign their names. To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical relations with the "civilizado," at least while the election propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39 electors (including nine women) in one of the aldeas alone, namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União, taken together, the number of electors could not have reached ● 123 50. In the other aldeas, unfortunately, we were unable to find *177 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that 666 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan 648 activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha, a community where we remained for a long time, from making such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the com- *177 munity for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the 666 Terêna aldeas (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political 648 parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often /138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from [123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave [571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities [829] they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
147 casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material [124] on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the [197] presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

/15 cont./ With reference
123 to the techniques used, from "participant observation" to the
125 use of questionnaires, we decided to mention them whenever necessary, thus endeavoring to make clear to the reader the origin and method of collecting the data analyzed.

128 As for its structure, the essay is divided into eight
[122] chapters: the first four were written on the basis of a bibliographic investigation, while the last four represent an attempt to describe the present situation of the Terêna and to interpret the process of socio-cultural change on the basis of the formulation of the problem of their assimilation with the regional neo-Brazilian population. Obviously they constitute the most important part of the work, as an introduction to which the first four chapters were written, namely: I) "The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup"--which aims to identify the population studied; II) "The Nature of Intertribal Interaction"--in which we attempt to analyze the type of relations between the great Guaná and Mbayá-Guaikurú groups; III) "Profile of the Traditional Culture"--which is a brief account of the pattern of the ancient Terêna-Guaná culture; IV) "History of Interethnic Relations"--a study of the waves of settlement in southern Mato Grosso on the part of our society and the consequences of that pioneering process
[122] in the modification of the regional native situation; V) "Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups"--a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each local group (with the aid of the oldest informants in the community) and of whatever could be subjected to quantification, these methods being combined with bibliographic sources (chiefly SPI reports); VI) "Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities"--a comparative examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables, in order to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior; VII) "Acculturation and Mobility"--as two facets of the assimilation process, they provide the title for the most theoretical chapter in this work, in so far as it deals with a formulation of the conceptual system (used in the interpretation of a process)

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

/119 cont./

/121/ of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the
appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the
investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and
Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with
one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view
of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time
available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac,
the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna
families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher
than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families,
comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[621]

190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at
least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already men-
tioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how wide-
ly the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we
made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--
that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families,
a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried
out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of
individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which
add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to
162
369
125

191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 In order to
125 study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much
369

192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 *regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living*
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121/ 125 369 162 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals, not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

369 162 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/14 cont./

/2/ had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investi-
[14] gation in view of the short time available. Our stay in
[12] Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each
[000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

[21]

3:Oliveira--151a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104a/

142
291
301
302
516
152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

The Terena and the Caduveo Southern

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far. 121

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes re- 127 128

[P. 1-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant. 127 128

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century. 101 175 648 [181]

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati- 101 175 [131]

[P. 18]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Fig. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174 by direct investigation the exact nature of the 241 economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197] Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174 *Yúrikoyuvakái* taught the people to practice agri- 241 culture: 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritou;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *puld'oi;* the bow, *shekió;* arrows, *shumó;* and the spear, *esiké.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopóe. Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174 speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. 241 Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127] evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174 the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241 hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433 shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136] greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137] than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 174 not the same as in the rain forest. The long 241 drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable [132] surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648] Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177] took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [826] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador* gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

* [Work published in 1910–17, See bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

/14 cont./

/2/ had to be subjected to a less systematic and less rigorous investi-
[114] gation in view of the short time available. Our stay in
[127] Cachoeirinha permitted us, above all, to work on the reconstruction of the traditional culture, though always with the help of bibliographic sources. Nevertheless, the basic procedure to which we resorted for the observation and recording of the social interaction between the Terêna and our society, coincides at various points with the "control-group" method mentioned by Audrey Richards and particularly suitable for comprehensive studies in so far as it permits us to single out the relative importance of each
[000] socio-cultural variable in the complex (3). /15/ With reference

3. "I adopted, as a result of experiments, a certain technique of observing and recording culture change. This process I have described in concrete detail. It can be roughly divided into three stages: (a) The making of a rough reconstruction of tribal life in pre-European days by comparing the narratives of the old men of the tribe with the facts of daily life actually observed. (b) The comparison of different communities, in this case villages, in which contact with Europeanism has been more or less extensive--the method of geographical
[126] sampling, in fact. (c) The collection of facts in the form of case-histories to show the extent and the variety of contact change." (1938:58; cf. also Fortes, 1938:67.) /Cited in English./

/15 cont./ With reference
123 to the techniques used, from "participant observation" to the
125 use of questionnaires, we decided to mention them whenever necessary, thus endeavoring to make clear to the reader the origin and method of collecting the data analyzed.

128 As for its structure, the essay is divided into eight
[122] chapters: the first four were written on the basis of a bibliographic investigation, while the last four represent an attempt to describe the present situation of the Terêna and to interpret the process of socio-cultural change on the basis of the formulation of the problem of their assimilation with the regional neo-Brazilian population. Obviously they constitute the most important part of the work, as an introduction to which the first four chapters were written, namely: I) "The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup"--which aims to identify the population studied; II) "The Nature of Intertribal Interaction"--in which we attempt to analyze the type of relations between the great Guaná and Mbayá-Guaikurú groups; III) "Profile of the Traditional Culture"--which is a brief account of the pattern of the ancient Terêna-Guaná culture; IV) "History of Interethnic Relations"--a study of the waves of settlement in southern Mato Grosso on the part of our society and the consequences of that pioneering process in the modification of the regional native situation; V) "Present-
[122] day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups"--a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each local group (with the aid of the oldest informants in the community) and of whatever could be subjected to quantification, these methods being combined with bibliographic sources (chiefly SPI reports); VI) "Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities"--a comparative examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables, in order to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior; VII) "Acculturation and Mobility"--as two facets of the assimilation process, they provide the title for the most theoretical chapter in this work, in so far as it deals with a formulation of the conceptual system (used in the interpretation of a process)

G /38 cont./
M
175
648
571

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G
M
175
648
571
177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G
121
128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G
121
[127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G
[173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

The Terena and the Caduveo Southern

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far. 121

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes re- 127 128

[P. 1-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant. 127 128

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century. 101 175 648 [181]

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati- 101 175 [131]

[P. 1-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

M 142
M [147]

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

G 141
G 122 [114]

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organising and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

G [128]

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

/15 cont./ With reference
/123 to the techniques used, from "participant observation" to the
/125 use of questionnaires, we decided to mention them whenever necessary, thus endeavoring to make clear to the reader the origin and method of collecting the data analyzed.

/128 As for its structure, the essay is divided into eight
[127] chapters: the first four were written on the basis of a bibliographic investigation, while the last four represent an attempt to describe the present situation of the Terêna and to interpret the process of socio-cultural change on the basis of the formulation of the problem of their assimilation with the regional neo-Brazilian population. Obviously they constitute the most important part of the work, as an introduction to which the first four chapters were written, namely: I) "The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup"--which aims to identify the population studied; II) "The Nature of Intertribal Interaction"--in which we attempt to analyze the type of relations between the great Guaná and Mbayá-Guaikurú groups; III) "Profile of the Traditional Culture"--which is a brief account of the pattern of the ancient Terêna-Guaná culture; IV) "History of Interethnic Relations"--a study of the waves of settlement in southern Mato Grosso on the part of our society and the consequences of that pioneering process in the modification of the regional native situation; V) "Present-
[127] day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups"--a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each local group (with the aid of the oldest informants in the community) and of whatever could be subjected to quantification, these methods being combined with bibliographic sources (chiefly SPI reports); VI) "Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities"--a comparative examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables, in order to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior; VII) "Acculturation and Mobility"--as two facets of the assimilation process, they provide the title for the most theoretical chapter in this work, in so far as it deals with a formulation of the conceptual system (used in the interpretation of a process)

/15 cont./

/128 while at the same time giving an idea of the type of culture change brought about by acculturation, in the face of the socio-cultural changes resulting from social mobility; finally,
VIII) "The Mechanisms of Assimilation"--where are examined, on the basis of "case histories," the factors that facilitate /16/ assimilation and those that hinder or impede it, concluding with a brief recapitulation of the basic theses of the work.

/14 We cannot close this introductory note without mentioning that this research was carried out through the stimulation of Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, when we were working under his direction in the Secção de Estudos (Museu do Índio) of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Our reading of his yet unpublished work, "A assimilação dos índios no Brasil /The Assimilation of the Indian in Brazil/," was basic to the formulation of our central research problems, while at the same time our association was a factor that contributed much to the success of our research, both in his courses on ethnology, in which we had the opportunity to participate as his assistant, and in the daily observation of his indigenist activities during the years 1954 to 1956. With his acceptance of our invitation to write a preface to the present work, Prof. Darcy Ribeiro is once more lending his stimulus and support to our work, incurring our sincere gratitude.

Aside from Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, Prof. Oracy Nogueira and Dr. Joaquim Mattoso Câmara Jr. read the manuscript. The first five chapters, ready since 1957, were read by Dr. Florestan Fernandes, our former professor of sociology, who introduced us to the systematic study of the social sciences when we were studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of the University of São Paulo. We thank them all for their suggestions, of which we made use of only those that seemed pertinent, this being the reason why we are solely responsible for the ideas expressed here. To our colleagues in the Divisão, Maria Heloisa Fenelon Costa and Dalton Moreira de Araújo, we wish to give thanks for the collaboration they were always ready to offer, especially to the latter, who accompanied us on our last trip into the field and helped us

/25 cont./
10/ parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among them-
175 selves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the

[128]

10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

12. 1809, II:86.

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

13. 1898:471.

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

114
121
128
[171]

29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

/30 cont./

114
121
128

would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

175 The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what
649 Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97.--The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

G M 175 648 571

/38 cont./

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G 121 128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G [173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

/2/ /73 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 631 [17] /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 101 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was
178
648
462
565

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175]
[128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
671

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
582
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
● 128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

> master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

G
466
173
128
[115]
[254]

Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

B
624
625

"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131)

131. Idem:83-84.

/170 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/171/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62/ Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

/98 cont./

121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

62/ assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna com-
648 munities characterized above, it is seen that their components
177 continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive
[28] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of
[28] socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/108 cont./

798 829 [273] thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do [212] not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" [792] have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

771 /128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/109 cont./

184 621 797 795 [665] [128] Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621 795 511 [184] [182] [648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/124 cont./

369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as [128] those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

369 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to re-
619 main faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to
*177 their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification,
369 along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national
[561] structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the
[619] assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

/125 cont./

/2/ occurs in accord with the continuum referred to above."
"This means that a person cannot change from a pattern of segregated identification to one of assimilation without, first, becoming marginal and, then, desegregated. Meanwhile, the change can occur in either direction of the continuum. To change from desegregation to marginal and to segregation, [128] is common." (197) Although we are not adopting this scheme

197. Idem:35.
"Ethnic identification refers to a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby to relate himself to others." (Idem:31.)
/Cited in English./

in its totality--for many of the results of its application are open to question--, it is a useful tool for the aims we have in mind, since, wrought from the analysis of situations involving minorities (ethnic, religious, and national), it is more refined and it strengthens our criterion for measuring assimilation by the pattern of ethnic identification. (198)

198. We defined assimilation, at the beginning of this chapter, as the process whereby one ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing its cultural peculiarity and its ethnic identification. See also footnote 172.

/126 cont./

*177 them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of
369 life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the
[571] city, raise their children there, or build up their families there.
[829] On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in
[464] the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and
[361] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated
[186] in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi-
[571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 In the examination in which we are engaged, with re-
128 spect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna
369 population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the
[181] most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[162] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/150 cont./

*177 182 571 off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginalization (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy, making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" /condition/--which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrap olating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English./ As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

*177 128 It should be made clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

/151 cont./

*177 society might be described. Thus, it will not be idle to recall
●128 here the words of Talcott Parsons when he warns that even if one does not know the laws that govern a process, it is always possible to "describe it" in terms of its initial and final moments--and possibly to make inferences about its intermediary stages--until one reaches empirical generalizations about it. (212) This was the procedure we followed, aided by

212. "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it. --A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons 1952:201). /Cited in English./

[121] a minute examination of the data gathered in the field. We believe that through the analysis of the socio-cultural factors that operated in a convergent or divergent manner in the assimilation process, we succeeded in indicating the bases on which the psycho-social mechanisms operate.

*177 178 Conclusions

I. The Terêna, as the last Guaná subgroup to enter into continuous and systematic contact with Brazilian society,

/152 cont./

*177 the aldeas of their origin, (i) identifying themselves with them,
178 (ii) keeping "lots" in them, and (iii) returning to them for
369 secular activites or magico-religious rituals. The assimilation of this urbanized contingent tends to occur in the generations that follow that of the Terêna emigrant, and in accordance with certain conditions, the most important being: family disorganization. Whether in relation to this urbanized contingent, or in relation to the merely detribalized one--mentioned in the previous paragraph--the assimilation mechanisms are the same, their content obviously varying.

*177 IV. Although the analysis in depth to which we subjected
178 only those Terêna classified as aldea /Indians/ and as urbanized
128 /Indians/, was sufficient to give us an idea of the assimilation process, the exclusion /153/ of the detribalized Terêna, that is, those living on fazendas, imposes on this work a serious limitation which we attempted to circumvent through the use, perhaps the abuse, of a very poor set of data, often obtained by means of indirect methods. Nevertheless, the viability of this procedure, defensible from a methodological standpoint, permitted us to deal with the Terêna as a whole, to classify them into objective sociological categories, and to proffer generalizations about them. The manipulation of the concepts of acculturation and social mobility helped us to foresee two basic aspects or conditions of the assimilation process. Finally, the detailed examination of this process, through an examination of the psycho-social mechanisms emerging from it--carried out with the aid of a particular theoretical scheme (Glaser)--led us to understand the dynamic aspects of ethnic identification and their importance to the survival of the Terêna, as groups.

*177 V. The final conclusion reached is that the Terêna
178 population, in spite of being integrated into the regional economic structure, nothing indicates that in the near future it will come to be assimilated by the Brazilian society or by its socio-cultural segments. (213) Perhaps this will not even

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division of Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

107
131

MAP 1.—South America, showing area of study.

[p. vi]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

127 128 101 175 648 [181] 101 175 [131]

[P. 1-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

G 175 101 [131] G 175 161 M 13 M 161 M 101

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

M G 105 114 566 G M 105 621 648 63 G

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

M 648 105 G [562] [622]

[P. 2-A]

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory. M 648 175

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government. M [101] M [131] M [162]

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . . G 175 131 G [241] G [161] G [648]

[P. 3-B]

In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469). 175 648

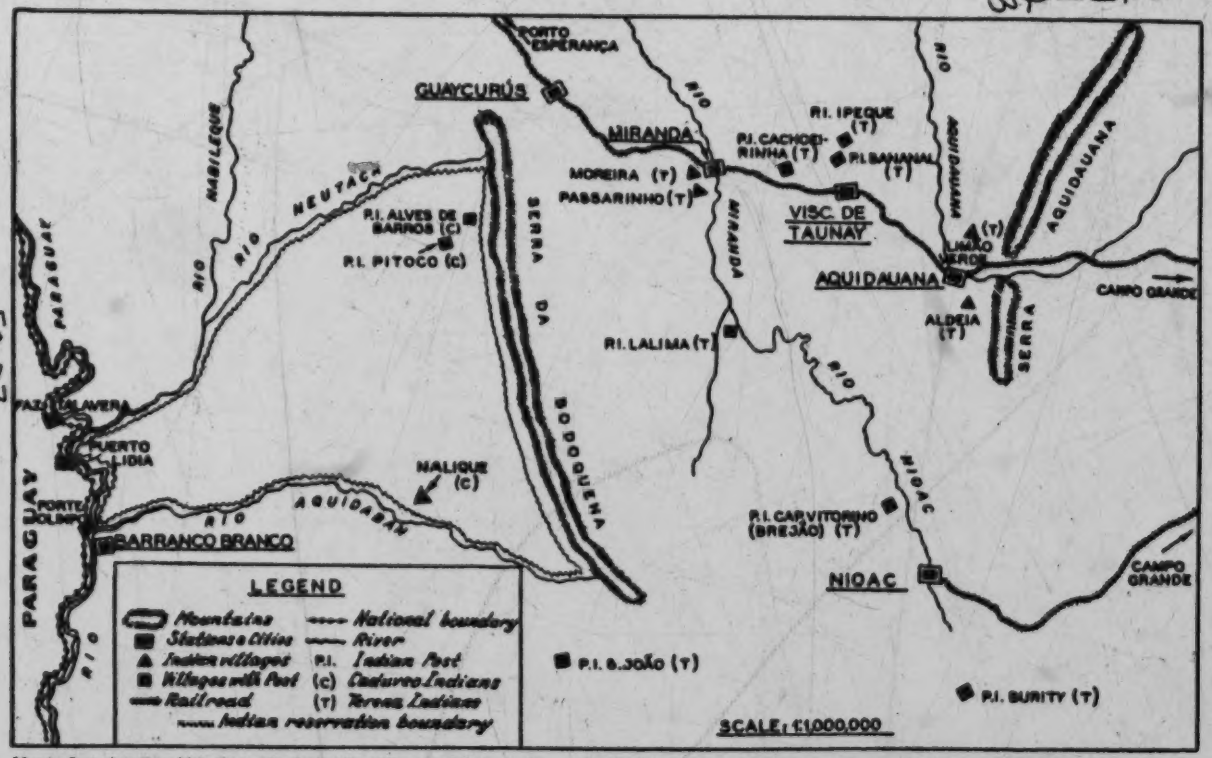
It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding. [131]

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return. 175 361 [648]

The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo. 175 648

[P. 4-A]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11
M 9 103 102 131 361 162 133



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 996; Cachoeirinha, 602; Ipegue, 364; Cap. Vitorino, 184; Burity, 476 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 184 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 2,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 150. (For P. I. Ipeque on map, read P. I. Ipegue.)

[p. 7]

/21 cont./

102
131

Map 1. Location of the region occupied by the Terêna Indians.

/22 cont./

175 of minor importance except of course for the former's famous statement, when he compared Guaná-Guaikurú relations to the state of subordination prevailing at the time in his own country between feudal lords and peasants.

[131] The 19th-century bibliography, even prior to Castelnau, becomes far more useful for the study of the Terêna, since it reveals the presence of Guaná groups in the region now centered on the city of Miranda, the present area of the greatest con-
175 centration of Terêna local groups. From the information left
177 us by Almeida Serra (1803), Hercules Florence (1825-29), and indirectly by Alincourt (1828), we can form a good idea of the interethnic and tribal contacts in that area and of the relative isolation of the Terêna population. And this lack of data on the Terêna, at the time, is explained by Castelnau's statement (1845), according to which, up to that time, those Indians had maintained "very few relations with the whites." And he adds: "They are a warrior people who retain in their entirety the customs of their ancestors." (6)

6. 1949, II:301. (The dates in parentheses refer to the time when the travelers were near the groups mentioned and not to the dates of publication of their works.)

175 From Castelnau on the bibliography is more satisfactory, and none of the chroniclers fails to supply--although in varying degrees--data on the Terêna. From Elliot (1844), through Leverger (1847), Francisco Lopes (1848-49), Alves Ferreira (1846-50), up to Taunay (1863-64) and Bach (1896), all of them--and especially the last two--are lavish with information of great interest to the study of contact situations between the Terêna and the national society, even though, let it be said in passing, only Bach and in second place Taunay provide ethnographically relevant material. In a strict sense, in the

/24 cont./

121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a): 238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[131] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
175 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned.

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

[For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

/27 cont./

174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

[131]

19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 The testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect,
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[197] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

G M 175 648 131 M 563

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

G M 175 648 571

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

M [563] [622]

G M 175 648 [57] 622 [582]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.
In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

G M [101]

G [191]

/62 cont./

175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
[162] 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

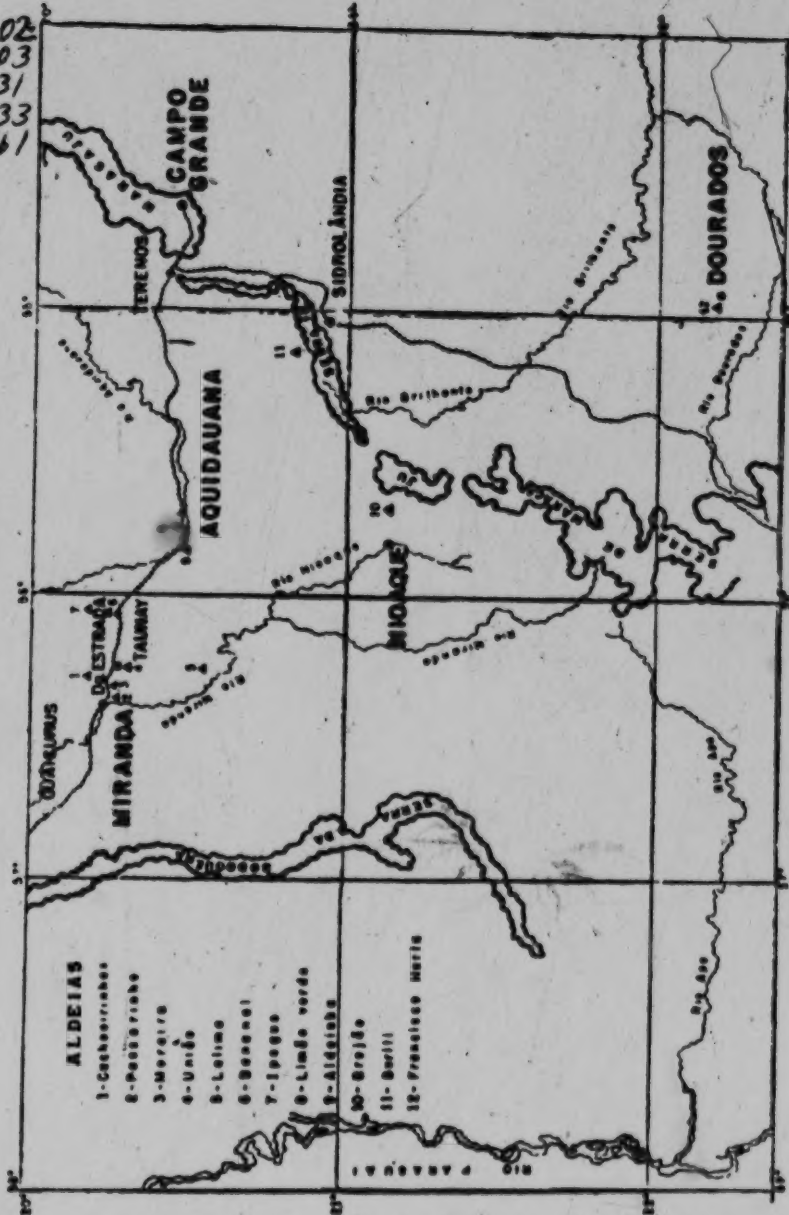
110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

102
103
131
133
361



Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas.

5:Rohde--1 E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[170] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

Chane SF8
Guana SK7

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga [181]

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

"The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

Ga [621]

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Guana SK7 Terena Bororo SP8

B 127 BO G 131 161 175

/548/

II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

			1848		1872
1		Caiuás	?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2		Chamococos . . .	200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Guaicurús	Cadiuéos . . .	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Guaicurús	Beaquéos . . .	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Guaicurús	Cotoguéos . . .		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guaicurús	Guatiedeos . . .	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanás	Guanaz	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Guanás	Kinikináos . . .	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Guanás	Terenas	2000	Miranda	–
10	Guanás	Laianas	300	Miranda	–
11		Guachís	?	Miranda	– (7)
12		Guatós	500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13		Bororós da Campanha	180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

Guato SP15
Guana SK7
Mbaya SK11
Guaicuru
Guachi SP14

/549 cont./

M 105 175 few horses, some wool-bearing animals, birds, and pigs. Take wives and children away from the Chamococos as well as the Enimás on the neighboring Paraguay. Weave fine ponchos, hammocks, carrying bands, and belts. Proud, inclined to drunkenness and thievery.]

/550/

G 105 175 7. Guanás. Village near Albuquerque and half a league from Cuyabá.

131 [162] 8. Guanás Kinikináos. About 800 in Village I in Matto grande three leagues west of Albuquerque, Village II 200 near Miranda.

9. Guanás Terenas. Live settled in the vicinity of the garrison city (presidio) Miranda.

10. Guanás Laianas. The same.

G 105 175 [Report 1858: Guanás and Kinikináos in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho under the excellent Brother Mariano de Bagnaia, who departed on vacation and remained in S. Paulo. They had a schoolmaster, a music teacher, and a master tailor. Terenas and Laianas in the Aldea da Villa de Miranda.

Report 1861: The Kinikináos lived in the judicial district of Albuquerque, three leagues from the city, in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho long before the establishment of the Directoria. The latter sought to create order through the mission of Frei Mariano. For the Terenas, Laianas, and Guachis -- numbering 2500 -- a settlement was established on 30 April 1860 one league from the Villa de Miranda. (This contradicts the report of 1858.)]

G1 105 175 11. Guaxis. A tribe almost extinct. Conditions similar to those of the Guanás and Guaycurus of Miranda, where they likewise live.

G0 105 175 [131] 12. Guatós. On the right Paraguay bank and on the lagoons of the upper mouth of the Paraguay-merim to a little below Escalvado, also on the S. Lourenço and Cuyabá mouth. During the rainy season in the flooded campo region. Build small and low huts, during the day remain in the canoes, which are very well constructed, are small and fast. Sometimes one sees a

G0 [501]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1–11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yúrikoyuwakái* taught the people to practice agriculture: 174 241 [197] 174 241 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuwakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomo'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *paká'oi;* the bow, *shokió;* arrows, *shamó;* and the spear, *swiká.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopóo.* *Yúrikoyuwakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days. 174 241 [127]

The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence 174 241 433 [136] [137] 174 241 [132] [648] [177]

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlica decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds

136 [223]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 8-A]
[P. 6-B]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910-17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared [132] of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times [412] of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the [412] "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516] ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177 407] to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until [824] the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century: [181]

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291-292.] [516]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The 241 clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--ANALYST]

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

M /87 cont./

621 Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto
175 de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão
[361] de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16"
longitude west of Paris.

M Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857.
[727] Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the
[233] fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could
not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this
municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay,
in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned
G in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

M The fields are excellent and are well situated for the
233 pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants;
162 the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good
M number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery,
361 two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school,
368 "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for
the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and
which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the
G primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

M The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay
133 River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth
M to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers.
505 The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a
small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone
G Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of
M Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the
132 temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade,
G and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it
M ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands
134 for agriculture.

G There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold,
M iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble,
135 malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [179]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlica decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

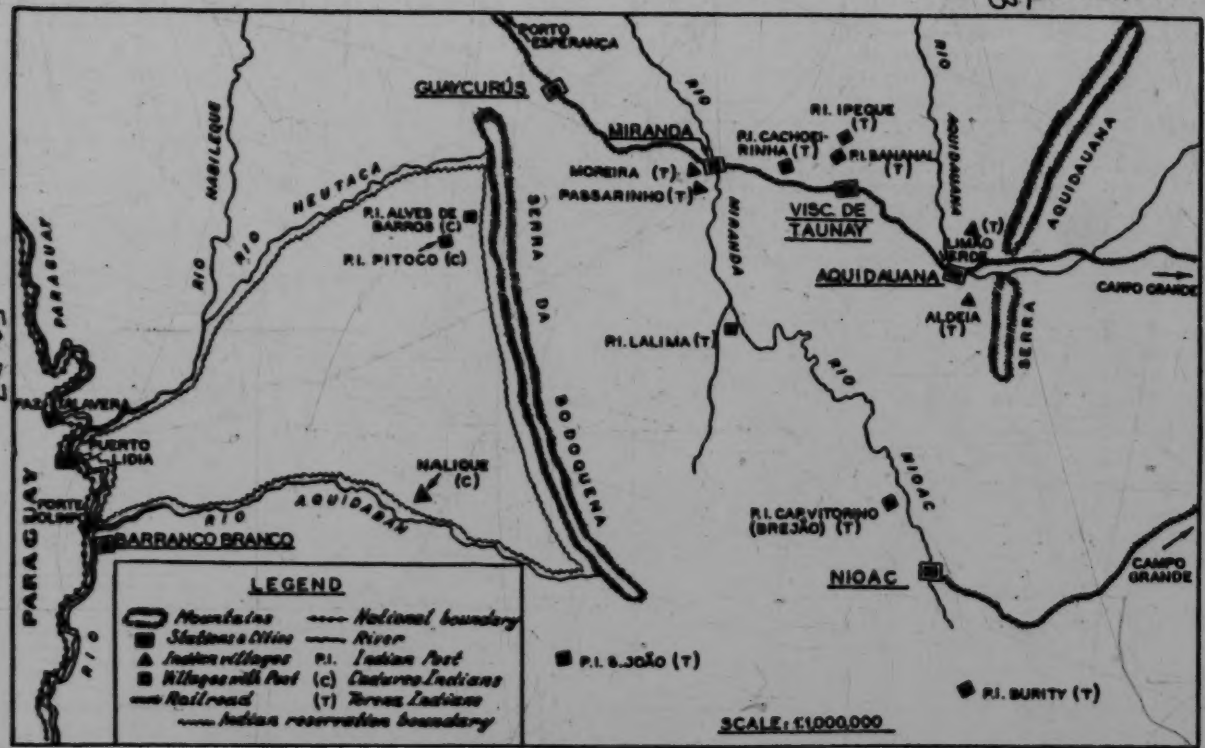
> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[Text continues on p 8-A]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7 ●
Terena
Mbaya SK11

M 9 103 1022 1311 1961 1622 ● 33

[p.7]



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Guaycuru villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 900; Cachoeirinha, 600; Ipegue, 304; Cap. Vitorino, 180; Burity, 470 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 184 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 3,000. The population of the three Guaycuru villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Guaycuru. The total population is estimated at 140. (For P. I. Ipegue on map, read P. I. Ipegue.)

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [156]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [189]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [33]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

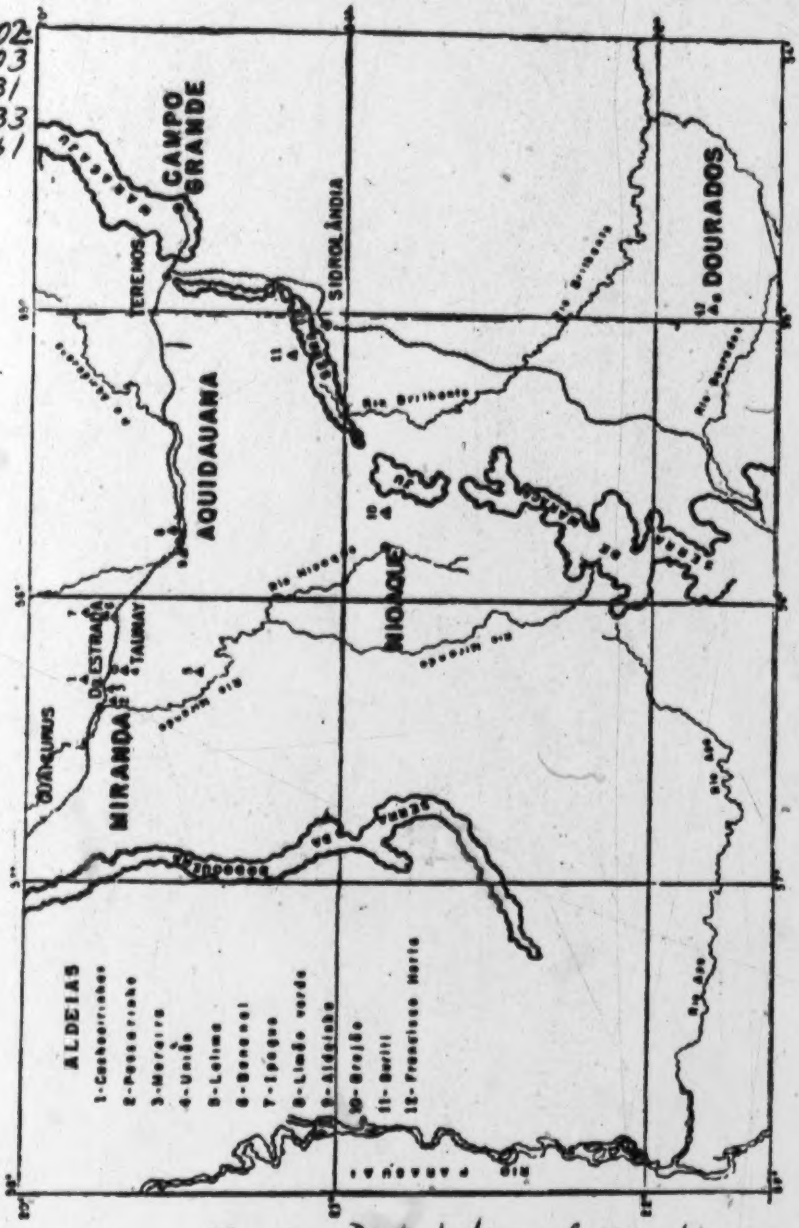
177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

102
103
131
133
361



Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[731] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[368] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[497] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

M /87 cont./
621 Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto
175 de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão
[361] de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16"
longitude west of Paris.

M Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857.
[727] Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the
[233] fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could
not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this
municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay,
in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned
G in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

M The fields are excellent and are well situated for the
233 pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants;
162 the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good
M number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery,
361 two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school,
368 "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for
the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and
which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the
G primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

M The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay
133 River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth
M to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers.
505 The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a
small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone
G Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of
M Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the
132 temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade,
G and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it
M ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands
134 for agriculture.

G There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold,
M iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble,
135 malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--ANALYST]

[Bananal Village]

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but 241
provide excellent shade for humans and animals alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have [134] washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper.

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and 244
article of trade of the Terena it is also the prin- 262
cipal crop. About half of the total cultivated land [241]
is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety.

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

62/ population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

36/ The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[34] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
36/ the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

M 621 175 [361] /87 cont./

Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16" longitude west of Paris.

M [727] [233] Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857. Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay, in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

G M 233 162 The fields are excellent and are well situated for the pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants; M 361 368 the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery, two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school, "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

G M 133 M 505 The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers. The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of G M 132 Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade, G M 134 and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands for agriculture.

G M 135 There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold, iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble, malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

M /87 cont./
621 Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto
175 de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão
[361] de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16"
longitude west of Paris.

M Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857.
[927] Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the
[233] fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could
not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this
municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay,
in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned
G in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.
M The fields are excellent and are well situated for the
233 pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants;
162 the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good
M number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery,
361 two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school,
368 "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for
the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and
which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the
G primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.
M The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay
133 River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth
M to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers.
505 The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a
small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone
G Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of
M Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the
132 temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade,
G and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it
M ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands
134 for agriculture.
G There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold,
M iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble,
135 malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Figs. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174 241
by direct investigation the exact nature of the
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the
Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as
being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking
tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly
agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174
Yúrikoyuvakái taught the people to practice agri- 241
culture: 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilome'i;* the knife, *piritou;* the sickle, *popiloóti;* the war club, *puld'oi;* the bow, *shekió;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *eulké.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopda.* *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to as-
sume that they were agriculturists in pre-Colum-
bian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is
understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only
the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long [132]
drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable
surplus not necessary in a region where annual
rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that
depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and
collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic cus-
toms seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and
raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlica decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánches Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[Text continues on P. 8-A]

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231 825] [224 262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178 362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

1 [Work published in 1910–17, See bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

G /59 cont./
H conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up
175 "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient
167
H
233
[361]

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

G
[137]
[136]

technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

G
H
175
167
648

It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

H
175
167

103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174 241
by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174 241
Yúrikoyuvakái taught the people to practice agriculture: 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *pováóti;* the digging stick, *ilome'i;* the knife, *piritou;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *pulá'oi;* the bow, *shekió;* arrows, *shumó;* and the spear, *sulká.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopás. Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal 241
evidence exists concerning the original nature of [127]
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable [132]
surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlisa decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[Text continues on p. 8-A]

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

G /59 cont./
H conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up
175 "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient
167
H
233
[61]

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

G
[137]
[136]

technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

G
H
175
167
648

It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

H
175
167

103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

3:Oliveira--163b E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Kinikinau

/112b/

/137
142
291
302

Kinikináu survivor of the "Paraiso" local group, now living in Cachoeirinha. (1958)

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

M 142
M [147]

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

G 141

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

G 122
[114]

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organising and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

G
[128]

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

142
291

Plate 6.—Terena physical types. a, Man. b, Woman and child.

[End Plate 6]

[p. 78]

142
291
302

PLATE 7.—Terena physical types. a, Girl b, Old woman. c, Young boy. d, Man and boy.

[End Plate 7]

[p. 79]

191

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

3:Oliveira--46b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

142
301
535

Terêna dancers dressed and adorned for the "Bate-Pau."
(Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--70a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55a/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--70b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55b/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--103 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layâna

142
292
301
302
756

Gonçalo, a Layâna survivor and the most highly regarded Koixomuneti in Cachoeirinha. (1955)

3:Oliveira--126a E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88a/

142
291
302
294
352

Terêna girl working on her trousseau. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

8:Oliveira--126b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/

142
291
302
326
413
352

Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/104a/

142
291
301
302
516
152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

3:Oliveira--151b E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104b/

142
291
302
854

Young Terêna woman with her child. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

3:Oliveira--163a E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/112a/

142
291
302

Old Terêna of Cachoeirinha. (1957)

3:Oliveira--163b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Kinikinau

/112b/

137
142
291
302

Kinikináu survivor of the "Paraíso" local group, now living in Cachoeirinha. (1958)

3:Oliveira--196a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136a/

142
292
301
302
756
*177

Young Terêna, Koixomuneti apprentice, wearing around his neck an image of the "Sacred Heart." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G [464] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
● 142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[170] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

● 142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[329] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a [144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained 101 829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is [241] divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small [462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
66 *177 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*177 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 464 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. [178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [147] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[129] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 797 [798] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

3:Oliveira--151a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104a/

142
291
301
302
516
● 152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from [123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [147] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave [571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Where- [829] as on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[626] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

Clothing for 3 children for year:	Cr. $
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 795 [797]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead. [551]

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume. [342]

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [795] [797] [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikiki*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15 [551] [795] [212] [191]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [55] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling. [159] [352] [353] [405]

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians. [241] [443] [438]

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village. [891] [997]

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use. [592] [352] [513] [405] [416]

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away. [231] [241] [494]

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro. [212] [797] [191]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

[P. 19-B]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [194]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and
repairs harness for people in the village and for [282]
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [197]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Cachoeirinha]

176 cont.

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[44]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

/138 cont./

*177 666 369 829 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way) and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" [554] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[159]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

/140 cont./

*177 464 461 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better [142] [314] [124] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, 46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not 484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the [829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with 46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 463 826 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional ● 159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case *177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had 256 46 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana, [162]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[167] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[824] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikináu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
●16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
621 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço
162 de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
● 16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 [464] [113]

if it were not for the fact that some families had left to work on fazendas. (154) But the population did not cease growing,

154. The Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, for the year 1937, says the following: "Before (1937) the number of inhabitants was greater, but some families left in search of work, in order to acquire such staples as food and clothing. The lack of agricultural implements contributed to the departure of these families." And it cannot be said that the departure of Indians from Buriti was a minor affair, when we see that already in 1926 there were in that community 450 persons living in 52 houses, according to the Relatorio da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for that year. We see that from 1923 to 1926, in three years, the population of the aldea grew by 30 individuals; and from 1926 to 1937, aside from the population dropping slightly, we see quite a big increase in the number of ranchos: from 52 to 91--

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [822] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory. M 648 175

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government. M [101] M [131] M [162]

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . . G 175 131 G [241] G [161] G [648]

[P. 3-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in. G M 105 174

In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose. M 178 105 M [648]

On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point G 105 M G [648] G [161]

[P. 4-B]

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals,
a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do
not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[498] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them
hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the
cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the
railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at
the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress,
wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair
characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans
and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary
to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always
prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative
peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and
set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those
untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the
subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not
more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/
study will lead us to a better understanding of the process where-
by tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G C 101 175

/19 cont./

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G 175 [361] [648] [162]

C 161 [361]

G. Ki M 161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]
G
[177]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

/27 cont./

114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
125 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

[113]

21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

[167]

by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/28 cont./

175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[167]

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[348] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikináu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
621 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço
162 de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

/82 cont./
Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are
[491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are
[496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 The first accurate census data available compel us to
621 deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over
166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and
161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a
162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around
621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161
166
621
[13]

146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [578] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[17] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
415 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikũ, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SK7
Terena
Bororo SP8

B
127
BO
G
131
16
175

/548/

II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

			1848		1872
1	Caiuás		?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2	Chamococos . . .		200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Cadiuéos . . .	Guaicurús	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Beaquéos . . .	Guaicurús	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Cotoguéos . . .	Guaicurús		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guatiedeos . . .	Guaicurús	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanaz	Guanás	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Kinikináos . . .	Guanás	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Terenas	Guanás	2000	Miranda	–
10	Laianas	Guanás	300	Miranda	–
11	Guachís		?	Miranda	– (7)
12	Guatós		500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13	Bororós da Campanha		180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

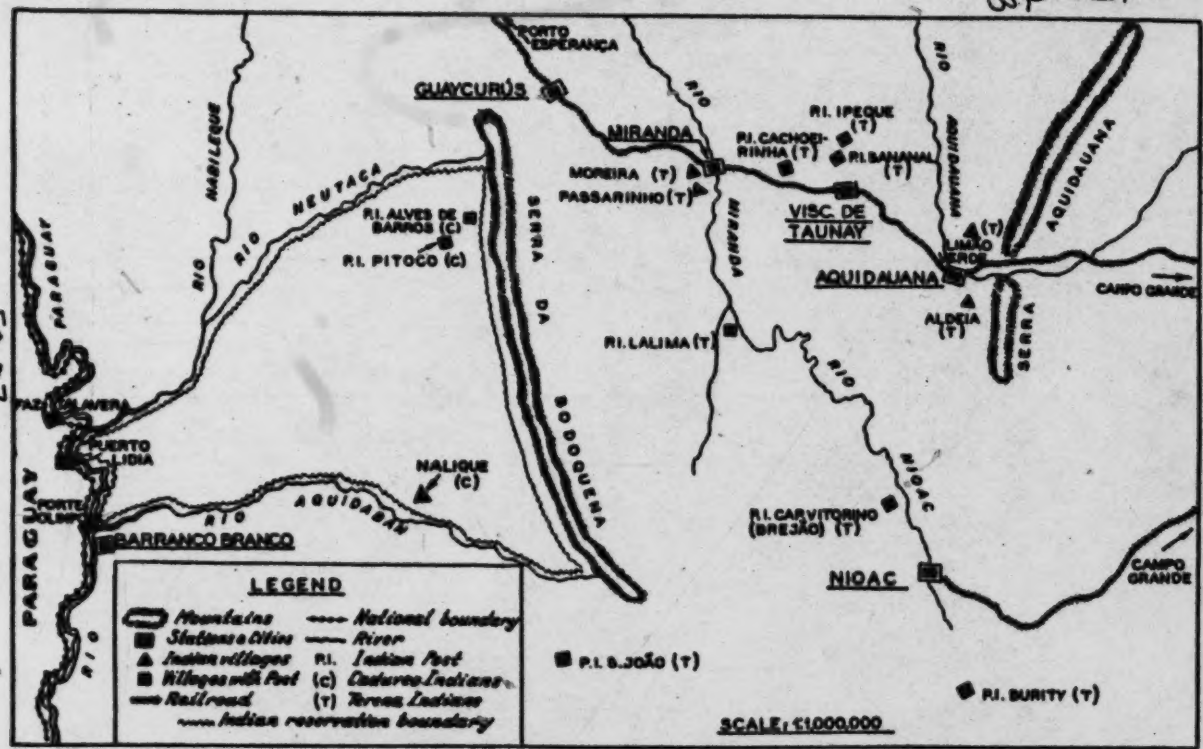
7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

M 9 103 102 131 361 162 133

[p.7]



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 800; Cachoeirinha, 440; Ipegue, 304; Cap. Vitorino, 188; Burity, 470 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 185 (half of which are Terena); São João, 80 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 3,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Nalique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 120. (For P. I. Ipegue on map, read P. I. Ipague.)

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick-
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders
of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers
upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of
the railroad and the influx of settlers there has
been a gradual increase in the dependence on the
money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact
picture of Terena economy and the relative im-
portance of subsistence farming and dependence
on commercial transactions can be obtained if we
examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a popu- 162
lation of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 434
mately one-third of the Terena population it will
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena
economic life. Statistics show that families at
this Post average 5 persons, which would give
the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots
outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village
working on ranches, on the railroad as section
hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda,
Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager
of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out
of the Post at all times engaged in wage work.
Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away
from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time
of the year. Men who work for the railroad us-
ually remain away for a year, often longer. If
the man is married he often takes his family
with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Banaaal" by the Terena.

[103]

[Post Chaco Period]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [771] [526]

191

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[348] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/13 cont./

114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

> 2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

G C 101 175

/19 cont./

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G 175 [361] [648] [162]

C 161 [361]

G. Gi M 161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also
G
464
[463] be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
[177]

G
464
648
[101]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
114
177

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned.

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

[For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

/28 cont./

175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[167]

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/33 cont./

M
175
648

Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

G
M
175
648

treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

[162]

M
G
114
175
648

39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

M
G
175
648

G M 175 648 361 G [62] G M [563]

/34 cont./

fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)." (42) The

42. 1845:209.

G M 175 648 563

chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

G M 175 648 M 727 G 829

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/61 cont./

H
175
167
496
162
361

idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

G
175 /62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)
177

G
[101]
[361]

108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

G
[162]

cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

G
[361]

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[361] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

●[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/62 cont./

175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
[62] 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)
Bl. 1948:268.

/66 cont./

175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./
121

Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

G
B
170
648

Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

B
[653]

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

G
[341]

G
[162]

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikináu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

/68 cont./

H 175 648 G 175 177 [297]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B G 464

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[162] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
[162] communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

[Cachoeirinha]

174 cont. / And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

● /62 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361] 140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62/ Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[62] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[491] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikináu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved
621 out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
162 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Banana!.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[34] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder
233 is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./

Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are
[491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are
[496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

● 162 The first accurate census data available compel us to
621 deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over
166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and
161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a
162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around
621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 146. Consulting the 1921
166 report of the Mato Grosso
621 Inspetoria, we read: "The
[13] Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/83 cont./

161 166 621 [795] [578]

Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

5

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terena. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
● 162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
175 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained 101 829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [241] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small [462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea, [166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The [648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any 175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the 621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922, 648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso. [162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among [166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further [162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into 621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 they erected a spacious shed
628 and left there a teacher, at a
346 salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a
875 month, recruited from the
Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--
neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu
survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia,"
Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements.
It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia,"
but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close
contact and intensive trade relations with the native com-
munity. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc
flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/,
and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the
statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community
plants for its own consumption the following species: rice,
/sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in
the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in
Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[346] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that
on the reservation there is no building that might be called
a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private
homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics.
As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts
to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture
change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175
621
648
423
[113]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175
621
648
423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.
621 It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was
[162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during
[166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range
[648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter);
or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former
175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate,
361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea,
as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim
Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a
former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain
range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain
told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population.

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./

464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[184] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/113 cont./
121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/119 cont./

/2/ of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the
appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the
investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and
Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with
one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view
of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time
available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac,
the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna
families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher
than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families,
comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[62]

190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at
least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already men-
tioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how wide-
ly the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we
made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--
that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families,
a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried
out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of
individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which
add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to
162
369
125

191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 In order to
125 study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much
369

192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in
125 absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must
369 be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals,
162 not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

369 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these
162 three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/121 cont./

369
162

As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next
162 chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the
582 preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population,
167 as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that
167 this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding
369 the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that
621 they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[165] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[69] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
[162] work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
● 162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
125 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S.P.I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

/149/

*177 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for
369 both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point
365 that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic
[511] reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

● 162
175

162
619
369

/149 cont./

162 369 as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
562 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
564 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

M 621 175 [361] /87 cont./

Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16" longitude west of Paris.

M [727] [233] Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857. Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay, in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

G M 233 162 M 361 368 The fields are excellent and are well situated for the pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants; the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery, two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school, "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

G M 133 M 505 The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers. The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade, and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands for agriculture.

G M 132 G M 134 G M 135 There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold, iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble, malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[529] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/89 cont./

766 [622] [428] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 [852] Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 527 [628] [302] latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 [805] Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 [162] [114] [103] [342] Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] [162] [621] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[445] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

Guato SP15
Guana SK7
Mbaya SK11
Guaicuru
Guachi SP14

M /549 cont./
105 few horses, some wool-bearing animals, birds, and pigs. Take
175 wives and children away from the Chamococos as well as the Enimás on the neighboring Paraguay. Weave fine ponchos, hammocks, carrying bands, and belts. Proud, inclined to drunkenness and thievery.]

/550/

G 7. Guanás. Village near Albuquerque and half a league
105 from Cuyabá.
175
131 8. Guanás Kinikináos. About 800 in Village I in Matto
[162] grande three leagues west of Albuquerque, Village II 200 near Miranda.

9. Guanás Terenas. Live settled in the vicinity of the garrison city (presidio) Miranda.

10. Guanás Laianas. The same.

G [Report 1858: Guanás and Kinikináos in the village of Nossa
105 Senhora do Bom Conselho under the excellent Brother Mariano de
175 Bagnaia, who departed on vacation and remained in S. Paulo. They had a schoolmaster, a music teacher, and a master tailor. Terenas and Laianas in the Aldea da Villa de Miranda.

Report 1861: The Kinikináos lived in the judicial district of Albuquerque, three leagues from the city, in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho long before the establishment of the Directoria. The latter sought to create order through the mission of Frei Mariano. For the Terenas, Laianas, and Guachis -- numbering 2500 -- a settlement was established on 30 April 1860 one league from the Villa de Miranda. (This contradicts the report of 1858.)]

Gi 11. Guaxis. A tribe almost extinct. Conditions similar to
105 those of the Guanás and Guaycurus of Miranda, where they like-
175 wise live.

GO 12. Guatós. On the right Paraguay bank and on the lagoons
105 of the upper mouth of the Paraguay-merim to a little below
175 Escalvado, also on the S. Lourenço and Cuyabá mouth. During
[131] the rainy season in the flooded campo region. Build small and
GO low huts, during the day remain in the canoes, which are very
[501] well constructed, are small and fast. Sometimes one sees a

/117 cont./

178
796
756
775
[165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the
178 Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified
755 in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic
756 and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example
771 of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves
796 Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the
[619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel
571 in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the
[172] latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [324]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [326]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will 162
434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 434
464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

[103]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [197]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From [434]
what has been said it can be seen that wages form
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [55] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 [159] years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the [551] Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Por- [212] tuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and [191] he now lives with his six children, who help him [592] cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes [342] covered with palm fronds, which also cover the [352] roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner [353] are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, [241] and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and [231] a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the [166] Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. [285] Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros [435] apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His [551] native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild [592] and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, [352] and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he [241] grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns [231] about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some [438] milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian [231] farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

[P. 37-A]

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
589
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

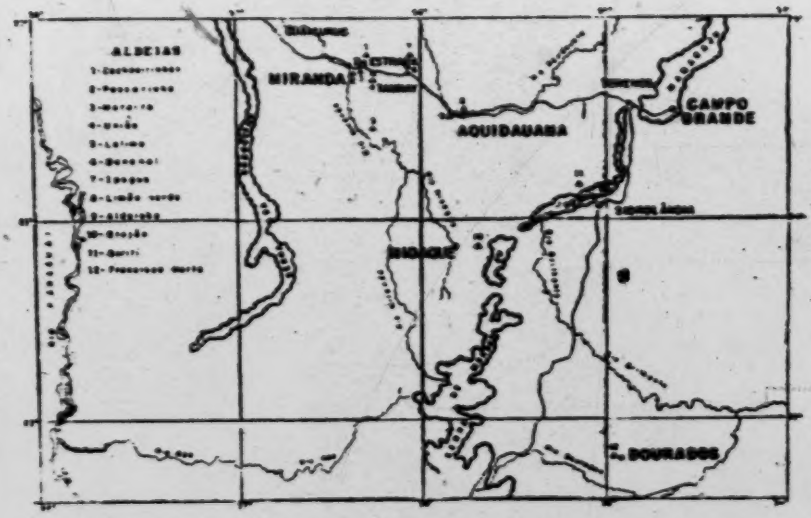
[82] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/72 cont./

000



Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the
166 time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no
361 matter in how precarious a fashion. Some of these places
178 were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção
648 aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the
[657] remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

[Text continues on p. 104]

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648
439
366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
628 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the
578 result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to
166
[672]

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a
[622] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi-
[672] pal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./
361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[34] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./

Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 621 The first accurate census data available compel us to deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 166 621 [113] 146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W.
166 tells us that this influx is
621 also due to the inroads of
[798] Protestantism, which inci-
[578] dentally is limited to
Bananal alone"--and we
might add: due to the
internal conflicts emerging
from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is
interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a
homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered
separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira
and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in
earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native
Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant
church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house,
as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[798] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea,
[166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The
[648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso.
[162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among
[166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further
[162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 621 648 423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 621 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate, up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[162] [166] [648]

175 361

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
Gi
By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162
G
begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[164] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/104 cont./

184 233 511 include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 233 511 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending [166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from [441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd [427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring 182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, 241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and, 511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com- 571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, 177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant 798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/113 cont./
/21/ this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

/177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
/62/ tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
/184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
/177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
/62/ Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[/62] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[/21]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[/66] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./
184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

> 183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as tra-
ditional play activities performed on festive days, such as
Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[165] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

421 [428] [768]

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

241 476 592 462 [241]

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

476 [224] [241] [602]

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

177 178 648 [167] [361] 177 241 648

[P. 13-B]

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. 7/A

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

7/A [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

/27 cont./

174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

[131]

19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect, The
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[197] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/27 cont./

114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
125 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

[113]

21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

[166]
[167]

by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/28 cont./

175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[167]

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/57/

G
H
175
648
[167]

IV. History of Interethnic Relations

At the end of the 18th century, when the Guaná groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

H
175

97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

G
H
175
648

The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

H
175

98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacaria and Xeres. There, in those campos,

H 175 167

/59 cont./

us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

G H 175 167 f. [101]

But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

H 175 167

101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant.--On the right bank of the

/59 cont./

H
125
167
G
[3 61]

On the right bank of the Miranda, through the years, since its foundation in 1797, there survived only the fort of the same name, surrounded by some aldeas of Guanás, Quiniquinaus, and Guaxis.--In the Vacaria region, the beautiful campos of native forage stretched to the horizon, like a green, softly billowing ocean dotted with small spots of thickets.... These campos were to remain isolated from civilization for many years. At the same time, during the third decade (of the 19th century), on the banks of the Parnaíba and in the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraguay River, the settlement of those vast lands isolated in the heart of Brazil began." (Mário Monteiro de Almeida, op. cit., pp. 227-228.) See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

G
H
125
167
H
233

We believe that only in the mid-19th century, shortly before the Paraguayan war, did the Guaná become conscious of the consequences of this pastoral frontier. Up to then, the bulk of the regional livestock--as we have said--seems to have come from Paraguay. And one might rightfully assume that this wave did not present a favorable demographic index for permanent settlement: the size of the glebes and the extreme mobility of livestock rearing, along with a sparse population, would hardly have presented

G /59 cont./
H conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up
175 "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient
167
H
233
[361]

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

G
[137]
[136]

technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

G
H
175
167
648

It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

H
175
167

103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

Historical Brazil SL2
Historical Paraguay SK2

/60 cont./

H
175
167

been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces.--The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

G
H
175
167
148

close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

HP
[175]
[167]

G
H
HP
175
167
64P

/60 cont./
offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

HP
175
167

104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

G
H
[17]
HP
[64P]

G
H
HP
175
167
64P

it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna.

G H HP 175 167 648 A [173]

/61 cont./

a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

G H 175 648 H 567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

G H 175 167 496 H [653]

The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

G /61 cont./
H
175
167
496
G
[177]

Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic increase brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil.(107)

H
175
167
496
162
361

107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

/170 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/171/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[162] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering
[103] perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
167 If we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/111/

VII. Acculturation and Mobility

/177 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with,
/167 in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

/21 Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

/121 cont./

369
162

As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next
162 chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the
582 preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population,
167 as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that
167 this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding
369 the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that
621 they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[161] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from [123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave [571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Whereas on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities [829] they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/129 cont./

better recreation, and better education for their children. This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience, since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences we had with the aldea population, especially with the Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[447]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

201. As a source of such
[798] friction, an important role
[655] is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[189] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/140 cont./

*177 464 461 [142] [314] [124] developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, 46 484 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the [829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with 46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 463 826 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional 159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case *177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had 256 46 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

[162]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[826] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

G /141 cont./

*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G [469] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
● [167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[P2] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition which have largely replaced the old dual organization but which continue the underlying social motives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities. 177 182 785

The Terena admit that they had slaves when they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913. 178 567 565 [648] [797]

Another circumstance which in all probability led to the disappearance of the distinction between slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Terena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the Caduveo did not experience and may account for the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá. 178 182 565 [464] [511] [361] [171]

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kouti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

114
121
128
[171]

29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

M 175 648 563 197 G 175 177 M G [17] This shows the intensity of the process of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [18] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 173 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work.
[128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 631 [17] /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 101 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

M 565 631

the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree, and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

G [631] [171]

G M 565 563 171

We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss below.

G M [113]

60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

[Text continues on p. 47]

[Traditional Culture]

142 cont. /

114
565

class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahere-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the
565 warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle
555 and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally
701 translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group,
[567] whether they were Naati or Wahere-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not
[171] explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

/21

66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

177 This ethnic
178 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratifica-
565 tion, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns
177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú
178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters
565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri-
461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the
178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems
565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of
462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more
[171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 67. Among the western Txané
462 who live in a symbiotic relation-
177 ship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupí) people, the

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

171 462 177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462 273 The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the 462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both [177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their inte- 177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the 178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in 648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably 462 565

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on
178 removing women from farm
462 work is explained, on the one
562 hand, by the important role
565 they played in Guaná culture,
171 which was organized basically
[591] around matrilocal extended
[596] families, despite the fact that
the Terêna today, are bilocal;
on the other hand, by the
attempt to parallel Guaykuru
women, who "throughout the
period of their marriage enjoy
the position of ladies....
It reverted to the husband's
care to provide the game and
other provisions to feed the
family." (Labrador, 1910;
II:26.)

178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can
555 be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin
565 as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have
[721] become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of
[631] captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this
manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way
as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group
a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we
have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever
compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like
the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by
means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension
was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the
Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives,
who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e.,
the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But
771 much greater--still according to the same source--was the re-
821 spect they showed for the "small constellation which they
[796] called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that
[17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a
[289] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux,
1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these
[114]
[821]

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

796 90. "The cerimonial life
171 of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was par-
[172] ticularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Métraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both 773 children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version [115]

93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each [616] went his way." It seems that we are in front of a myth that reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont. /

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
● [171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[172]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these, the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
/108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Believers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/131 cont./

369 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to
*177 the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the
511 greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market
181 is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban
369 "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a
*177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

*177 2. Military service is another important factor, but
701 which, of course, applies only to the male population. It
464 presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences,
554 supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

*177 From this desire to travel and to know new places--al-
701 ready pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal
181 peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could
[171]

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
[175] of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
[951] the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
[551] adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
[178] At present, with the probable exception of the population that
[369] still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
[184] structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
[795] fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
[171] have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
297 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[82] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
297 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
271 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
●171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

G M 175 648 571

/38 cont./

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G 121 128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G [173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 173 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 631 [17] /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 101 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[179] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[296] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiguipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

/47 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555
563
565
611

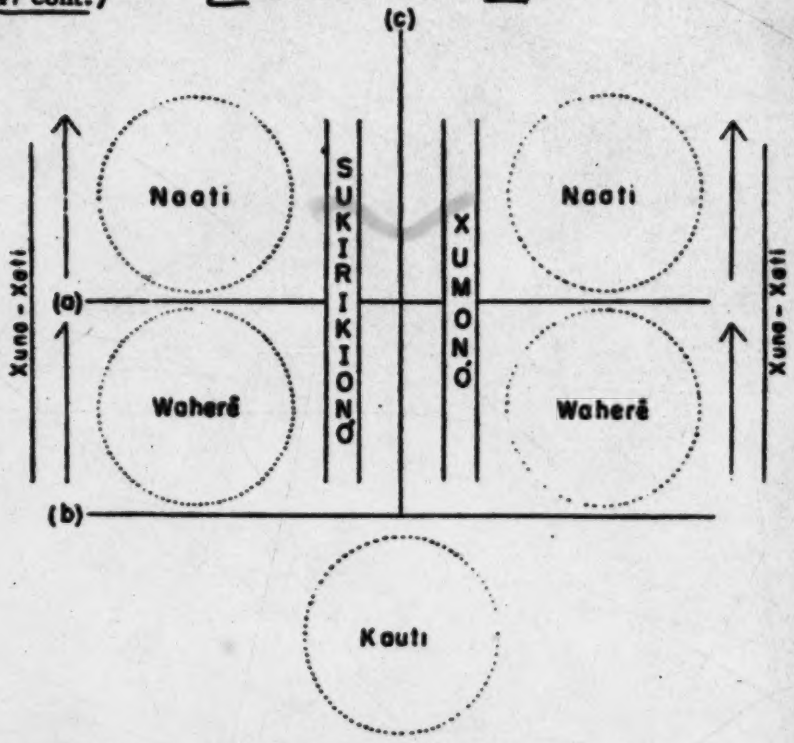


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

611 Cohishotiquipahũ...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
671

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

3:Oliveira--80 E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2
Historical Paraguay SK2

G H HP 175 167 648 R [173]

/61 cont./

a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

G H 175 648 H 567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

G H 175 167 496 H [653]

The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

> master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

G
466
173
128
[115]
[254]

Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

B
624
625

"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131.)

131. Idem:83-84.

/71 cont./

175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikũ, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikũ; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the immediate relatives and following of the Guaná woman and could be exercised only by himself and his close relatives, the purely political aspects of the relationship are diminished. The suggestion made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to certain Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kinship bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held a superior position because of the prestige arising from their military power. The Guaná, as a whole, however, maintained their political and economic autonomy.

G M 105 648 M [554]

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis on warfare had already led to the development of rank based on war honors and the possession of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a distinction was made between those who received this position through birth and those who received it through favor. Between these two chiefly grades and the slaves were the great body of hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing particularly strange in the fact that the warlike Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a functional relationship between the Mbayá desire to capture women and children and the Mbayá practice of infanticide.

M 554 565 [567] 622 727 M 847 727 567

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo today explain these practices by saying that a mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse while nursing her child and rather than forego sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her husband a woman avoids having children. The Caduveo go further and explain that they had, in the past, to capture women and children in order to maintain their numbers. One would expect that powerful sanctions would be necessary to enforce compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo make no explicit mention of the consequences resulting from the breaking of this rule. It may be that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by the economic circumstances which, among a nomadic hunting people, make numerous small children a burden upon their parents. The distinctions of rank, the possession of war captives as slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be-

M 834 [847]

G M 174 648

[P. 2-B]

Terena
Mbaya SK11

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. G M 174 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing. M 177 648 231 554 M [727] [567]

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders. G 231 177 554 648

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began M 648 175

As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in. G M 105 174

In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose. M 178 105 M [648]

On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point G 105 M G [648] G [161]

[P. 4-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1–11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yúrikoyuvakái* taught the people to practice agriculture: 174 241 [197] 174 241 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povdoti;* the digging stick, *ñome'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *pulí'oi;* the bow, *shebíd;* arrows, *shamd;* and the spear, *suiká.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopóa.* *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days. 174 241 [127]

The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence 174 241 433 [136] [137] 174 241 [132] [148] [177]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlisa decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 8-A]

/25 cont./

/101/ The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyênó," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology. (14)

14. Cf. the works of Metraux, Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

and /26/ adopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology [114] faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the [174] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

/26 cont./

101 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not
174 consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guaná subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás," which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the Guaná subgroups as a whole. (16) A /

101

16. The distinction made by Sanches Labrador between the tribal designations and the names attributed to the Aruák groups by the Guaikurú, permits us to set up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

101
648

This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--owing to the enormous Guaikurú influence throughout the area--the "Choarana" seem to have been known in the 18th century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).

101
[648]

Already in the following century, the Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the remaining "Choarana" seem to have been called also by the generic name "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and "Chualas," which are added to the

/26 cont./

101 designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi.--As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. 7/A

101 /27/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century A
[174] chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its
[162] disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre" /Aguirre's Diary/, 1911, p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna,
165 Layâna, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River
[131] in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of lattitude, where

7/A [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analyst].

/27 cont./

174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

[31]

19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this The respect,
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[297] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/71 cont./
175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminiků, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminiků; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
518
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
● 174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174 ● **1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification**

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the [120] presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, Nº 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been 127
translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early 128
phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, 101
the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking 175
Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco 648
from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the [181]
Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of 101
the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the 175
account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they [131]
were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

[P. 18]

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

[P. 2-A]

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory. M 648 175

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government. M [101] M [131] M [162]

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . . G 175 131 G [241] G [161] G [648]

[P. 3-B]

In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469). 175 648

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding. [131]

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return. 175 361 [648]

The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo. 175 648

[P. 4-A]

3:Oliveira--11 E-5,9 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

/19/

G
Gi
M
101

I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

G
[104]
[113]

1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

G
C
101
175

3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

G /19 cont./
C
101
175

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G
175
[361]
[648]
[162]

C
161
[361]

G
Gi
M
161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

/20 cont./

114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the re-
quirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand,
as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned,
we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
175 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that
the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example,
is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where
Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden
age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not

5. 1946:206.

find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[text continues on p. 16]

/22 cont./

175 of minor importance except of course for the former's famous statement, when he compared Guaná-Guaikurú relations to the state of subordination prevailing at the time in his own country between feudal lords and peasants.

[131] The 19th-century bibliography, even prior to Castelnau, becomes far more useful for the study of the Terêna, since it reveals the presence of Guaná groups in the region now centered on the city of Miranda, the present area of the greatest con-
175 centration of Terêna local groups. From the information left
177 us by Almeida Serra (1803), Hercules Florence (1825-29), and indirectly by Alincourt (1828), we can form a good idea of the interethnic and tribal contacts in that area and of the relative isolation of the Terêna population. And this lack of data on the Terêna, at the time, is explained by Castelnau's statement (1845), according to which, up to that time, those Indians had maintained "very few relations with the whites." And he adds: "They are a warrior people who retain in their entirety the customs of their ancestors." (6)

6. 1949, II:301. (The dates in parentheses refer to the time when the travelers were near the groups mentioned and not to the dates of publication of their works.)

175 From Castelnau on the bibliography is more satisfactory, and none of the chroniclers fails to supply--although in varying degrees--data on the Terêna. From Elliot (1844), through Leverger (1847), Francisco Lopes (1848-49), Alves Ferreira (1846-50), up to Taunay (1863-64) and Bach (1896), all of them--and especially the last two--are lavish with information of great interest to the study of contact situations between the Terêna and the national society, even though, let it be said in passing, only Bach and in second place Taunay provide ethnographically relevant material. In a strict sense, in the

/22 cont. /

175 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, insso far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [64P] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [297] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

/24 cont./

121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[131] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
125 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/25 cont./

101/175 parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among themselves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the

[128]

10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

12. 1809, II:86.

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

13. 1898:471.

/27 cont./

174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

[131]

19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytatí; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 The testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect,
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[097] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

/27 cont./

114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
● 175 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

[113]

21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

[640]
[167]

by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/28 cont./

175 the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals
161 according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last
[167]

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

161 as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today
162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number
161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná
648 groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a
[175] brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--
[101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/29 cont./

121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná(26) show
241

26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses."(27) Already by this
648

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors."(28)

28. Ibidem.

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

114
121
128
[71]

29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

/30 cont./

114
121
128

would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

175
649

The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups. --For a discussion of the concept, see

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175 Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
648 subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
M Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
[651] been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
G kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
[582] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
G captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
[566] caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G /31 cont./
M 175 640 their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--
[101] or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko.
"Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
M 565 640 have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights
175 over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques
G M 175 640 and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
431 and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our
brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

34. Idem:267.

G [288] offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their
servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake
of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a
M [565] [574] cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not
offered such presents, even though they are provided with food
during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends
and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 640 To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in
the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand
the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the
17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
G [439] their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed
knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could
supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 640 Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max
Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

A /32 cont. /
174
648

37. "Worthy of note in the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, through colonization is the fact that it has nothing to do with political power, being based on a purely economic-administrative foundation.... We thus find an automatic explanation, in this type of colonization, for the extraordinary phenomenon that political power is not found in the hands of the Aruáque men in various South American regions, in spite of the obvious predominance of their culture and their economic-administrative system." And in a footnote (no. 165) the author adds: "...this also occurs among the Guanás, who formerly lived in Mbayá territory, so that they appeared partly as allies, partly as vassals and people under the protection of the Mbayás."

G
175
648

A
174
648

--"In such cases," warns Max Schmidt, "we must not conclude at the outset that we are dealing with a later subjugation of Aruáque tribes by other groups, as so many tend to do. Only where such a domination by means of force is proved by definite historical facts must it be taken into account. In all other cases, to judge by the spirit

/32 cont./

A 174 648

of the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, it is more logical to admit that political power never lay in their hands." (Cf. 1917, Ch. 4.)

A 174 648

according to which these tribes, when they establish relations with the populations of neighboring tribal groups, manage these relations in such a way as to lead to a condition of economic dependency.

G M 175 648

Let it be emphasized, therefore, that the information left us by 18th-century chroniclers are very important because they reveal, in our opinion, actual contact situations between the Guaikurú and the Guaná. They prove a Mbayá-Guaikurú hegemony that already existed in pre-Colombian times, probably immediately following the settlement of those Aruák groups in the Chaco. If there already existed a certain military superiority on the part of the Guaikurú over the Guaná and other Chaco groups, this became more pronounced when those Indians adopted the horse and changed it into a weapon of war, already in the times of the Spanish conquest. Once this superiority had been established and made concrete, it does not seem correct to state that it must have acquired identical characteristics in relation to all Chaco groups, indiscriminately. With the exception of the other Guaikurú groups, such as the Payaguá, or groups such as the Mokovi, Abipon, and Toba, it was the Txikíto, the Guaxi /Guachi/, the Guató, and especially the Txamakóko, the most frequently attacked tribes, which, when vanquished, saw their /33/ members made into captives.(38) Meanwhile, the Guaná groups were

M 175 648 [77] [192]

M [01]

G [175] [648]

38. We use this term in its most general sense, keeping all the variations that might exist in the relations of dependency of captured

/33 cont./

M
175
648

Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

G
M
175
648
[162]

treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

M
G
114
175
648

39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

M
G
175
648

/33 cont./

M
G
175
648

some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

G
M
175
648

Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

M
G
[65]
[43]

/33 cont./

G
M
175
648
[651]
[431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G
M
175
648
574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M
[562]
[622]

G
M
175
648
361

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

G M 175 648 361 G [162] G M [563]

/34 cont./

fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)." (42) The

42. 1845:209.

G M 175 648 563

The chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..." (43) And as for those Guaná, already

G M 175 648 M 727 G 829

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese. (44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

G /35 cont./ It is plain that
175 in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a
182 marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative
619 independence as a group.

G On the other hand, we must also take into account the
175 existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the
184 Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to
181 historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in par-
648 ticular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to
175 above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to
184 their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he
181 says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless
G in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara
M
175
648
131
M
563

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on
G hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a
M
175
648
571

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same
M rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from
[563] this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild
[622] Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

G M 175 648 [537] [622] [682]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Fxoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

G M [101]

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words.

G [191]

The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

M 175 648 563 197 G 175 177 M G [17] This shows the intensity of the process of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [181] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

G M 175 648 M 721 563 [581]

/371/

The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy throughout the Paraguay basin.

G M 175 648 571

We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná subjection: "According to the best informants I could get," he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

G
M
175
648
571

/37 cont./

very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

G
M
[172]

53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

G M 175 648 571

/38 cont./

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G 121 128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G [173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

175 721 [565]

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay

[654] [178] [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 178 648 462 565

during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175] [128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
589
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[62] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[276] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

3:Oliveira--71 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2

/57/

G
H
175
648
[167]

IV. History of Interethnic Relations

At the end of the 18th century, when the Guaná groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

H
175

97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

G
H
175
648

The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

H
175

98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacária and Xeres. There, in those campos,

3:Oliveira--72 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2

H
175

/57 cont./

the members of one bandeira headed by Salvador Moreira, founded an encampment and set up farming for sustenance. Around 1660, Braz Moreira, brother of that bandeira chief, rebelled, along with some men from Sorocaba, and punishment was called for. A deposition dated July 28 of that year was drawn against the rebel for insubordination, at the encampment itself. The incident, documented by the scribe Antônio Alvares Maciel, shows, for the historic record, the fact of the effective possession of the Vacaria glebes by the bandeirantes (the italics are ours). In the foothill region of Mbotetei (Miranda), Pascoal Moreira and André Zuniga, in the course of three lustrums, between 1678 and 1695, had held their own in their stockaded campos, with their fleet of canoes engaged in the traffic of /Indian/ captives. The Portuguese 'uti-possidetis' was being secured on these glebes." (Op. cit., p. 49.)

G
H
175
648

Paraguay basin, on the other hand they did serious injury to the indigenous populations. In the struggle that ensued between the "Paulistas" and the Jesuits /58/ and Spaniards for the expansion of their empires, the Indian got the worst of it: drawn

G H 175 648 /58 cont./

into every camp, often fighting fellow Indians, he was the most despoiled, of his goods, his lands, his people. The pastoral wave, however, came to attend to more productive occupation, although it also represented a constant threat to the tribal groups that stood in its way.

H 175 167 Let it be clear that we are speaking of a specific pastoral wave, national in character, and representing the natural expansion of the neo-Brazilian society. There is no doubt that the area formed by the tributaries of the left bank of the Paraguay (even where it is today Brazilian territory) was partially occupied by livestock, chiefly "baguá" livestock, the same variety of cows and horses the first heads of which were brought by D. Alvar Nunes Cabeça de Vaca in 1543; and the inroads to which they were subjected by sorties of the Guaikurú provoked the Spaniards, who were virtual owners of those herds, (99) to make minced meat of them.

M 175 648 233 721

99. Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra tells us the scope of the slaughter carried out by the Spaniards among the Guaikurú. The chronicler tells us that from 1793 up to 1803, the date when he was writing, the Guaikurú created havoc in proportion to the Spaniards' advance with their fazendas, pushing them back or even destroying them and coming into possession of 20,000 horses, some cows, etc. The Spaniards then organized two slaughtering expeditions in 1796, killing the famous Guaikurú "captain," Queimá, ten other "captains," and 300 Indians; in 1797, another even larger /expedition/

M 527

3:Oliveira--75 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2

/59 cont./

H
175
167

us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

G
H
175
167
G
[101]

But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

H
175
167

101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant. -- On the right bank of the

159 cont. / On the right bank of the
H 175 167 G [261]

Miranda, through the years, since its foundation in 1797, there survived only the fort of the same name, surrounded by some aldeas of Guanás, Quiniquinaus, and Guaxis.--In the Vacaria region, the beautiful campos of native forage stretched to the horizon, like a green, softly billowing ocean dotted with small spots of thickets.... These campos were to remain isolated from civilization for many years. At the same time, during the third decade (of the 19th century), on the banks of the Parnaíba and in the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraguay River, the settlement of those vast lands isolated in the heart of Brazil began." (Mário Monteiro de Almeida, op. cit., pp. 227-228.) See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

G H 175 167 H 233

We believe that only in the mid-19th century, shortly before the Paraguayan war, did the Guaná become conscious of the consequences of this pastoral frontier. Up to then, the bulk of the regional livestock--as we have said--seems to have come from Paraguay. And one might rightfully assume that this wave did not present a favorable demographic index for permanent settlement: the size of the glebes and the extreme mobility of livestock rearing, along with a sparse population, would hardly have presented

G /59 cont./
H conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up
175 "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient
167
H
233
[361]

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

G
[137]
[136]

technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

G
H
175
167
640

It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

H
175
167

103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

/60 cont./

H
175
167

been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces.--The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

G
H
175
167
648

close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

HP
[175]
[167]

R H HP 175 167 648

/60 cont./
offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

HP 175 167

104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

G H [177] HP [648]

G H HP 175 167 648

it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna,

3:Oliveira--80 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2
Historical Paraguay SK2

G
H
HP
175
167
648
G
[173]

/61 cont./

a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

G
H
175
648
H
567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

G
H
175
167
496
H
[653]

The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

G /61 cont. /
H
175 Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the
167 rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and
496 stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that
G we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic in-
[177] crease brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil. (107)

H
175
167
496
162
361

107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

/61 cont./

H 175 167 496 162 361

idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

G 175 177 /62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)

G [10] [361]

108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

G [162]

cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

G [361]

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/62 cont./

175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
[162] 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

163 cont.

175 177 797 [184]

been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later,

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikináus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

/63 cont./

neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

/64 cont./

125
177
297

the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terêna groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

/64 cont./

175
177
797

had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[101] munities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariáno de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

[361]

175
648

/65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/65 cont./

175 648 184 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While [427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on [439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)

[464] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquinâus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikinâu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikinâus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikinâus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

/66 cont./

175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./
121

Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

G
B
175
648

Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

B
[653]

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

G
[341]

G
[162]

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikináu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

G /67 cont./
B taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even
175 after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the
648 Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members
B of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service.
657 While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the
G Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904,
[361] and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

H
175
648
K
175
177

H
[712]
[797]

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

3:Oliveira--95 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL 2

H
175
648
G
175
177

/68 cont./

goods, and of all the plans made with the aim of helping them (Cf. Almeida Serra, 1850:391-93; Alincourt, 1857:362-63), the authorities of the Colônia did not succeed in developing a help-oriented policy, no matter how rudimentary. Here is what the president of the province of Mato Grosso said in 1837: "...for the catechizing and civilizing of the Indians, I do not trust any armchair plans or directives made without any experience or reliable knowledge of the customs, disposition, and characteristics of each of the tribes. In order to domesticate the nations I mentioned, we had to go to tremendous expense, and where the Lower Paraguay is concerned, the only spot where we met with some success, the aid of favorable occurrences /was needed/; insofar as, surrounded by enemy nations and subjected to the forts and military forces which we have maintained there at all times, they had no recourse other than to accept our repeated

/68 cont./

H 175 648 G 175 177 [297]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B G 464

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
361 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[162] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/71 cont./

175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikũ, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikũ; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikuê, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

Cachoeirinha

174 cont. / And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

> 144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikináu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved
621 out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
162 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361/ as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terena. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/86 cont./

Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
● 176 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
297 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[595] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea,
[166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The
[648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso.
[162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among
[166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further
[162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot.

175
621
648
423
[113]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

193 cont. /

175 621 648 423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 621 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was [162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during [166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range [648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former 175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate, 361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[184] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349] colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with [241] great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

*177 582 563 369 562 [571] situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy [175] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the [85] time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
[175] of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
[351] the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
[178] At present, with the probable exception of the population that
[369] still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent
occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio
system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which
the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic
compadrio is more common, not only because the field is
naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire
to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same
mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from
the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio,
to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic
groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio repre-
sents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
[184] structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
[795] fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by
individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution
with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer,"
is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
[171] have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the
indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/136 cont./

*177
797

Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way
797 decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

● 176 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or
*177 national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the
648 Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/
[721] as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas,
[829] invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

/137 cont./
175 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local
177 "colonels," who invaded and robbed their aldeas.
648

177 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of
666 democratic life in the country, the political parties began to
648 seek out the Terêna aldeas with the aim of gaining electors among those who might perchance know how to sign their names. To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical relations with the "civilizado," at least while the election propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39 electors (including nine women) in one of the aldeas alone, namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União, taken together, the number of electors could not have reached
123 50. In the other aldeas, unfortunately, we were unable to find
177 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that
666 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan
648 activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha, a community where we remained for a long time, from making such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the com-
177 munity for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the
666 Terêna aldeas (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political
648 parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often /138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[51] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[67] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna, that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city. This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed information regarding this "fazenda" population that would permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts, whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
● 175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work, it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
●175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S. P. I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

/149/

*177 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for
369 both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point
365 that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic
[511] reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

162
175

162
619
369

2: Steinen--655E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Guana SP7
Terena
Bororo SP8

B
127
BO
G
131
161
175

/548/

II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

		1848		1872
1	Caiuás	?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2	Chamococos	200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Guaicurús: Cadiuéos	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Guaicurús: Beaquéos	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Guaicurús: Cotoguéos		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guaicurús: Guatiedeos	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanás: Guanaz	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Guanás: Kinikináos	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Guanás: Terenas	2000	Miranda	–
10	Guanás: Laianas	300	Miranda	–
11	Guachís	?	Miranda	– (7)
12	Guatós	500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13	Bororós da Campanha	180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

Guato SP15
Guana SK7
Mbaya SK11
Guaicuru
Guachi SP14

/549 cont./

M 105 175 few horses, some wool-bearing animals, birds, and pigs. Take wives and children away from the Chamococos as well as the Enimás on the neighboring Paraguay. Weave fine ponchos, hammocks, carrying bands, and belts. Proud, inclined to drunkenness and thievery.]

/550/

G 105 175 7. Guanás. Village near Albuquerque and half a league from Cuyabá.

131 [162] 8. Guanás Kinikináos. About 800 in Village I in Matto grande three leagues west of Albuquerque, Village II 200 near Miranda.

9. Guanás Terenas. Live settled in the vicinity of the garrison city (presidio) Miranda.

G 105 175 10. Guanás Laianas. The same.

[Report 1858: Guanás and Kinikináos in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho under the excellent Brother Mariano de Bagnaia, who departed on vacation and remained in S. Paulo. They had a schoolmaster, a music teacher, and a master tailor. Terenas and Laianas in the Aldea da Villa de Miranda.

Report 1861: The Kinikináos lived in the judicial district of Albuquerque, three leagues from the city, in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho long before the establishment of the Directoria. The latter sought to create order through the mission of Frei Mariano. For the Terenas, Laianas, and Guachis -- numbering 2500 -- a settlement was established on 30 April 1860 one league from the Villa de Miranda. (This contradicts the report of 1858.)]

Gi 105 175 11. Guaxis. A tribe almost extinct. Conditions similar to those of the Guanás and Guaycurus of Miranda, where they likewise live.

GO 105 175 [131] GO [501] 12. Guatós. On the right Paraguay bank and on the lagoons of the upper mouth of the Paraguay-merim to a little below Escalvado, also on the S. Lourenço and Cuyabá mouth. During the rainy season in the flooded campo region. Build small and low huts, during the day remain in the canoes, which are very well constructed, are small and fast. Sometimes one sees a

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. G M 174 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing. M 177 648 231 554 M [727] [567]

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders. G 231 177 554 648

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began M 648 175

[P. 3-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174 241
by direct investigation the exact nature of the
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the
Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as
being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking
tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly
agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174 241
Yúrikoyuwakái taught the people to practice agri- 539
culture:

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuwakái* gave the ax, *poóoti;* the digging stick, *ñomo'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopiloóti;* the war club, *pulé'ai;* the bow, *shakió;* arrows, *shumá;* and the spear, *sulká.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopdo.* *Yúrikoyuwakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to as-
sume that they were agriculturists in pre-Colum-
bian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is
understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only
the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long
drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable [132]
surplus not necessary in a region where annual
rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that
depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and
collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic cus-
toms seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and
raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [170]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlica decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 8-A]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas,*" *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé.* Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire. 226 [221] [227] [252] [251]

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps. 411 [224]

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur- 224 [177]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 24 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. [132] Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). [412] The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," [412] the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. [516] With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. [177 407] After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. [824] "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. [181] They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. [516] Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, 241 and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [168] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [799]
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addi-
tion, they taught them such handicrafts as black-
smithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close associa-
tion with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the rail-
road. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stim-
ulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick-
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders
of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers
upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of
the railroad and the influx of settlers there has
been a gradual increase in the dependence on the
money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact
picture of Terena economy and the relative im-
portance of subsistence farming and dependence
on commercial transactions can be obtained if we
examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a popu- 59
lation of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 162
mately one-third of the Terena population it will 434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena
economic life. Statistics show that families at
this Post average 5 persons, which would give
the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule,
have houses and lots either inside or outside the [361]
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots
outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village
working on ranches, on the railroad as section
hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda,
Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager
of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out
of the Post at all times engaged in wage work.
Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away
from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time
of the year. Men who work for the railroad us-
ually remain away for a year, often longer. If
the man is married he often takes his family
with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Banaaal" by the Terena. [103]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [1797]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] ● [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 ● 195 [197]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [583] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177] grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361] the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366] The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177] by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356] whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264] show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 352 every house has a low platform bed resting on 513 forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried barries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young chil- [854]
dren are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Bananal Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244
this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262
overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252
the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252
until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244
is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the woman 252
clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412
roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252
cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177]
they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

[P.24-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 582 595 591 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. 105 177 [847]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the gen-
eral disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te-
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood [464]
through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and
subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kouti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. 101 829 [177]

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos." 101 177 829

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization 101 177 182

[p.35-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

101
177
182

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

648

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of [673] unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another [681] reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving [682] murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

177
182
191

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

[P. 35-B]

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena 177
remains the language of the village. Among 182
themselves the Terena, young and old, use their 191
own language. It is but natural, therefore, that
certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should
be perpetuated through the medium of the native
language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of
greeting, and attitudes to one another and the
Brazilians are thus maintained.

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which 177
have led to the integration of the Terena as a 182
group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indian- 648
ism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena
are articulated to the non-Indian world around
them. The primary contact agent and principal
molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as
represented by the Post manager. The manager
is the patron of the Indians. From him come
medical, legal, and economic assistance. The na-
ture of these interrelations has already been dis-
cussed. But in addition to these primary neces-
sities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider
personal significance. It is true that this role
varies with the personality of the manager but
all are required to provide leadership in main-
taining satisfactory relationship between the In-
dians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic
feeling among the natives under their charge.
This the manager does by displaying the flag and
in leading the singing on important State holi-
days; in providing industrious natives with the
services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied
by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to
children who do well in the school; by supporting
at least one of the football teams by providing
sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal
interest in the families who measure up to the
demands of the Service.

As the manager is the highest authority and 177
social leader in the village, it follows that status 554
among the Terena is measured in relation to the 648
patronage and good will of the manager. Out-
standing Terena are principally men who stand
high in the regard of the manager. To them the
manager gives positions of trust such as represent-
ing him in commercial connections with the fazen-
das, representing Indian affairs at headquarters,
and holding the position of policemen in the vil-
lage. To these men the manager gives special
assistance and materials in building houses and

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission sta- 797
tion. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684]
the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648]
sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [997] [526]

[Chaco Period]
Native dances like the shaman
dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance 105
leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree [535]
of specialization, owing to the presence of stores,
masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural [463]
activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non- 105
Indian world, first, by being made a part of the
Brazilian State through the activities of the In- 177
dian Service and its representatives, the Post
managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the 105
Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other In- 648
dians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term
of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The 186
Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between [554]
the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused 843
by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware [842]
that she is pregnant when her menses cease and

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikoikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood [177]
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302 516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hové hoyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [293]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 177 585 [198]

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear. 756 796 789

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season. 796 756 [292]

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world. 756 554

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him. 756 [197] [797] 756 775 [789]

[P. 45 - A]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims [787]
he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789]
with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776]
spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177 ●
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273]
did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

Shamanism is still an important part of Terena 771
belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their 756
famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An interesting feature of present shamanism and one [177] which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of 771
missionary activity among the tribe from the date 177
of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were 797
baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant mission- 797
aries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable 797
impression, for the Terena speak about him even
today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" es- [648]
tablished the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought
the Terena together and made Catholic missionary
activity among them more effective. Around 1920
the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn
their mission. By 1925 American Protestant mis-
sionaries, belonging to the South American Indian
Mission, had established a mission and school at
Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse
are still active. In 1930 an American branch of
the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established
at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make pe-
riodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the Amer- 797
ican Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the 776
Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day 796
celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint 177
among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a
martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an
arrow in his side. The arrow may have something
to do with the selection of this saint to serve In-
dian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint
Sebastian provides protection against hunger,
sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint
Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner
mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint.
This banner is then presented to the village of
Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are pre-
dominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their
procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the
Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on
Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration
takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner 796
walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, 177
two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and
the faithful. The procession stops in front of
each house and the people sing. The banner bearer
then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner
offers shelter and gives alms to every member in
the procession. Wherever the procession happens
to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some
of the money received is spent on food. During the
night dancing is periodically interrupted by pray-
ers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues
in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where
more dancing and praying take place.

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 197 [198] [529]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

performed when the occasion demanded and were 527
accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition 526
to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everíni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation 522
of a European court scene with a king or prin- 527
cess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the 536
moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden [177]
walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[Post Chaco Period]

every night so that every sequence can be executed more or less automatically. The two leaders demand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period. 535 527

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau," are at once [177]

177
apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchi* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances. 527 535 [534]

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *lóia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet. [533]

Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold- 535 527

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during [578] dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the [177]
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

756
755
342

796
177

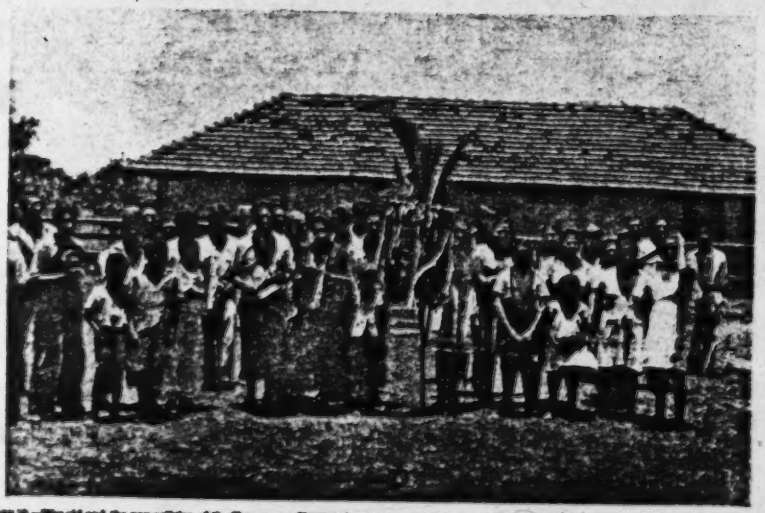


PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shamans dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated horses

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

177

[For information on the assimilation of the Terena into Brazilian or neo-Brazilian urban culture, see category 116, pp. 181-182, 184-186, 188-209, 211-219.]

191

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

● 177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers or colonos on private fazendas. [648] [797] Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./

121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
/2/ the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]
G
[172]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

/20 cont./

114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the re-
quirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand,
as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned,
we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
175 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that
the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example,
is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where
Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden
age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not

5. 1946:206.

find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[Text continues on p. 16]

/22 cont./

175 of minor importance except of course for the former's famous statement, when he compared Guaná-Guaikurú relations to the state of subordination prevailing at the time in his own country between feudal lords and peasants.

[131] The 19th-century bibliography, even prior to Castelnau, becomes far more useful for the study of the Terêna, since it reveals the presence of Guaná groups in the region now centered on the city of Miranda, the present area of the greatest con-
175 centration of Terêna local groups. From the information left
177 us by Almeida Serra (1803), Hercules Florence (1825-29), and indirectly by Alincourt (1828), we can form a good idea of the interethnic and tribal contacts in that area and of the relative isolation of the Terêna population. And this lack of data on the Terêna, at the time, is explained by Castelnau's statement (1845), according to which, up to that time, those Indians had maintained "very few relations with the whites." And he adds: "They are a warrior people who retain in their entirety the customs of their ancestors." (6)

6. 1949, II:301. (The dates in parentheses refer to the time when the travelers were near the groups mentioned and not to the dates of publication of their works.)

175 From Castelnau on the bibliography is more satisfactory, and none of the chroniclers fails to supply--although in varying degrees--data on the Terêna. From Elliot (1844), through Leverger (1847), Francisco Lopes (1848-49), Alves Ferreira (1846-50), up to Taunay (1863-64) and Bach (1896), all of them--and especially the last two--are lavish with information of great interest to the study of contact situations between the Terêna and the national society, even though, let it be said in passing, only Bach and in second place Taunay provide ethnographically relevant material. In a strict sense, in the

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[82] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/24 cont./

121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[131] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
175 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

G M 175 648 [57] [622] [582]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

G M [101]

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layana words.

G [191]

The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

/36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

This shows the intensity of the process

M 175 648 563 197 G 175 177 M G [171] of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [181] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

G
M
175
648
571

/37 cont./

very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

G
M
[177]

53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

G /38 cont./
M
175
648
571

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G
M
175
648
571
177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G
121
128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G
121
[127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G
[173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratifica-
178 tion, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco
565 groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns
177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú
178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters
565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri-
461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the
178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems
565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of
462 conduct that live on in the Terena communities of a more
[171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 67. Among the western Txané
462 who live in a symbiotic relation-
177 ship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

171
462
177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462
177

The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the
462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both
[177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their inte-
177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the
178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in
648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably
462
565

144 cont. [Traditional Culture]

177 178 648 462 565 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175] [128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

177 178 462 562 565 171 [591] [596]

/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 555 565 [721] [631]

/45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

796 90. "The cerimonial life
171 of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionõ were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonõ. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

Historical Brazil SL2
Historical Paraguay SK2

G H HP 175 167 648

/60 cont./

offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

HP 175 167

104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

G H [177] HP [648]

G H HP 175 167 648

it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna,

G /61 cont./
H
175
167
496
G
[177]

Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic increase brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil.(107)

H
175
167
496
162
361

107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

/61 cont./

H 175 167 496 162 361

idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

G 176 177 /62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)

G [101] [361]

108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

G [162]

cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

G [361]

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
172 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

> 109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/62 cont./

175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
[162] 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

/63 cont./

175 177 797 [184] been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later,

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikinâus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanâs recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

/63 cont./

neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

/64 cont./

175
177
797

the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terena groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

/64 cont./

175 177 797

had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 177 797 184 [101] Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna communities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

[361] 117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175 648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648
184
439

population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite role in the regional trade.

It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts between Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

177
184

175
648
184
167

Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus, and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families... [361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

/66 cont./

Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretching from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply engraved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./
B taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even
175 after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the
648 Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members
B of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service.
657 While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the
G Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904,
[361] and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

H
175
648
R
175
177

H
[212]
[292]

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

3:Oliveira--95 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL 2

H
175
648
G
175
177

/68 cont./

goods, and of all the plans made with the aim of helping them (Cf. Almeida Serra, 1850:391-93; Alincourt, 1857:362-63), the authorities of the Colônia did not succeed in developing a help-oriented policy, no matter how rudimentary. Here is what the president of the province of Mato Grosso said in 1837: "...for the catechizing and civilizing of the Indians, I do not trust any armchair plans or directives made without any experience or reliable knowledge of the customs, disposition, and characteristics of each of the tribes. In order to domesticate the nations I mentioned, we had to go to tremendous expense, and where the Lower Paraguay is concerned, the only spot where we met with some success, the aid of favorable occurrences /was needed/; insofar as, surrounded by enemy nations and subjected to the forts and military forces which we have maintained there at all times, they had no recourse other than to accept our repeated

/68 cont./

H 175. 648 G 175 177 [297]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock," the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...:" (129)

B G 464

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /69 cont. /
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
797

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G
[184]

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
[162] communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [578] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 they erected a spacious shed
628 and left there a teacher, at a
346 salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a
875 month, recruited from the
Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[346] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 621 162 [101] Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed. /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indications that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175 621 648 423 [13]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./
Gi
433 But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
511 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
241 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
439 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
Gi adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
[464] regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

62/ assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna com-
648 munities characterized above, it is seen that their components
177 continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive
[128] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of
[128] socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[164] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

5

/101 cont./

184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648
621

159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea. --It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/104 cont./

797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were
798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain aldeas, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the
621/ non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect,
798

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, op. cit.

is the aldea of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these aldeas, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of
● 177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It
797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[177]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
167 If we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/111/

VII. Acculturation and Mobility

/177 /167 Acculturation and social mobility will be dealt with, in this chapter, as two socio-cultural phenomena which, according to their own peculiarities, have played a basic role in the process of assimilation of the Terêna.

/21 Already several times, in the course of this work, we have used the term assimilation, yet without defining it adequately. Up to now this was not necessary, since the context itself in which the term occurred was sufficient to make the reality described intelligible to the reader, who did not need to resort to any but simple concepts. Now this definition can no longer be postponed, since we shall be dealing with more controversial matters, which, for this reason, will have to be conceptualized with precision. Thus, we understand, by "assimilation," the "processus" by which an ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing (a) its cultural peculiarity and (b) its previous ethnic identification. Whereas the first consequence, (a), is equivalent to the process of acculturation, the second one, (b), has a psychological content as well, although it is characterized as a socio-cultural phenomenon, chiefly owing to the fact that the group is the unit under consideration; here, individual assimilation is set aside, or at best, used in a comparative sense. (172) On the other hand,

[text continues on p.162]

172. The word assimilation has been used by sociologists to designate "a process of mutual adjustment through which culturally different groups gradually obliterate their differences to the point where they are no longer regarded as socially significant or observable /cited in English/."

/111 cont./

/2/

> in accordance with Glaser (1958:34), according to whom "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically... /cited in English/." And Glaser concludes with the admonition that "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him desegregating" (p. 32). /Cited in English./

assimilation, like acculturation, /112/ can also mean a "condition" as opposed to a "process"; in this case, the context in which they appear will suffice to elucidate them as a dynamic category (process) or a static one (condition), as we see in these respective examples: "assimilation--or acculturation--has led the Terêna groups to a radical change in their behavior...," and "not yet assimilated--or sufficiently acculturated--, the Terêna remain a people with a tribal consciousness strong enough to differentiate them from the regional population and to prevent their classification as a national variant or subculture...."

[177] [619]

We deem it fitting to underscore here this difference between the concepts of assimilation and acculturation--as "process" and as "condition"--in order to overcome an obvious ambiguity which incidentally has already been pointed out by Ralph Beals. (173)

173. 1953:627-628.

/113 cont./
/21/ this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

/177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
/621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
/184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
/177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
/621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./

184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple

178 756 755

ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical

178 796 [177]

practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared; replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/ date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective [614] [526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious [756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[755] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 Campo Grande. All of them
796 were characterized by their
756 great age, especially João
775 Grande, perhaps the oldest
[165] of all, who died in 1957 at
the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the
178 Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified
755 in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic
756 and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example
771 of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves
796 Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the
[619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel
571 in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the
[177] latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
[60] tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
[582] ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
● 177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihã (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurũ, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construír lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 In this article we will limit ourselves to a study of Terena society, as it was the Chaco and as it has survived the change resulting from its present location in a frontier zone of civilization; we will attempt to discover the matrices, or inherent formal elements of its social system.[4] To accomplish this purpose we will atempt to construct what might be called an abstract model[5] of Terena social structure based on empirical data, whether recorded directly in the field or gleaned from the bibliography. In this regard it would not be amiss to note the words of Levi-Strauss: "It should also be kept in mind that what makes social structure studies valuable is that structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently of their elements" (1954 : 528).

An apparent methodological contradiction emerges in the formulation of our aims, when the problem of the construction of a model (which implies an atemporal approach) is grouped with the discussion of changes occurring in it (in which the notion of time is implicit). This problem is handled through the use that we will make of the concepts of social structure and of social organization. If the concept of *structure* refers to highly stable uniformities (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952: 57-58), then in the concept of *social structure* "the qualities recognized are primarily those of persistence, continuity, form, and pervasiveness

[114] [117] *Assimilation of the Terenã*), we show that the village population of the tribe, which totals about four fifths of all Terena, continues to resist those mechanisms which make toward assimilation and which are increasingly pressing upon them. The rest of the population. which is detribalized and to a certain extent urbanized, since it is now located in the towns of the area, shows a strong tendency toward assimilation, if we take into consideration the actions of the first and second generations of families who have left their original communities. (cf. Mss., Chapters VII and VIII; also our article, 1958a : 16-18).

[4] Our conception of *social system* approximates, in general terms, that of Talcott Parsons, who defines it as consisting "... in a plurality of individual actors interacting with each other in a situation which has at least a physical or environmental aspect, ... whose relation to ... each other is defined and mediated in terms of a system of culturally structured and shared symbols" (1952: 5-6), and further defined by J. Marion Levy, Jr., as "any patterned collection of elements" (1952 : 20). Levy, in relation the term "society" (and we would add "tribe") to the concept of social system, makes plain that it is "one particular type of social system, but it is only one of an infinite (or at least a very large) number of conceivable types." (ibidem).

[5] We use *model* in a less specific sense than did Levi-Strauss (1954 : 528), since we do not identify "model" with "structure", which to us are related but distinct concepts. Model, in the sense in which we will use it, is a "generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned— a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their relationship" (J. Marion Levi, Jr., 1952 : 29-30). Comparing this concept with that of structure which will be formulated later in this study, we can say that our objetive is to construct a *model of Terena social structure.*

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174 **1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification**

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the [120] presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607]
place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606]
and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587]
the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554]
true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [59]
and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, [622]
"Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Na-ti, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to [777]
substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [826] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

[1] [Work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-A]

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 278.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hiúri*.

[work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *veri* and large bags, *nimaké*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopée*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the gen-
eral disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888
undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century.
The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena
on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and
subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kouti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 546 [648] [747] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hové* 585
hoyenóti (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives.

In the case of a marriage involving the son of 584
a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The 565
war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather head- [292]
dresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for mak- [273]
ing the beverage, *mopó*.

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took 585
place. The groom and his parents were led by 565
three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand.

Today the young man makes his request directly 177
to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the 585
young couple are married as far as Terena cus- [178]
tom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money.

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 797 [798] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organised on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children. 535 527 [178] [262]

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonuméti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright. [243]

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural. [554]

On the day following the *kochóvonuméti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena 527 526

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[82] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

/24 cont./

121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[131] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
125 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 But let us consider yet another passage, written already 565 in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which [104] in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [654] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
567

63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Wahere-Txañé, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

121

66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

171 462 177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462 177 The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the 462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both [177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their inte- 177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the 178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in 648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably 462 565

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 178 565 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú 178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terena communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was
178
640
462
565

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175]
[128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terena, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

/45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th-
and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with
the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on
the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay,
speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period
when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-
regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists
who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder,
found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remain-
ing Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of
these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is
there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired
strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the
regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of
a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-
Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties re-
spectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain,
even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers,
the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage
between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was
descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to
the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down
totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[796] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage,
the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the
bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes
apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as
Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

148 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
616 We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
796
571

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

[Traditional Culture]

/48 cont./

616 796 431 565 558

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Wahêrê-Txané.

616 796 526

They, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616
796
526
565
178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of
535 Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining
[526] only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by
[178] the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race
[114] of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and
[534] witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

SP?
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[62] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[782] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[789] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[178]
[573]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

90. "The cerimonial life
796 of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/63 cont./

neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
797

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G
[184]

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

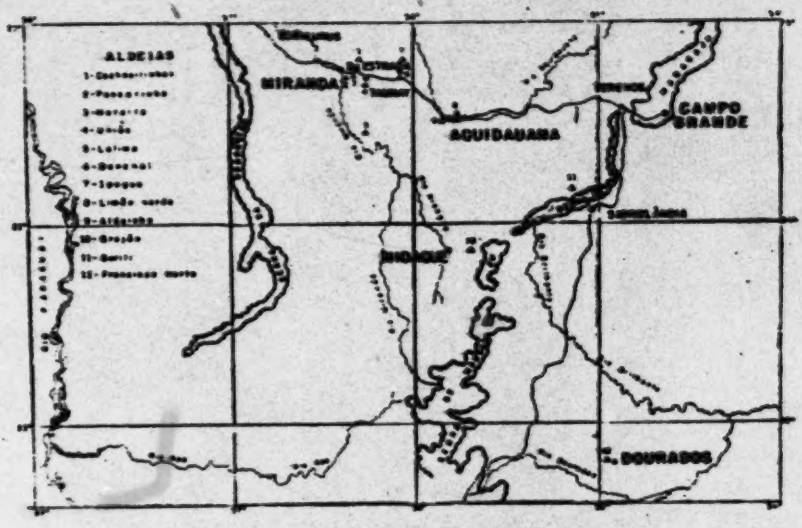
133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/72 cont./

000



Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the
166 time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no
361/ matter in how precarious a fashion. Some of these places
178 were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção
648 aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the
[657] remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

[Text continues on p. 104]

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[385] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
678 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/101 cont./

184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648
621

159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea.--It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/114 cont./
184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

> 183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as tra-
ditional play activities performed on festive days, such as
Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

178 /116 cont./
525
621
184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 It is true that these variables are significant to an under-
184 standing of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms
621 of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple
178 ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables
756 have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-
755 religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical
178 practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that
796 the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the
[177] appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[612] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the [619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [172] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
[60] tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
[582] ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

/134 cont./

563 608 557 175 851 551 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. 178 369 At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant 184 structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the 795 fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 797 171 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
*66 177 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*777 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 764 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. [178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [142] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

G /146 cont./

*177 The segregated condition to which the aldea population
●178 is subjected stimulates the emergence of psycho-social
648 mechanisms that work counter to assimilation: it strengthens the "tribal we," decreases the possibilities of interethnic contact, and marks the position of the Indian socially as a ward. Let us examine this last aspect of segregation, since the first two--the strengthening of tribal consciousness and the creation of obstacles to interethnic contact--were already dealt with in
G 666 previous chapters. The most flagrant discrimination against
648 the Indian that we had the opportunity to witness bore the
B 657 approval of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios at the time of the 1955 elections. In that year, at the end of September, thus on the eve of the elections, the Inspetoria Regional (IR-5) with headquarters in Campo Grande and responsible for the supervision and articulation of the native posts /147/ of southern Mato Grosso, along with the central administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decided to withdraw the Indians' voting certificates on the grounds that regional politicking would be prejudicial to the Indians' interests and to their administration. It considered--with some reason--that, if the Indians were to vote, the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially the superintendents, would eventually become electoral leaders, as had already happened in some aldeas; the result of this would be a future wrangling over the posts of native-post superintendents, since they would come to represent political power, electoral importance. Very well. Such were the reasons that led the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios--through its inspetoria--to take an attitude that clashed with the basic principles of a native policy oriented toward guaranteeing to the Indian the securing of rights he would prove
G ready to enjoy. Once literate, and in most cases, a reservist,
[641] the Indian elector automatically ceased to be a ward (despite the sui generis nature of this wardship)--and the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, interpreting in a positive way the protectionist policy, would have no other recourse than to insure

/151 cont./

*177 128 society might be described. Thus, it will not be idle to recall here the words of Talcott Parsons when he warns that even if one does not know the laws that govern a process, it is always possible to "describe it" in terms of its initial and final moments--and possibly to make inferences about its intermediary stages--until one reaches empirical generalizations about it. (212) This was the procedure we followed, aided by

> 212. "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it. --A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons 1952:201). /Cited in English./

[12] a minute examination of the data gathered in the field. We believe that through the analysis of the socio-cultural factors that operated in a convergent or divergent manner in the assimilation process, we succeeded in indicating the bases on which the psycho-social mechanisms operate.

*177 178 Conclusions

I. The Terêna, as the last Guaná subgroup to enter into continuous and systematic contact with Brazilian society,

/151 cont./

*177 naturally suffered much less damage than the Exoaladi, Layâna,
●178 or Kinikinâu, whether physically (depopulation) or culturally (deculturation). This explains their survival of the vicissitudes they underwent after the war with Paraguay, with their captivity, the disorganization of the local groups, and their dispersal through the fazendas that were forming. With the creation of the native reservations, they even had the strength to reorganize into aldeas, to face /152/ the epidemics and the competition with the regional neo-Brazilian population, because they still made up a rather numerous and highly integrated group.

II. While the majority of the Terêna had gradually returned to aldea life, a minor contingent remained on the fazendas, where they settled, entering a process of detribalization. Today, we find the following picture: some are permanently settled in the "colônias" of those fazendas that granted them better treatment, equivalent to that given the neo-Brazilian countryman; others went on moving from fazenda to fazenda, following the harvesting cycles and the availability of work. Nevertheless, this detribalized population continues to identify itself, on the whole, as belonging to a definite ethnic group and to be recognized by the Terêna "community" as a component of it. The occurrence of interethnic marriage leads, through cross-breeding and family disorganization, to individual assimilation; in a sense, this assimilation becomes easier to be carried out in the rural zones than in the urban areas, in view of the smaller "cultural distance" existing between these zones and the aldeas, in spite of the fact that the cities loom as the most powerful agencies of change.

*177 III. With the progressive urbanization of the neo-
178 Brazilian population nuclei, i.e., with the formation of the
369 cities, both aldea and detribalized Indians became attracted by them to the point that numerous families settled in the urban and suburban areas and came to live there, subsisting on their urban occupations. In spite of being detribalized and urbanized, these Terêna continued to remain connected with

/152 cont./

*177 the aldeas of their origin, (i) identifying themselves with them,
● 178 (ii) keeping "lots" in them, and (iii) returning to them for
369 secular activites or magico-religious rituals. The assimilation of this urbanized contingent tends to occur in the generations that follow that of the Terêna emigrant, and in accordance with certain conditions, the most important being: family disorganization. Whether in relation to this urbanized contingent, or in relation to the merely detribalized one--mentioned in the previous paragraph--the assimilation mechanisms are the same, their content obviously varying.

*177 IV. Although the analysis in depth to which we subjected
178 only those Terêna classified as aldea /Indians/ and as urbanized
128 /Indians/, was sufficient to give us an idea of the assimilation process, the exclusion /153/ of the detribalized Terêna, that is, those living on fazendas, imposes on this work a serious limitation which we attempted to circumvent through the use, perhaps the abuse, of a very poor set of data, often obtained by means of indirect methods. Nevertheless, the viability of this procedure, defensible from a methodological standpoint, permitted us to deal with the Terêna as a whole, to classify them into objective sociological categories, and to proffer generalizations about them. The manipulation of the concepts of acculturation and social mobility helped us to foresee two basic aspects or conditions of the assimilation process. Finally, the detailed examination of this process, through an examination of the psycho-social mechanisms emerging from it--carried out with the aid of a particular theoretical scheme (Glaser)--led us to understand the dynamic aspects of ethnic identification and their importance to the survival of the Terêna, as groups.

*177 V. The final conclusion reached is that the Terêna
178 population, in spite of being integrated into the regional economic structure, nothing indicates that in the near future it will come to be assimilated by the Brazilian society or by its socio-cultural segments. (213) Perhaps this will not even

/153 cont./

213. Cf. Julian H. Steward, 1955:43-63.

*177 occur some day, if the same conditions persist that led the near
178 totality of this population to remain in aldeas. The assimilation of some detribalized or urbanized individuals, usually sons and grandsons of Indians who left their communities, is not sufficient to permit us to diagnose the Terêna population, as a whole, as being on the way to incorporation into the national society. /The bibliography and index at the end of the work have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
177 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites
178 since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootũ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulũ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," ōngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother's
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[170] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel.
Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils
in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible
purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are
used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have
taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the
women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[829] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[487] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to
durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow.
The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all
adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut.
The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the
girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and
then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the
same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing,
lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he ex-
tends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family
gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's
house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to
the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is
borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and
ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family.
The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115 178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant. 127 128

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century. 101 175 648 [181]

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati- 101 175 [131]

[P.1-B]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees." [132] [412] [412] [516] [177 407] [824]

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century: [181]

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.] [516]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women. 592 241 462

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco. 241

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6 243

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

[P.41-B]

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

G M 175 648 131 M 563

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

G M 175 648 571

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

M [563] [622]

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in-
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

/126 cont./

*177 them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of
369 life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the
[571] city, raise their children there, or build up their families there.
[829] On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in
[464] the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and
[361] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated
[186] in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi-
[571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

/21 In the examination in which we are engaged, with re-
/128 spect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna
369 population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the
[181] most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/129 cont./

better recreation, and better education for their children. This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience, since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences we had with the aldea population, especially with the Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
528 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[44]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/131 cont./

369 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to
*177 the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the
511 greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market
●181 is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied
recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope
of giving their children a better education (which is generally
fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban
369 "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a
*177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the
last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the
Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their
incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for
their assimilation.

*177 2. Military service is another important factor, but
701 which, of course, applies only to the male population. It
464 presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences,
554 supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their
possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that,
eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of
being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in
relation to younger men and to the young single women of
the community.

*177 From this desire to travel and to know new places--al-
701 ready pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal
181 peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could
[171]

202. Cf., for example,
in relation to Africa, I.
Schapera, 1947:115 ff.;
in relation to North America,
Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff.
As for the role of military
service, see especially
Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff.
(Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
● 181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[640] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

Chane SF8
Guana SK7

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga [181]

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

Ga [621] "The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post Chaco Period] Terena

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 179 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

[P. 32-B]

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[P. 33-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [1797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [747] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

[POST Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestiso. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. 101 829 [177]

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos." 101 177 829

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization 101 177 182

[p.35-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

101
177
182
648

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post, the manager assists him financially.

[673]
[681]
[682]

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

177
182
191

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7

[Post Chaco Period]

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena remains the language of the village. Among themselves the Terena, young and old, use their own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained. 177 182 191

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which have led to the integration of the Terena as a group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service. 177 182 648

As the manager is the highest authority and social leader in the village, it follows that status among the Terena is measured in relation to the patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and 177 554 648

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [971] [526]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 199 [198] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

G M 175 648 131 M 563

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

G M 175 648 571

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

M [563] [622]

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[282] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[178]
[273]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 /52 cont. / [Traditional Culture]
182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
[114] festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
[222] of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[273] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on:
[301] "Some sew glass beads on
[302] pieces of striped cotton cloth,
others cut and lay out the red
feathers with which they make
ornaments for the head; yet
others sketch on their husbands'
bodies delicate paintings, when
they do not do this themselves."
(1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal
relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained
among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only
moment when the local groups manage to gather together all
(or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today
coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather
the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

90. "The cerimonial life
796 of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided
621
797
795
[165]
[128]

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621
795
511
[184]
[182]
[648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[626] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
● 182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/150 cont./

*177 off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginali-
●182 zation (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy,
571 making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" /condition/--which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

> 211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrap olating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English./ As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

It should be made

*177 clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish
128 every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

182
571
[648]
[828]
[628]

REFERENCES

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949—"Mudança Cultural dos Terena" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo, pp. 271/379.

BACH, J.
1916—"Datos sôbre los indios Terena de Miranda" in *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, LXXXII, Buenos Aires, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1937—"A sucessão hereditária do Chefe entre os Tereno" in *Ensaios de Ehtnologia Brasileira, Coleção Brasiliana*, pp. 70-85.
1950—"Lendas dos índios Tereno" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo, pp. 217-232.

BALDUS, HERBERT e EMILIE WILLEMS
1939—*Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia*. Companhia Editora Nacional.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE
1949—*Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul*. Coleção Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editora Nacional, São Paulo (vol. II).

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1922—*De la Division du travail Social*, 4ª édit., Paris, Alcan.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1936—*We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London.
1954—"Social Organization and Social Change", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 84, pp. 1-20.
1955—"Some Principles of Social Organization", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 85, pp. 1-18.

113

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[124] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terena with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
● 183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

G M 175 648 131 M 563

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

G M 175 648 571

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO)

M [563] [622]

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 431 585 588 The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txané.

616 796 526 Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192] 75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of [184] Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178] 76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/54 cont./

773 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties.
616 Compare the figures of Taipuvuké and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoé, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terena food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe." (95)

95. 1950:224.

There is no doubt that Pitanoé and Taipuyukê are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyukê (or Pitanoé) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there
[184] arose another. But the first was the master." (96) As is seen,

96. 1949:349.

despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

/63 cont./

175 177 797 [184] been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later,

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikináus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

/63 cont./

neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

/64 cont./

175 177 797 had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 177 797 184 [10] Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna communities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

[361]

175 648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/65 cont./

175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and 648 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the 184 Kinikinâu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While [427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on [439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.) [464] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikinâu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439

It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

/66 cont./

175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
797

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G
[184]

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[162] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering
[103] perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [578] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 162 621 [184] registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and 161 166 621 184 578 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One concludes that the population decrease occurred only in Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic increase, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who 166 162 621 795 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 621 [177] [342] [36] /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[144] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/101 cont./

184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648
621

159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea.--It is clear that such an attitude does not go

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

● 184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out-
[314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/104 cont./

184 233 511 include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 233 511 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending [166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from [441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd [427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring 182 241 511 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and, especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 571 177 The most significant differences between Terêna communities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 798 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/107 cont./

798
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[172]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

● 184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided
621
797
795
[665]
[128]

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621
795
511
[184]
[182]
[648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797
795 this account divided the community into two antagonistic religious groups.

184
177 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177
167 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/113 cont./
121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./

184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as tra-
ditional play activities performed on festive days, such as
Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/115 cont./ An interesting

178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

178 756 755 178 796 [177]

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/124 cont./

*177 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain
369 regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the
369 following proposition: Assimilation is more viable, progressively,
● 184 beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities. And as a corollary, we have then: Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves. Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating
121 assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis

196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

369 /131 cont. / The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
● [184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
175 of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
851 the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
551 adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
178 At present, with the probable exception of the population that
369 still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
184 structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
795 fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
171 have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
G yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
[469] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G
[191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G
563
•184

into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

G
*177
563
369
B
563
G
[191]

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/-- the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros," (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

G /143 cont./
*177 some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I.,
563 which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without
369 any positive results, according to the information we got.
B
563 This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

G Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable
*177 to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it
191 facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his
369 area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not
G speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people
[561] who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they
[640] lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15
G and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in
[184] those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
● 184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Braziliah society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

/126 cont./

*177 them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of
369 life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the
[571] city, raise their children there, or build up their families there.
[829] On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in
[464] the regional economic structure--since they are active in the
labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and
[361] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated
[186] in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in com-
munities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi-
[571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined
with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain
circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to
its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.
/Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

/121 In the examination in which we are engaged, with re-
/128 spect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most
explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we
indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate with-
in it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry
forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself
of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural
factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those
that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call
convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna
369 population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the
[181] most important factors in the assimilation process, especially
when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration,
better recreation, and better education for their children.

/135 cont./

*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
797 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
771 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
785 [229] Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
[186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant
ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more
effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--
ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority,
but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group consciousness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of the group toward change (far greater than the present conservative mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the *soi-disant* Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
797 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. [551] His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. [342] His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. [795] He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. [797] He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikiki*) is 47 years old. [551] He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. [795] He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. [212] He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. [191] He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159
one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugar-cane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [352] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513] In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. [997] He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] ● little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 829

[Post Chaco Period]

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability. 101 177 182

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. 648 These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. [673] Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. [681] It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. [682] The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. 177 182 191 This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena 177
remains the language of the village. Among 182
themselves the Terena, young and old, use their 191
own language. It is but natural, therefore, that
certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should
be perpetuated through the medium of the native
language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of
greeting, and attitudes to one another and the
Brazilians are thus maintained.

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which 177
have led to the integration of the Terena as a 182
group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indian- 648
ism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena
are articulated to the non-Indian world around
them. The primary contact agent and principal
molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as
represented by the Post manager. The manager
is the patron of the Indians. From him come
medical, legal, and economic assistance. The na-
ture of these interrelations has already been dis-
cussed. But in addition to these primary neces-
sities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider
personal significance. It is true that this role
varies with the personality of the manager but
all are required to provide leadership in main-
taining satisfactory relationship between the In-
dians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic
feeling among the natives under their charge.
This the manager does by displaying the flag and
in leading the singing on important State holi-
days; in providing industrious natives with the
services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied
by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to
children who do well in the school; by supporting
at least one of the football teams by providing
sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal
interest in the families who measure up to the
demands of the Service.

As the manager is the highest authority and 177
social leader in the village, it follows that status 554
among the Terena is measured in relation to the 648
patronage and good will of the manager. Out-
standing Terena are principally men who stand
high in the regard of the manager. To them the
manager gives positions of trust such as represent-
ing him in commercial connections with the fazen-
das, representing Indian affairs at headquarters,
and holding the position of policemen in the vil-
lage. To these men the manager gives special
assistance and materials in building houses and

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

G M 175 648 [57] 622 [582]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.
In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layana words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

G M [101]

G [191]

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
297 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[121] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
297 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
271 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

G /141 cont./

*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G [464] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G 563 104

into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

G *177 563 369 B 563 G [191]

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/--the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros," (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

/143 cont./

some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./

*177 But in the cities,
191 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
369 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
561 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

[Traditional Culture]

/48 cont./

616 796 431 565 568

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Wahere-Txané.

616 796 526

Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/93 cont./

/101/ I passed through all of the aldeas mentioned, starting my trip on February 21 and ending it on April 14 of the present year (1896).

● /192

Terena Vocabulary

Man, oyhénó
Woman, sénó
Infant, calihónó
Head, tuty
Eyes, uqué
Nose, guirij
Mouth, pahó
Teeth, ohé

Tongue, nené
Ears, quenó
Neck, docó
Hair, tutijé
Forehead, uhónhó
Arm, daquij
Hand, mohúm
Fingers, toes, coava móhúm
Body, nninho
Chest, chéné
Milk, atuchéné
Heart, omisconé
Liver, apacaná
Lungs, japahytinán
Intestines, ocóhó
Legs, anunzéré
Foot, jévé

Scrotum, ayháquiá
Anus, acicicó
Beard, achenoyhó
Skeleton, hopéthij
Buttock, curócunan
Cemetery, petyayháquiá
God, tupá
Father or cacique, cóchómonetij
House, petij
Walls, yévépetij
Roof, tunucunanpetij
Door, pahápetij
Bed, ypé
Net, tuyty
Ball, uthó
Ollas, chóróná
No, acó
Yes, all right, honaijtij
Small, calij
Water pot or jug, camuchy
Knife, peritau
Necklace, chúrópé
Arrows, chumé
Bow, chequij
Kitchen, oyécótique

/93 cont./

192
802

Masculine member, quaú
Feminine member, syuquaú
Gender /sex/, cotorohytij
Alcohol, cumá
Water, uné
1, aú
2, cahú
3, sjatúlé
4, pacahé

Fire, jucú
Money, tiuquetij /94/
5, sjutohé
6, petequé
7, chipahé
8, chachámé
9, charquihé
10, chatijhómé

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174 241
by direct investigation the exact nature of the
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the
Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as
being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking
tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly
agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174
Yúrikoyuwakái taught the people to practice agri- 241
culture: 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuwakái* gave the ax, *poodoti;* the digging stick, *ilome'i;* the knife, *piritou;* the sickle, *yopilooóti;* the war club, *puló'oi;* the bow, *ahakió;* arrows, *ahumó;* and the spear, *euíkó.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopóa.* *Yúrikoyuwakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to as-
sume that they were agriculturists in pre-Colum-
bian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is
understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only
the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long [132]
drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable
surplus not necessary in a region where annual
rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that
depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and
collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic cus-
toms seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and
raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

G M 175 648 [57] 622 [582]

/35 cont./
Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.
G M [101] In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words.
G [191] The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guayeurus, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
678 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/87/

Data on the Terena Indians of Miranda

J. Bach (1)

114 1. The notes that we publish at the present time were handed over to me by the trader, Mr. J. Bach, in the year 1898, before he set out on a new trip to north Mato Grosso. Since that time no word has been had of him, not even in the bosom of his family; there is no doubt that he has perished in the course of his exploration. We believe that we are complying with the wishes of the one who has disappeared by publishing his notes on the little-known natives of Brazil. It has been necessary to correct these notes, which were written hastily, but no change has been made either in content or arrangement. We note in passing that the Terena Indians belong, from the linguistic point-of-view to the Guaná Indians, and these in turn are of the Moxo-Aruak linguistic group.

• 197

[113] (See: Max Schmidt, "Guaná," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. XXXV, pp. 324-336, 560-604. 1903). (Robert Lehmann-Nitsche.)

/129 cont. /

*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
● 203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[484] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
[556] for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/129 cont./

better recreation, and better education for their children. This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience, since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences we had with the aldea population, especially with the Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead. [551]

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume. [342]

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [795] [797] [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikiki*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15 [551] [795] [212] [191]

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352] tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [513] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [794]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and [282]
repairs harness for people in the village and for
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [797]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

/108 cont./

798
829
[273]

thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

[212]

[292]

771
128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
●212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's request to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and [531] soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262] March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire. 226 [221] [227] [252] [251]

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps. 411 [224]

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur- 224 [177]

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
[114] festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
[222] of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[223] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on:
[301] "Some sew glass beads on
[302] pieces of striped cotton cloth,
others cut and lay out the red
feathers with which they make
ornaments for the head; yet
others sketch on their husbands'
bodies delicate paintings, when
they do not do this themselves."
(1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal
relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained
among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only
moment when the local groups manage to gather together all
(or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today
coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather
the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlisa decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.8-A]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223] by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [756] know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262] [263] ful to the hunter.

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [789] ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133] which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and [312] even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361] the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [825] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

[1] [Work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [156]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [189]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [33]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

421 [428] [768]

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

241 476 592 462 [241]

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

476 [224] [241] [602]

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

177 178 648

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[167] [361] 177 241 648

[P. 13 ~B]

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick-
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders
of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers
upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of
the railroad and the influx of settlers there has
been a gradual increase in the dependence on the
money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact
picture of Terena economy and the relative im-
portance of subsistence farming and dependence
on commercial transactions can be obtained if we
examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE 59

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a popu- 162
lation of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 434
mately one-third of the Terena population it will
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena
economic life. Statistics show that families at
this Post average 5 persons, which would give
the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots
outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village
working on ranches, on the railroad as section
hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda,
Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager
of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out
of the Post at all times engaged in wage work.
Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away
from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time
of the year. Men who work for the railroad us-
ually remain away for a year, often longer. If
the man is married he often takes his family
with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's request to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and [531] soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262] March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas,*" *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé.* Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire. 226 [221] [227] [252] [251]

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps. 411 [224]

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur- 224 [177]

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[3] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[3] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire. 226 [221] [227] [252] [251]

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps. 411 [224]

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur- 224 [177]

Terena
Mbaya SK11

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. G M 174 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing. M 177 648 231 554 M [127] [567]

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders. G 231 177 554 648

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began M 648 175

[P. 3-A]

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [825] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

1 [Work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food. 241 433 231 262 [224] [226]

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village. 177 433

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 59 162 434 [361] 166 434 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

[103]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Be 159
sides himself, his wife, and six children, the house
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male [592]
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [513]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron [358]
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young [231]
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grand- 177
father, who was a medicine man, came from the 795
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were bap-
tized in the Catholic faith, although his grand-
father never became a regular church member.
Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission
school until he was 12. During these years he
lived with and worked for the English missionary,
herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was
not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his
little farm at the Post. He then went to Aqui-
dauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's
assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable
farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, tak-
ing his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he re-
turned to the Post to help his grandfather, who
was becoming very old. After his grandfather
died he married and went to live with his father- [591]
in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During
this time he, together with some other Indians,
worked for a while on the telegraph line. In
1932 he and several other Indians went with the
manager of the Post to fight in the revolution,
staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in
the village and began working for the manager
of the Post, doing many things, such as building
repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which [465]
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not
cultivate land of his own. He has been the cap-
tain of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

[Post-Chaco Period]

In one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling. [159] [352] [353] [405]

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians. [241] [443] [438]

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village. [891] [997]

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use. [592] [352] [513] [405] [416]

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away. [231] [241] [494]

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro. [212] [997] [191]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [794]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and
repairs harness for people in the village and for [282]
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [797]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

361

231
492
291

PLATE 1.—Views of Bananal Village (Terena). a, Post buildings and main street. b, A Terena gaucho.

[End Plate 1]

[P. 73]

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
295

make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees. They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
231
463

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
428

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus, [231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central [417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as [556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.

[795] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which

[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[247] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[34] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
G with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/104 cont./

184 233 511 include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 233 511 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending [166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from [441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd [427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring 182 241 511 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and, especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 571 177 The most significant differences between Terêna communities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 798 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[44]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

M 621 175 [361] /87 cont./

Miranda was founded in the year 1797 by Caetano Pinto de Miranda. The topographical position taken by the Barão de Melgaco is as follows: 20° 14' south latitude, 58° 24' 16" longitude west of Paris.

M [727] [233] Miranda was raised to /the rank/ of villa on May 30, 1857. Completely destroyed in the year 1865 by the Paraguayans, the fields and houses were burned and the inhabitants who could not escape were slain; the cattle, principal wealth of this municipio, was transported, almost completely, to Paraguay, in a number in excess of 300,000 head. Those who returned in the year 1871 found Miranda thus devastated.

G M 233 162 The fields are excellent and are well situated for the pastoral industry. The municipio has about 15,000 inhabitants; the villa of Miranda has 78 houses with tile roofs and a good number of ranchos, /88/ in addition a church, a cemetery, two public schools for the two sexes, and a private school, "Christovão Columbo," which is divided into two sections, for the two sexes, directed by Sr. Francisco Augusto Ribeiro, and which has received the prize as second-ranking school of the primary grades in the Brazilian Republic.

M 361 368

G M 133 The Miranda River is very small and flows into the Paraguay River; it is navigable by craft of shallow draft; from its mouth to the villa of Miranda it is approximately 180 kilometers. The only boat which navigates this river up to Miranda is a small steamer called the Erba, which belongs to Sr. Giasone Rebna, who is the only one who sustains the municipio of Miranda with his trading. The climate is moderate, the temperature indicates on the hottest days 34° C. in the shade, and it goes down as much as five degrees; in the winter it ranges from 22° to 28° C. Miranda has extremely fertile lands for agriculture.

M 505

G M 132

G M 134

G M 135 There are minerals in great quantities, such as gold, iron, hard coal /carbón de piedra/, rock crystal, marble, malacacheta /malachite?/, which have not as yet been worked.

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.*
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waherershane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 881 565 622 [292] [568] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
776 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory. M 648 175

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government. M [101] M [131] M [162]

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . . G 175 131 G [241] G [161] G [648]

[P. 3-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yúrikoyuvakái* taught the people to practice agriculture: 174 241 [197] 174 241 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomo'ti;* the knife, *pirtiou;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *pulé'oi;* the bow, *shehió;* arrows, *shumó;* and the spear, *sviké.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopée. Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days. 174 241 [127]

The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence 174 241 433 [136] [137] 174 241 [132] [648] [177]

[P. 6-A]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlica decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 8-A]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [1756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [1789]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared [132] of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times [412] of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the [412] "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516] ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177 407] to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until [824] the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They [181] have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit [516] down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The 241 clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, caré, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *casána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [797]
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addi-
tion, they taught them such handicrafts as black-
smithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close associa-
tion with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the rail-
road. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stim-
ulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food. 241 433 231 262 [224] [226]

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village. 179 433

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE 59

The Indian Post of Taunay[3] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 162 434 [361] 166 434 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[3] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, 434
or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce 241
the staple food products themselves while living 433
at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. 511
These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is 511
spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr. $
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90, 00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85, 00
1 pair of pants	45, 00
1 pair of shoes	120, 00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50, 00
Total	390, 00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228, 00
Underclothing—6 m. at Cr. $9,00	72, 00
1 pair of sandals	15, 00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50. 00
Total	365. 00

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. [342] On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch [438] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [745] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [352] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513] In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [59] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young children are carried straddling the mother's hip. [854]

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Bananal Village]

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but provide excellent shade for humans and animals alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper. 241 [134]

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and article of trade of the Terena it is also the principal crop. About half of the total cultivated land is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety. 244 262 [241]

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

[P. 24-A]

[Chaco Period]

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonuméti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

/29 cont./

121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 The first information available on the Guaná (26) show
241

26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses." (27) Already by this
648

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors." (28)

28. Ibidem.

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families... [361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

/68 cont./

H 175 648 G 175 177 [792]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B G 464

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
245

make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees.

G
231
463

They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
426

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[725] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "domestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
361
312

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233
241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
182 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

36/ tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the
geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy
reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one
in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal
have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem
of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central
nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate
to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue
stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we
find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the
other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the
reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha
and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central
nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected
not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

62/ Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira,
Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The
major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal,
in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to
supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and
Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far
more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikinau (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 they erected a spacious shed
628 and left there a teacher, at a
346 salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a
875 month, recruited from the
Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--
neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu
survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia,"
Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements.
It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia,"
but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close
contact and intensive trade relations with the native com-
munity. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc
flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/,
and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the
statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
● 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community
plants for its own consumption the following species: rice,
/sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in
the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in
Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[341] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that
on the reservation there is no building that might be called
a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private
homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics.
As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts
to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture
change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p.142]

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the 184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could 511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities, 434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas 464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

/104 cont./

184 233 511 include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 233 511 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending [166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from [441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd [427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring 182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, ● 241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and, 511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com- 571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, 177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant 798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [648]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

• [241]

*177 582 563 369 562 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

[571]

563 688 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikũ, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[586] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[52] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910-17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees." [132] [412] [412] [516] [177 407] [824]

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291-292.] [181] [516]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women. 592 241 462

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco. 241

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *huati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6 243

months later, depending upon the type and the 243
conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted [252]
before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes
called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also pre- [273]
pared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize
were also dried and stored in the house to be [251]
later crushed in a mortar and used for making
porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the 244
Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suati-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc [262]
was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut 244
up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, 252
had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The [412]
pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was 244
a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on [252]
hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the 262
staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

[Banana] Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in 257
a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole.

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual [272] custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar.

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely sec- 243
ondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop 243
is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted 252
before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use.

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main 249
types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white 252
variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes

[P. 25 - B]

[Bananal Village]

are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven. 244 252

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat. 244 [262]

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice. [262] [252]

Rice (nakati).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast. 243

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. [262] [252]

[P. 26-A]

although they no longer perform them. As one 535
would expect, the ceremonial season opened at 527
harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, [178]
enabling the people to remain in their villages.
The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome [262]
change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots,
fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to
the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize [243]
was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonuníti*.
This masked dance was organized by one of the
moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took
place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank [554]
the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonuníti*, the 527
Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, 526
selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena

months later, depending upon the type and the conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also prepared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize were also dried and stored in the house to be later crushed in a mortar and used for making porridge. 243 [252] [273] [251]

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October. 244 [262]

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared. 244 252 [412]

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March. 244

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two. [252]

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October. 262

[P. 11-B]

[Bananal Village]

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but 241
provide excellent shade for humans and animals
alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along [134]
the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have
washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper.

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and 244 262
article of trade of the Terena it is also the principal crop. About half of the total cultivated land [241]
is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety.

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

[Bananal Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244
this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262
overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252
the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252
until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244
is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women 252
clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412
roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252
cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177]
they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yusa*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

[P.24-B]

[Banana] Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole. 257

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual [272] custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar.

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely secondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use. 243 243 152

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes 244 252

[P. 25 - B]

[Bananal Village]

are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven. 244 252

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat. 244 [262]

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão mindo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice. [262] [252]

Rice (nakatí).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast. 243

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. [262] [252]

[p. 26-A]

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 500

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [962]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

G /68 cont./
241
246
G
245

make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees.

G
231
463

They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
426

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

342

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house [178] which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. [824] This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. [354] Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. [252] The food is cooked without any other spices than water. [352] At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. [513] It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [248] [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, [513] which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. 114 The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. 352 Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, 513 while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. 245 During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana da terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. 249 When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, [276] dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco.

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it 248 is the special privilege of the women to sow the [462] seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described.

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. 512 The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. [372] While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing [515] in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used.

[P.26-B]

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

[P. 12-A]

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. 257 The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

months later, depending upon the type and the 243
conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted [252]
before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes
called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also pre- [273]
pared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize
were also dried and stored in the house to be [251]
later crushed in a mortar and used for making
porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the 244
Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suati-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc [262]
was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut 244
up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, 252
had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The [412]
pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was 244
a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haruiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on [252]
hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the 262
staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure. 342 [178] [824]

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.] [354] [252] [352] [513] [248]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos," covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.] [513]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hiúri*. 114 352 513

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's re- [531]
quest to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of
mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262]
March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire. 226 [221] [227] [252] [251]

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps. 411 [224]

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur- 224 [177]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [1756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [1789]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

months later, depending upon the type and the 243
conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted [252]
before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes
called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also pre- [273]
pared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize
were also dried and stored in the house to be [251]
later crushed in a mortar and used for making
porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the 244
Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suati-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc [262]
was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut 244
up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, 252
had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The [412]
pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was 244
a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on
hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground [252]
was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the 262
staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

[Bamana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Banana Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244
this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262
overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252
the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252
until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244
is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women 252
clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412
roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252
cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177]
they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

[P.24-B]

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

[Banana] Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole. 257

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar. [272]

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely secondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use. 243 243 252

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes 249 252

[P. 25 - B]

[Bananal Village]

are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven. 244 252

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat. 244 [267]

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice. [262] [252]

Rice (nakati).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast. 243

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. [262] [252]

[P.26-A]

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
● 256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[167] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[124] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
126 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terena with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

126 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

[Banana] Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole. 257

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar. [272]

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely secondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukui*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use. 243 243 252

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes 249 252

[P. 25 - B]

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [826] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

[1] [Work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-A]

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's request to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and [531]
soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262]
March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [789]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

months later, depending upon the type and the 243
conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted [252]
before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes
called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also pre- [273]
pared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize
were also dried and stored in the house to be [251]
later crushed in a mortar and used for making
porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the 244
Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *nuati-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc [262]
was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut 244
up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, 252
had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The [412]
pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was 244
a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground [252]
was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the 262
staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick-
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders
of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers
upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of
the railroad and the influx of settlers there has
been a gradual increase in the dependence on the
money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact
picture of Terena economy and the relative im-
portance of subsistence farming and dependence
on commercial transactions can be obtained if we
examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[3] today has a popu-
lation of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 162
mately one-third of the Terena population it will 434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena
economic life. Statistics show that families at
this Post average 5 persons, which would give
the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots
outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village
working on ranches, on the railroad as section
hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda,
Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager
of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out
of the Post at all times engaged in wage work.
Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away
from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time
of the year. Men who work for the railroad us-
ually remain away for a year, often longer. If
the man is married he often takes his family
with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[3] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

[Bananal Village]

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but provide excellent shade for humans and animals alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper. 241 [134]

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and article of trade of the Terena it is also the principal crop. About half of the total cultivated land is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety. 244 262 [241]

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

[Bananal Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244
this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262
overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252
the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252
until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244
is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women 252
clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412
roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252
cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177]
they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

[P.24-B]

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. 257 The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden

[Bananal Village]

are put in and covered with soil and left for a day or two; when the oven is uncovered the tubers are well baked. Candy is sometimes made from sweetpotatoes by baking out the sirup. Sweetpotatoes are also treated like manioc when there are large quantities and it is feared they will decay—the potatoes are grated, the water is removed in a press, and the dry pulp is formed into cakes and baked in an oven. 244 252

Cará.—This yellow-skinned tuber, which looks like a yam but tastes like manioc, can be planted at any time of the year. It is used in soups and stews made with dried meat. 244 [262]

Beans.—The popular bean grown by the Terena is a small reddish-brown variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão miudo." This hardy bean, which matures in about 4 months, can be planted at any time of the year but does best when planted at the beginning of the rainy season. A creeping variety, known in Portuguese as "feijão rasteiro," is also planted although it does not grow well in this region. This variety of bean is planted in March and harvested in June. Beans are an important part of Terena diet and are eaten boiled, if possible with a piece of fat pork. Like the Brazilians, the Terena now eat boiled beans with rice. [262] [252]

Rice (naknti).—As has been mentioned, rice is an unreliable crop in this region owing to the uncertainty of rains. If the rains are heavy enough some rice will be planted in the lowlands surrounding Bananal. The planting period will vary from September to January or even February if the rains happen to be heavy in this month. The rice grown is of the dry-land variety, sown broadcast. 243

The scientific terms for the varieties of rice grown by the Terena were not obtained. They use the local Portuguese terms for the rice they grow, recognizing three varieties, namely, "catetinho," "arroz grande," and "amarelo." If the rains are sufficient, rice will mature in about 100 days after planting. Rice is harvested with a sickle, and after the sheaves are dry the heads are removed by beating the sheaf against the ground. Rice is husked as required for household use in the same wooden mortar used for husking maize. Rice is eaten boiled in the Brazilian fashion or boiled rice is made into cakes and baked. Sometimes rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. [262] [252]

[p. 26-A]

[Banana] Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[P. 44 - A]

although they no longer perform them. As one 535
would expect, the ceremonial season opened at 527
harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, [178]
enabling the people to remain in their villages.
The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome [262]
change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots,
fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to
the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize [243]
was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*.
This masked dance was organized by one of the
moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took
place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank [554]
the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the 527
Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, 526
selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [273] by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [156] know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262] ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [189] ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133] which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and [312] even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361] the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177]
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 352
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Banana] Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P. 27-A]

[Bamana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *verí* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Banana] Village]

pole is attached which, when drawn around in a circle, turns the three cylinders. Although two or three men can turn the cylinders, a horse is customarily hitched to the pole. 257

While the cylinders are turning, a man forces pieces of cane between the cylinders where the juice is expelled and later drips into cans or wooden buckets below. The juice is known as "garapa" and is drunk fresh from the machine, the usual custom being to drink it through the teeth to keep out the dirt. To prepare sirup, or "rapadura," the juice is boiled over a fire in flat iron basins about 4 feet in diameter. The first product obtained is sirup, *mopó*, which is widely used domestically and is also sold. With further boiling, "rapadura," or brown ungranulated sugar, is obtained. This sugar is pressed into approximately 1-kilo blocks and is used as candy or for sweetening tea, coffee, and other foods. When the boiled juice is permitted to settle and the water to evaporate, black granulated raw sugar is obtained. The Terena customarily produce only sirup and ungranulated brown sugar. [272]

Maize.—As a food crop maize is definitely secondary to manioc. The Terena appear to grow a primitive type of maize having a long slender ear with yellow kernels. The other two types, one a short ear with yellow kernels and the other with reddish kernels, appear to be varieties developed by the Brazilians. Maize is planted in September and harvested in April. Usually it is planted in rows, although it is often found growing irregularly in the fields. Much of the crop is used green, the ears being boiled or roasted before a fire. Coarsely ground maize is used for making a thin gruel, *chomoiú*, a porridge called *yukuí*, or corn cakes known as *shipa*. After an ear of corn is husked, the kernels are removed and roughly ground in a wooden mortar. The coarse meal is then winnowed after which it is ready for use. 243 243 252

Sweetpotatoes.—The Terena grow three main types of sweetpotato: a yellow variety, a white variety, and a purple variety. The cuttings are set out in September and are ready for use in March and April. Sweetpotatoes are eaten boiled or baked. The Terena still bake sweetpotatoes in the old way. First a hole is dug in the ground and filled with firewood and lighted. When the fire has burned down to coals, the sweetpotatoes 244 252

[P. 25 - B]

[Banana] Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P. 27-A]

months later, depending upon the type and the 243
conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted [252]
before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes
called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also pre- [273]
pared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize
were also dried and stored in the house to be [251]
later crushed in a mortar and used for making
porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the 244
Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc [262]
was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut 244
up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, 252
had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The [412]
pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was 244
a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on [252]
hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the 262
staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

[Chaco Period]

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hevó koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moisty chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [293]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 177 585 [178]

[p. 40-A]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáako* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims [787]
he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789]
with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776]
spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273]
did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

796 /52 cont. / [Traditional Culture]
182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
[114] festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[222] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
[223] all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on:
"Some sew glass beads on
[301] pieces of striped cotton cloth,
[302] others cut and lay out the red
feathers with which they make
ornaments for the head; yet
others sketch on their husbands'
bodies delicate paintings, when
they do not do this themselves."
(1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal
relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained
among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only
moment when the local groups manage to gather together all
(or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today
coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather
the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/108 cont./

798
829
[273]

thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Be-livers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

[212]

[792]

771
128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[829] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[439] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/407 cont./
585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
● 273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[527] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad. 434 463 489 494

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [794]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and
repairs harness for people in the village and for [282]
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [797]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *pánana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether 284
the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for 415
making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimaké*.

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn 283
or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air.

Although the Terena no longer remember the 286
form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type [178]
used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loin- [291]
cloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts.

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water 323
jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black [386]
color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in [532]
the forms of animals and birds.

Fire, *duíku*, was made by rotating a pointed 372
stick between the palms of the hands, one end of

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *ponana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimaké*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *kopác*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

[Bananal Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] 286 [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[829] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *cuiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *veri* and large bags, *nimaki*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopée*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 352 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yuki* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] 286 [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

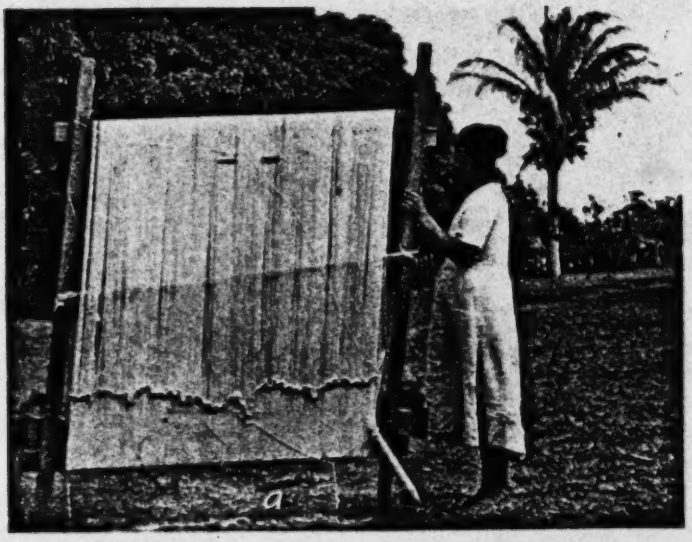
For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

286
291



342
417

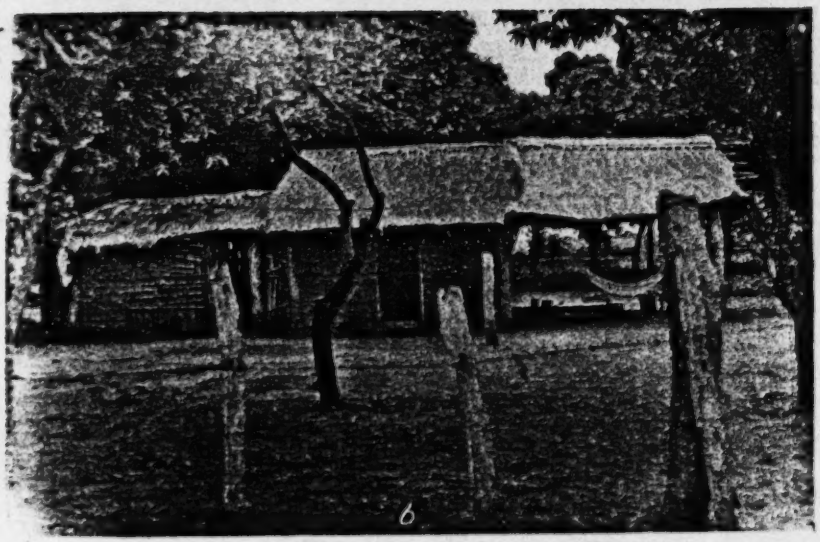


PLATE 5.—Economic life of the Terena. a, Women with loom. b, Adobe house with cylindrical shed.

[P. 77]

[End Plate 5]

G /31 cont./
M 175 648 [20] their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--
M 565 648 175 or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko.
"Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights
over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques
and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our
G M 175 648 431 brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

34. Idem:267.

R [288] offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their
servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake
of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a
cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
M [565] the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not
[574] offered such presents, even though they are provided with food
during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends
and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 648 To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in
the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand
the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the
17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
G [439] their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed
knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could
supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 648 Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max
Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák, (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

/68 cont./

H 175 648 G 175 177 [D92]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B G 464

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
295

make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees. They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
231
463

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
426

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

312 /406 cont. / Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[585] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve*.
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *veri* and large bags, *nimaké*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] 286 [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291 ●
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young chil- [854]
dren are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[P. 23-B]

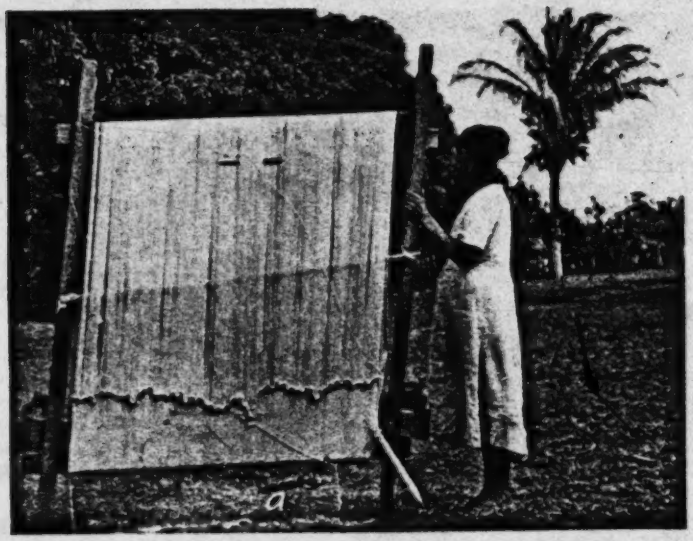
361

231
492
291

PLATE 1.—Views of Bananal Village (Terena). a, Post buildings and main street. b, A Terena guide.

[End Plate 1]
[P. 73]

286
291



342
419

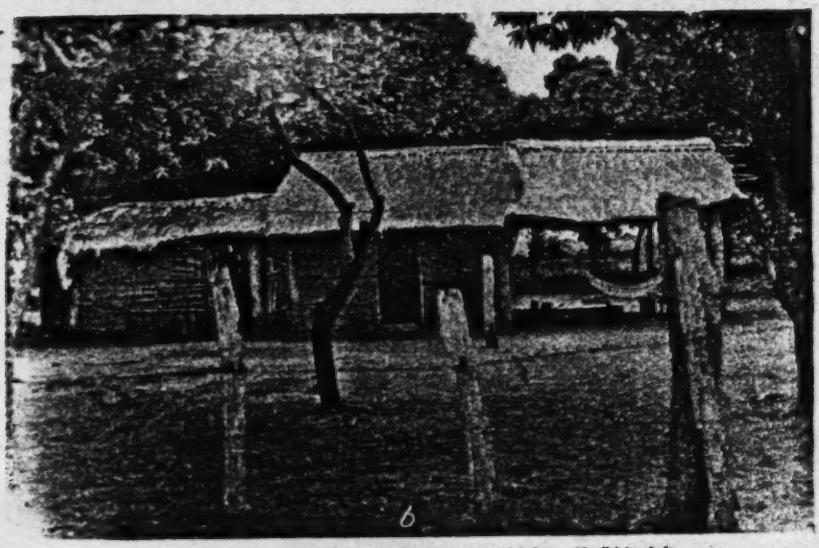


PLATE 5.—Economic life of the Terena. a, Women with loom. b, Adobe house with reflecting shade.

[P. 77]

[End Plate 5]

142
291

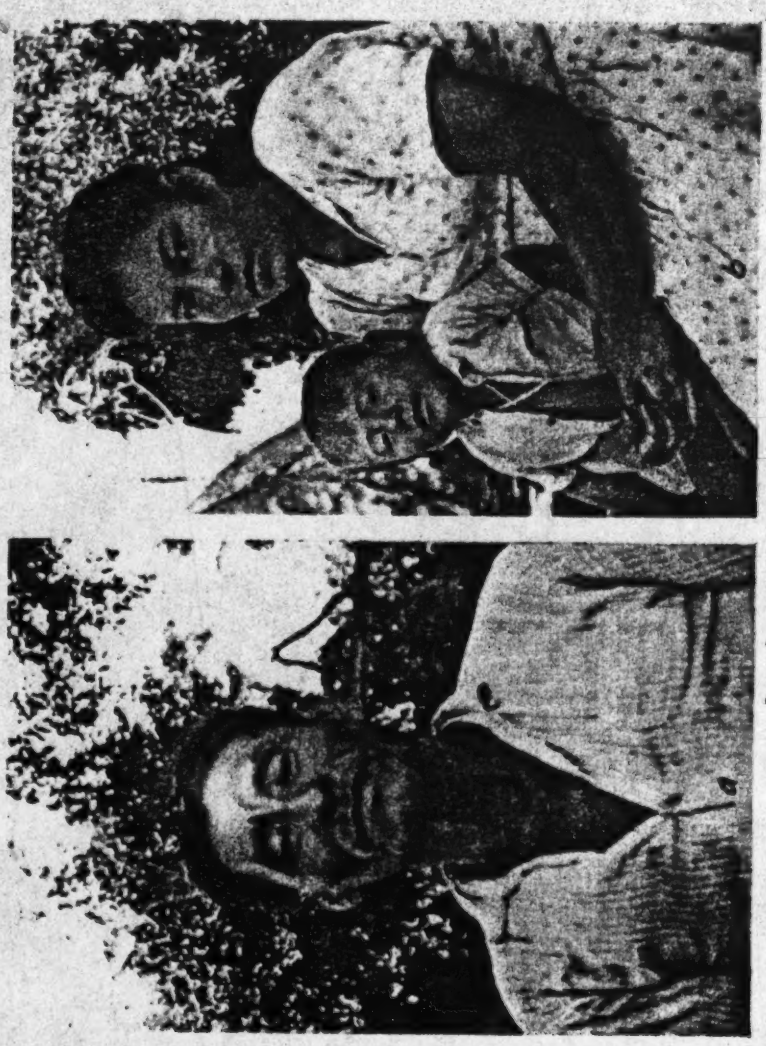


PLATE 6.—Terena physical types. a, Man. b, Woman and child.

[End Plate 6]

[p. 78]

142
29
302

PLATE 7.—Terena physical types. a, Girl b, Old woman. c, Young boy. d, Man and boy.

[End Plate 7]

[p. 79]

3:Oliveira--46a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

291
534
535

Parade of the "Bate-Pau" (Kohixoti-Kipahê) dancers in the aldea streets, with the fife and drum in front. (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--126a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

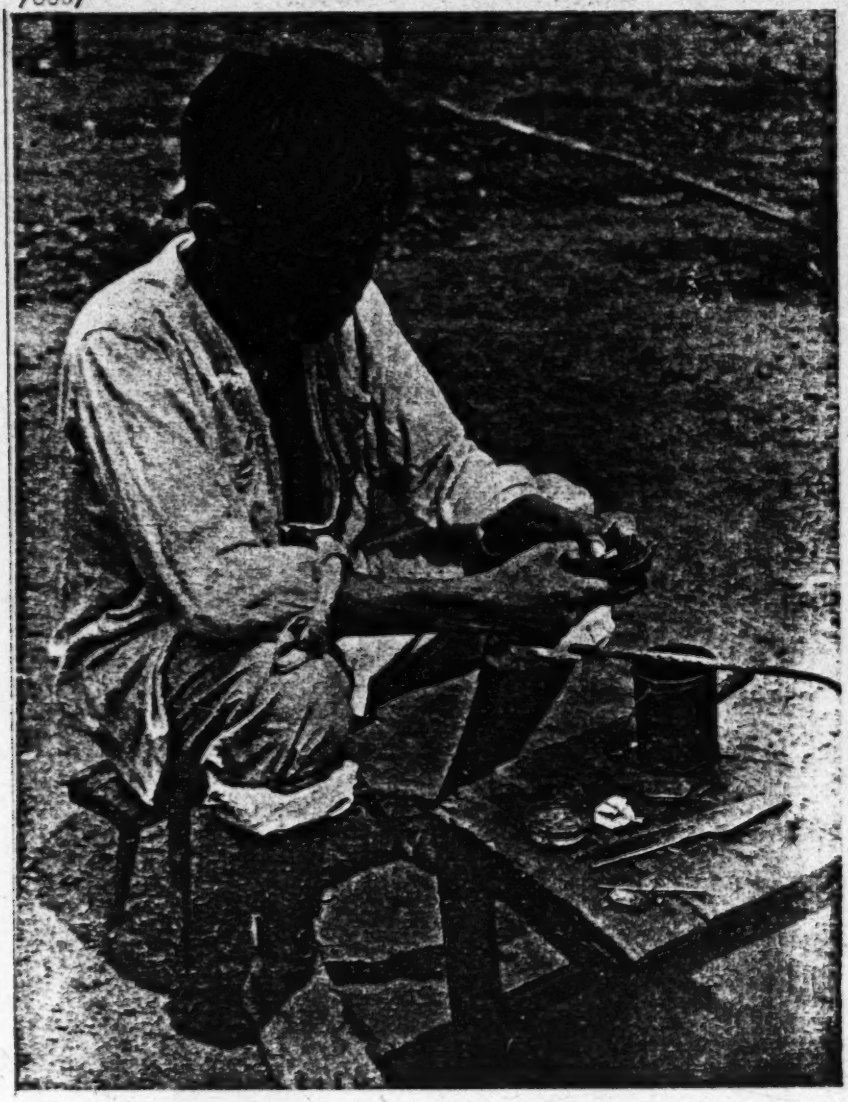
/88a/

142
291
302
294
352

Terêna girl working on her trousseau. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

3:Oliveira--126b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/
142
291
302
326
413
352



Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

3:Oliveira--151a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104a/

142
291
301
302
516
152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

3:Oliveira--151b E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104b/

142
291
302
854

Young Terêna woman with her child. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

3:Oliveira--163a E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/112a/

142
291
302

Old Terêna of Cachoeirinha. (1957)

3:Oliveira--163b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Kinikinau
/112b/
137
142
291
302

Kinikináu survívor of the "Paraiso" local group, now living in Cachoeirinha. (1958)

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
797 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[821] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
797 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
771 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

● 291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
432 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.*
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycurú. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] 286 [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waheresháne*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 281
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. [562]
The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [554]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the war- 554
rior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all cere- [534]
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [237]
feathers.

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 783 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

[Chaco Period]

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 881 622 This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's father and in the presence of all the members of 565 the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied [292] the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages between their children while the children were still 584 young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, was rather an elaborate performance. [567] On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585 ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's parents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóys eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was already seated. 585 The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

[p. 39-B]

[Chaco Period]

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hevé koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [273]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 197 585 [198]

[p. 40-A]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took 756
the form of a snake, later making it disappear 796
into his mouth; or he would take a small plant 789
from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part 796
of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans with- 756
drew to appear again dressed in red mantles called [292]
haráramototi. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a 756
position of extraordinary prestige. This high 554
status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with 756
a Christian community for over a century and [197]
Protestant missionaries have been active in Ba- [797]
nanal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú 756
for instance, explained that he learned his shaman- 775
ism from his father who was also a shaman. He [789]
said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

[P.45-A]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

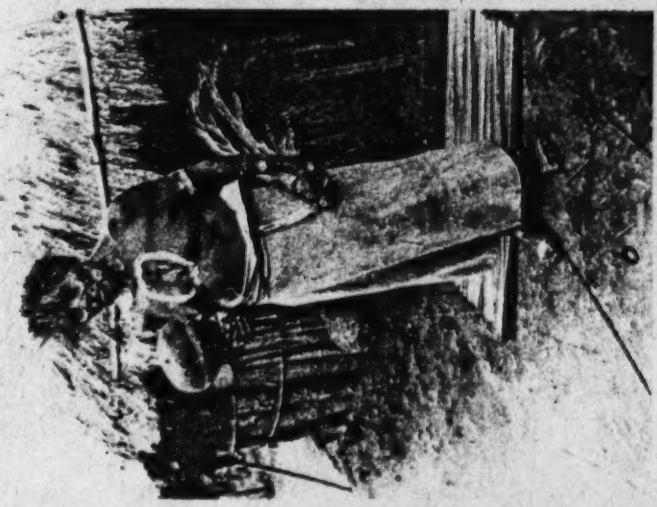
The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

756
292
302
534
293



535
301
292

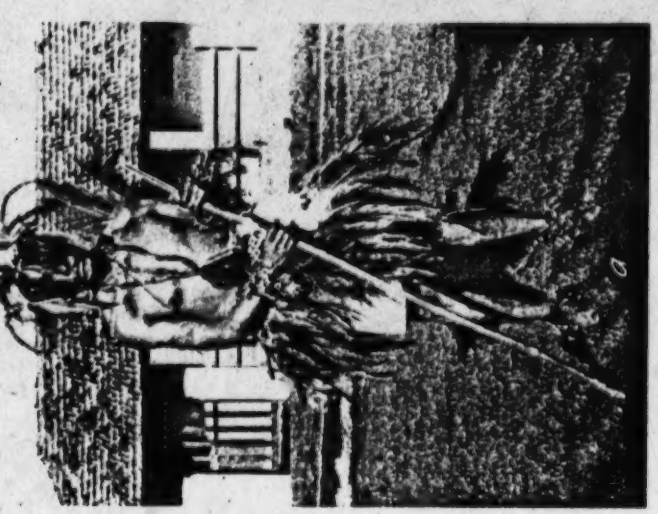
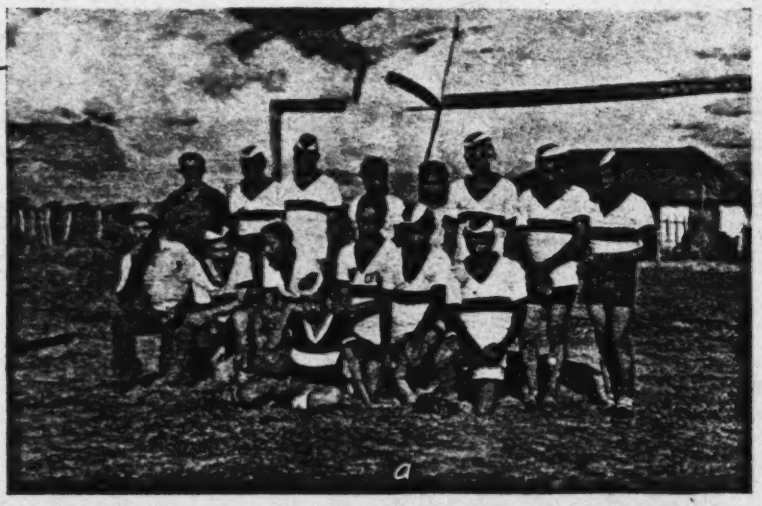


PLATE 8.—Terena dance and drums. a, "Bate-pau" dance dressed in clay leathers. b, Drums with half-footed (rattle) and 12-pole (clay leather head).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

526
292



541

PLATE 11.—Terena sports. a, Football game. b, A crowd gathered for a home run.

[p. 83]

[End Plate 11]

3:Oliveira--103b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layâna

/72a/
142
292
301
302
756

Gonçalo, a Layâna survivor and the most highly regarded Koixomuneti in Cachoeirinha. (1955)

3:Oliveira--103c E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layana

/72b/
292
301
534
756

Gonçalo at "work." (1955)

3:Oliveira--196a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136a/

142
292
301
302
756
*177

Young Terêna, Koixomuneti apprentice, wearing around his neck an image of the "Sacred Heart." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.*
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

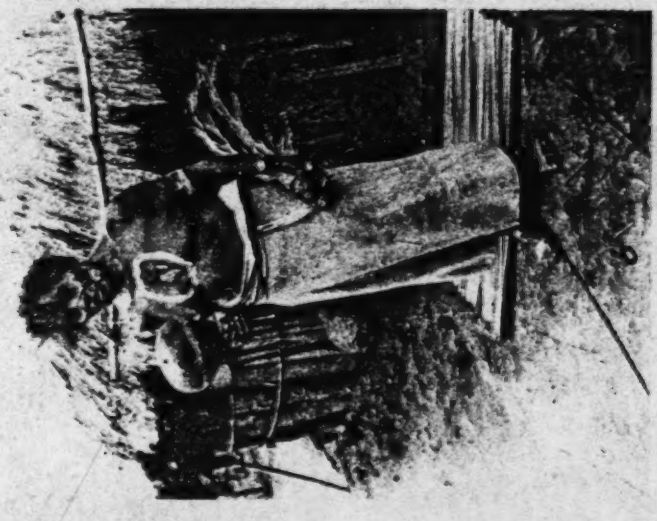
Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

1756
292
302
534
293



535
301
292

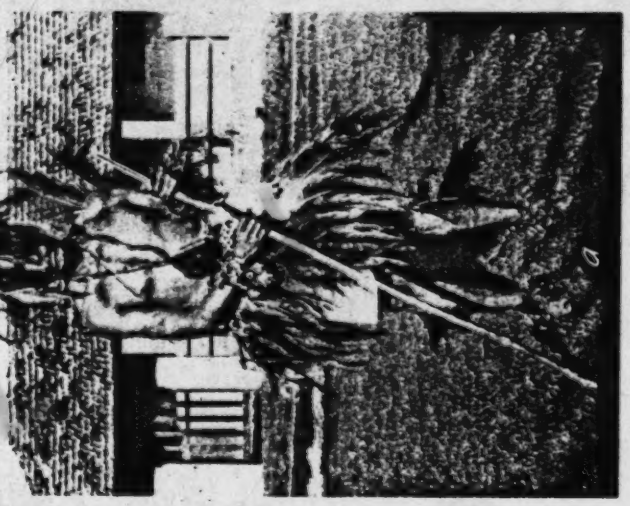


PLATE 8.—Terena dancer and chanter. a, "Bate-pau" dancer dressed in rhea feathers. A, Shaman with half Kadu (rattle) and Kyuk (rhea feather baton).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

3:Oliveira--126a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88a/

142
291
302
294
352

Terêna girl working on her trousseau. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[829] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young children are carried straddling the mother's hip. [854]

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

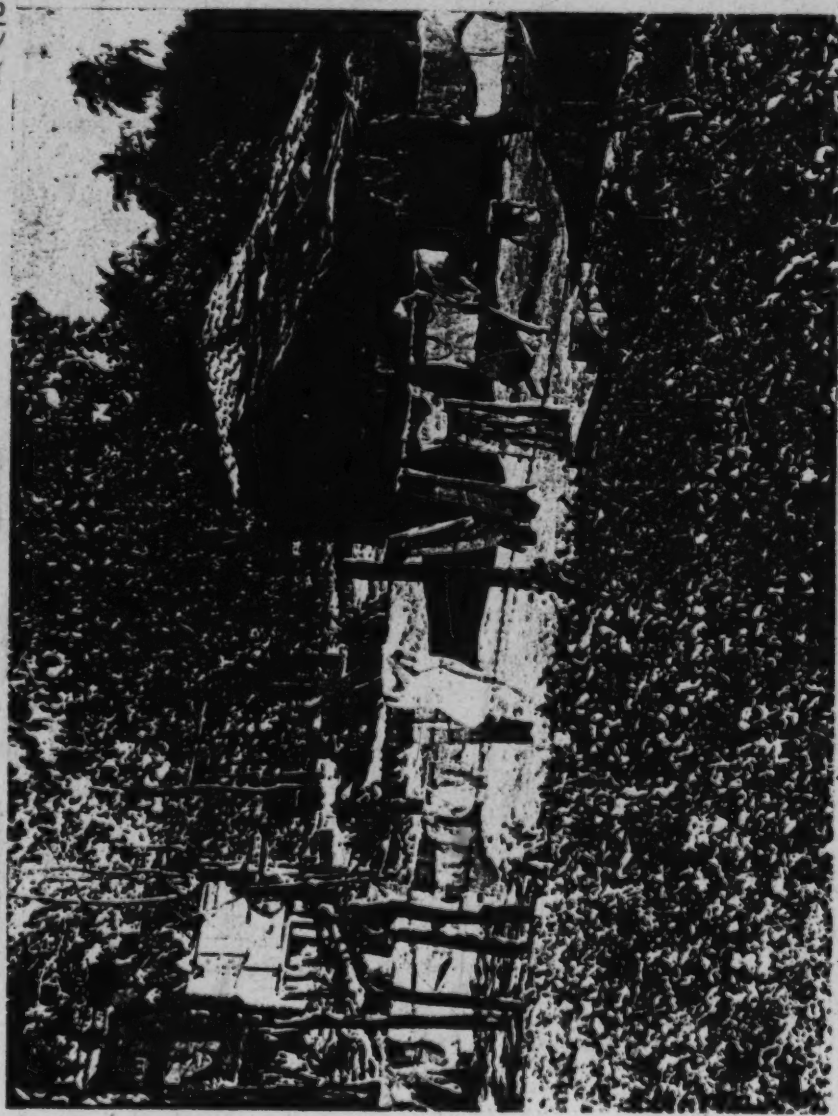
The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

3:Oliveira--196b E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136b/

342
351
296



Terêna "favela" in Aquidauana. (1958)

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve*.
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young children are carried straddling the mother's hip. [854]

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

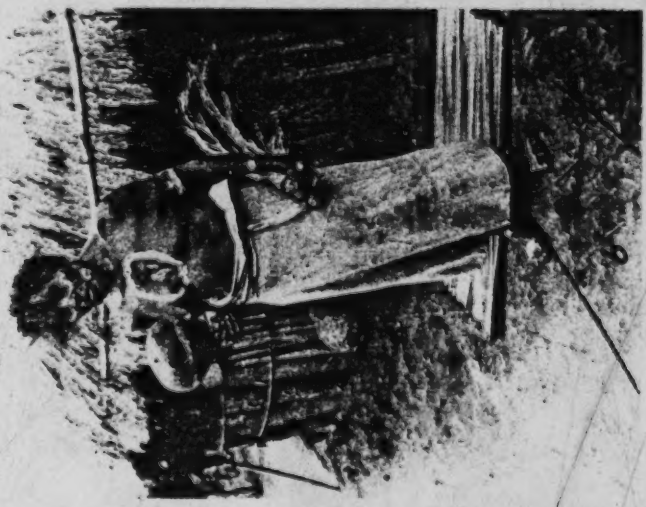
AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[P. 23-B]

1756
292
302
534
293



535
301
292

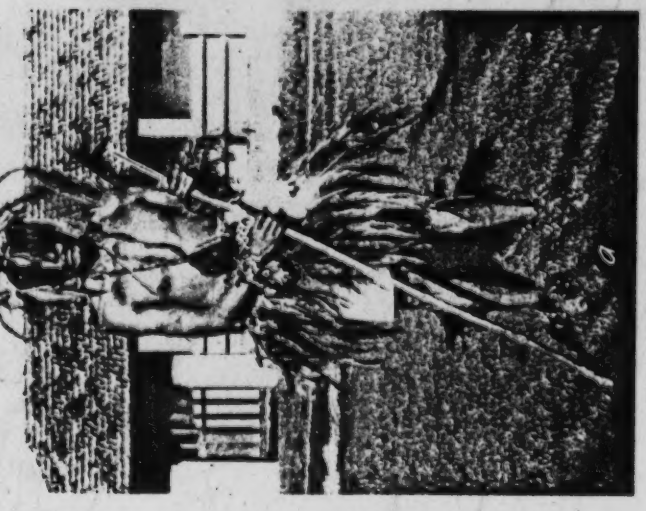


PLATE 8.—Terena dancer and dancers. a, "Baile-pau" dancer dressed in river bamboo. b, Dancers with half-banks (rattle) and kiyuto (river bamboo basket).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

3:Oliveira--46b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

142
301
535

Terêna dancers dressed and adorned for the "Bate-Pau."
(Cachoeirinha, 1955)

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
[114] festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[222] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
[223] all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[301]
[302]

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

3:Oliveira--103 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layâna

/72a/
142
292
301
302
756

Gonçalo, a Layâna survivor and the most highly regarded Koixomuneti in Cachoeirinha. (1955)

3:Oliveira--103c E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layana
172b/
292
301
534
756

Gonçalo at "work." (1955)

3:Oliveira--151a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104a/

142
291
301
302
516
152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

3:Oliveira--196a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136a/

142
292
● 301
302
756
*177

Young Terêna, Koixomuneti apprentice, wearing around his neck an image of the "Sacred Heart." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SH4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PERFORATION OF THE LIPS AND EARS OF THE SAVAGES.

A 301 [304] THE Abipones, like all the other American savages, used formerly to pierce their lower lip with a hot iron, or a sharp reed. Into the hole some insert a reed and others a small tube of bone, glass, gum, or yellow brass; an ornament allowed only to the men when they are seven years old, never to the women. This custom M has long since been abolished amongst the later G Abipones, but is still continued by the Gu- Gu ranies who inhabit the woods, by the Mbayas, P Guanas, and Payaguas. These people think 301 themselves most elegantly adorned when they [304] have a brass pipe a span long, and about the thickness of a goose's quill, hanging from the lip to the breast. But this imaginary ornament renders them very formidable to European strangers; for they are of great height, their bodies are painted with juices of various colours, and their hair stained of a blood red; the wing of a vulture is stuck in one of their ears, and strings of glass beads hung round their neck, arms, knees and legs; thus accoutred they walk the

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve*.
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's request to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and [531] soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262] March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young chil- [854]
dren are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the 177
"caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of [412]
food products. In the preparation of the land, the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

616
796
302

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black.

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

565 [582] 622 [292] [562] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers.

616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 603 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 197 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

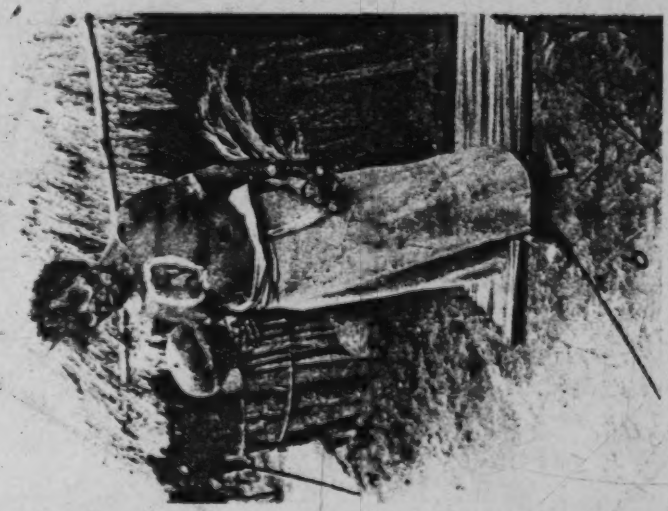
142
29
302

PLATE 7.—Terena physical types. a, Girl. b, Old woman. c, Young boy. d, Man and boy.

[End plate 7]

[p. 79]

756
292
302
534
293



535
301
292

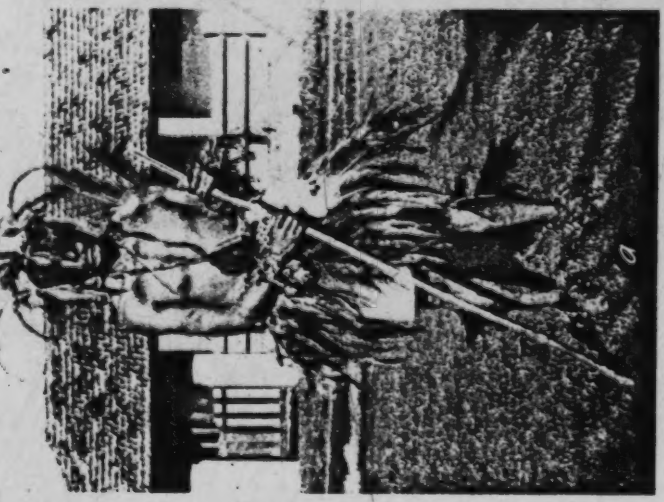


PLATE 8.—Terena dances and dances. a, "Bale-pau" dancer dressed in rites feathers. b, Shaman with half-snake (reptile) and k'pake (rites leather helmet).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

3:Oliveira--ii E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/frontispiece/

302
323

Terêna woman making pottery. (1955)

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182
619 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
571 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
462 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
[114] Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[222] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
[273] all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on:
"Some sew glass beads on
[301] pieces of striped cotton cloth,
[302] others cut and lay out the red
feathers with which they make
ornaments for the head; yet
others sketch on their husbands'
bodies delicate paintings, when
they do not do this themselves."
(1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal
relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained
among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only
moment when the local groups manage to gather together all
(or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today
coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather
the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

3:Oliveira--103 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layâna

/72a/
142
292
301
302
756

Gonçalo, a Layâna survivor and the most highly regarded Koixomuneti in Cachoeirinha. (1955)

3:Oliveira--126a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

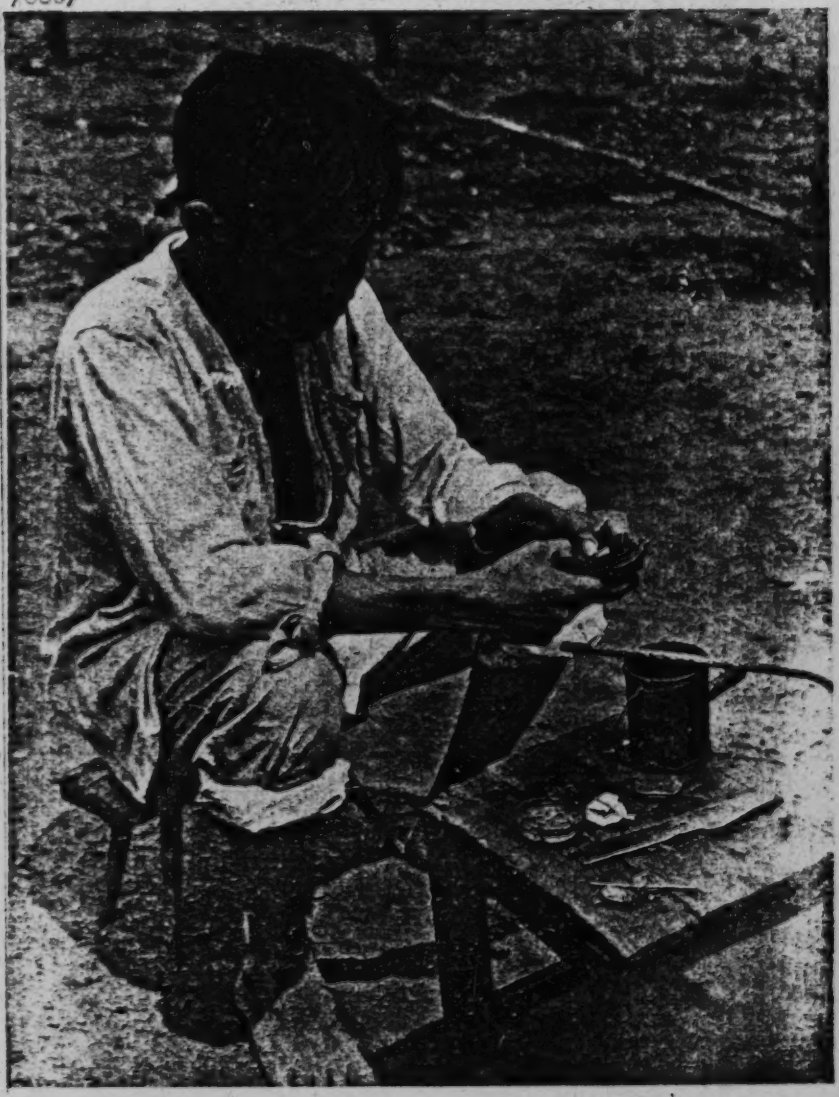
/88a/
142
291
302
294
352

Terêna girl working on her trousseau. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

3:Oliveira--126b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/

142
291
302
326
413
352



Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/104a/

142
291
301
302
516
152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

8:Oliveira--151b E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104b/
142
291
302
854

Young Terena woman with her child. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

5

3:Oliveira--163a E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/112a/

142
291
302

Old Terêna of Cachoeirinha. (1957)

3:Oliveira--163b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7

/112b/

137
142
291
302

Kinikináu survivor of the "Paraiso" local group, now living in Cachoeirinha. (1958)

3:Oliveira--196a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136a/
142
292
301
302
756
*177

Young Terêna, Koixomuneti apprentice, wearing around his neck an image of the "Sacred Heart." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

5:Rohde--1 E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[170] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
● 302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
● [302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont./

766 [622] [428] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 [852] Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 527 [628] [302] latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 [805] Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 [162] [114] [103] [342] Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] [162] [627] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUANA SK7
GUARANI SK4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PERFORATION OF THE LIPS AND EARS OF THE SAVAGES.

A 301 [304] THE Abipones, like all the other American savages, used formerly to pierce their lower lip with a hot iron, or a sharp reed. Into the hole some insert a reed and others a small tube of bone, glass, gum, or yellow brass; an ornament allowed only to the men when they are seven years old, never to the women. This custom M has long since been abolished amongst the later G Abipones, but is still continued by the Gu- Gu ranies who inhabit the woods, by the Mbayas, P Guanas, and Payaguas. These people think 301 themselves most elegantly adorned when they [304] have a brass pipe a span long, and about the thickness of a goose's quill, hanging from the lip to the breast. But this imaginary ornament renders them very formidable to European strangers; for they are of great height, their bodies are painted with juices of various colours, and their hair stained of a blood red; the wing of a vulture is stuck in one of their ears, and strings of glass beads hung round their neck, arms, knees and legs; thus accoutred they walk the

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [968] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

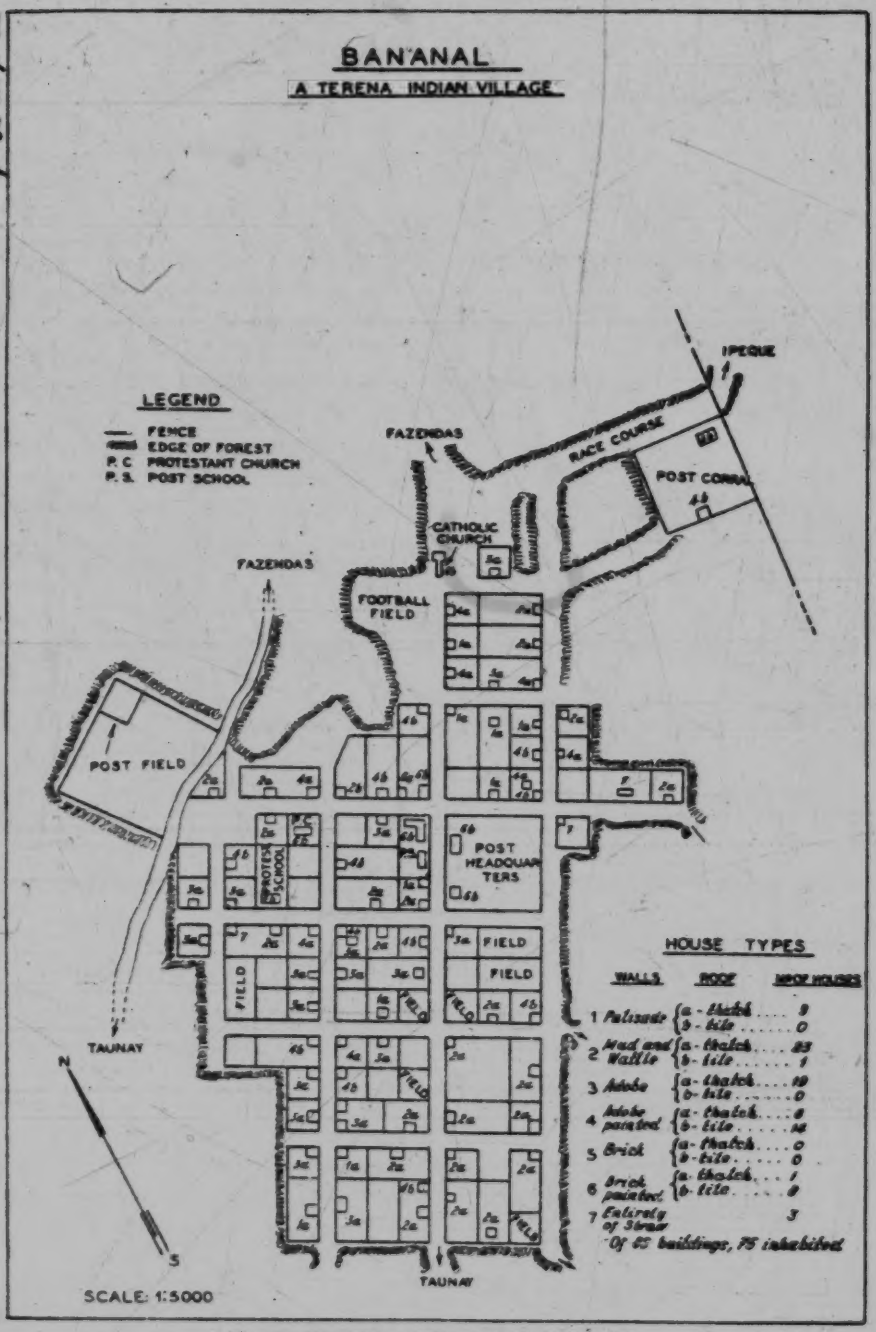
The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

311
342
361
368
102



MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).
(For Ipeque on map, read Ipegue.)

[P. 21]

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [789]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [33]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analysis]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.

[725] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
● 312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which

[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "domestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have

361
312

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and, who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalimá

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

7

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
● 312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

312 /406 cont. / Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
262 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analysis]

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out-
[314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[129] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *veri* and large bags, *nimaké*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 352 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yuki* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

3:Oliveira--ii E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/frontispiece/

302
323

Terêna woman making pottery. (1955)

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[585] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[487] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[529] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

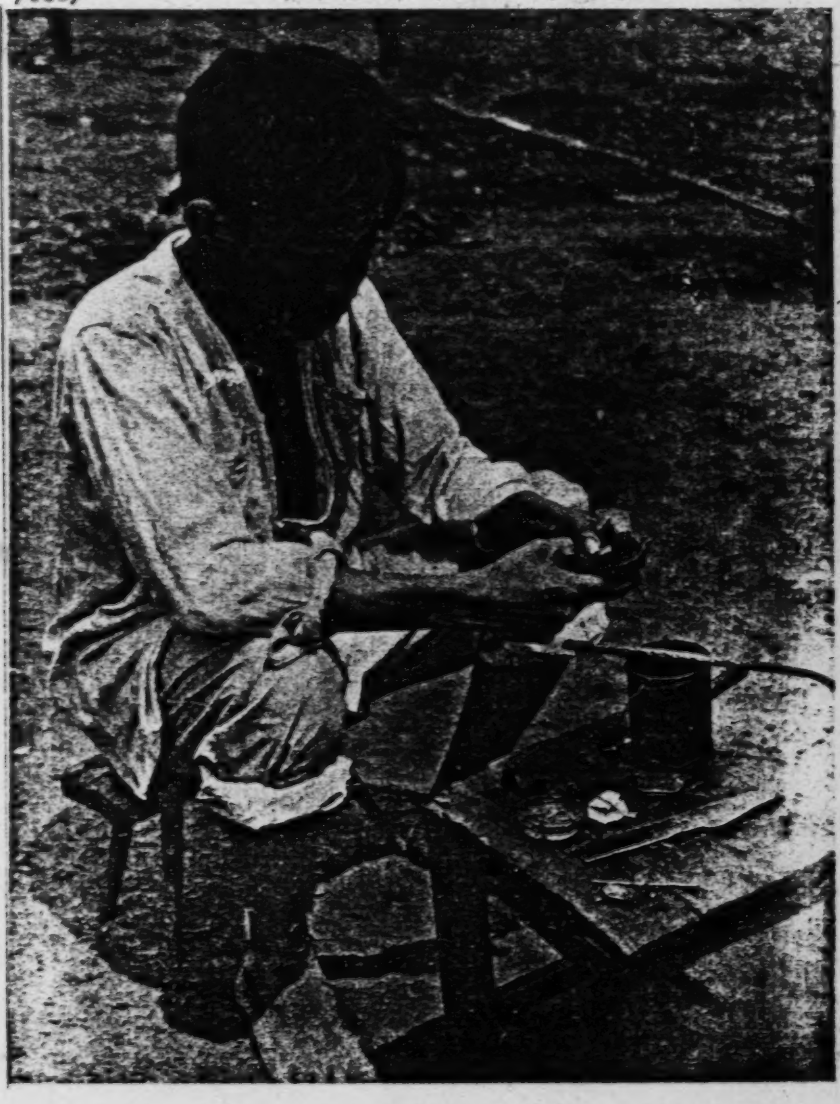
Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

3:Oliveira--126b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/

142
291
302
326
413
352



Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad. 434 463 489 494

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanches Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [825] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador* gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

* [work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-A]

342

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house [178] which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. [824] This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. [354] Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. [352] The food is cooked without any other spices than water. [352] At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. [513] It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [248] [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, [513] which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*. 114 352 513

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. [551] His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. [342] His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. [795] He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. [797] He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikihí*) is 47 years old. [551] He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. [795] He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. [212] He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. [191] He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 [159] years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the [551] Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Por- [212] tuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and [191] he now lives with his six children, who help him [592] cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes [342] covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough [352] platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner [353] are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, [241] and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and [231] a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the [166] Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. [285] Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros [435] apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His [551] native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild [592] and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, [352] and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he [241] grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns [231] about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some [438] milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian [231] farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion. 159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal. 159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench. [342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him. [212] [794] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers. 159 [212] [797]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

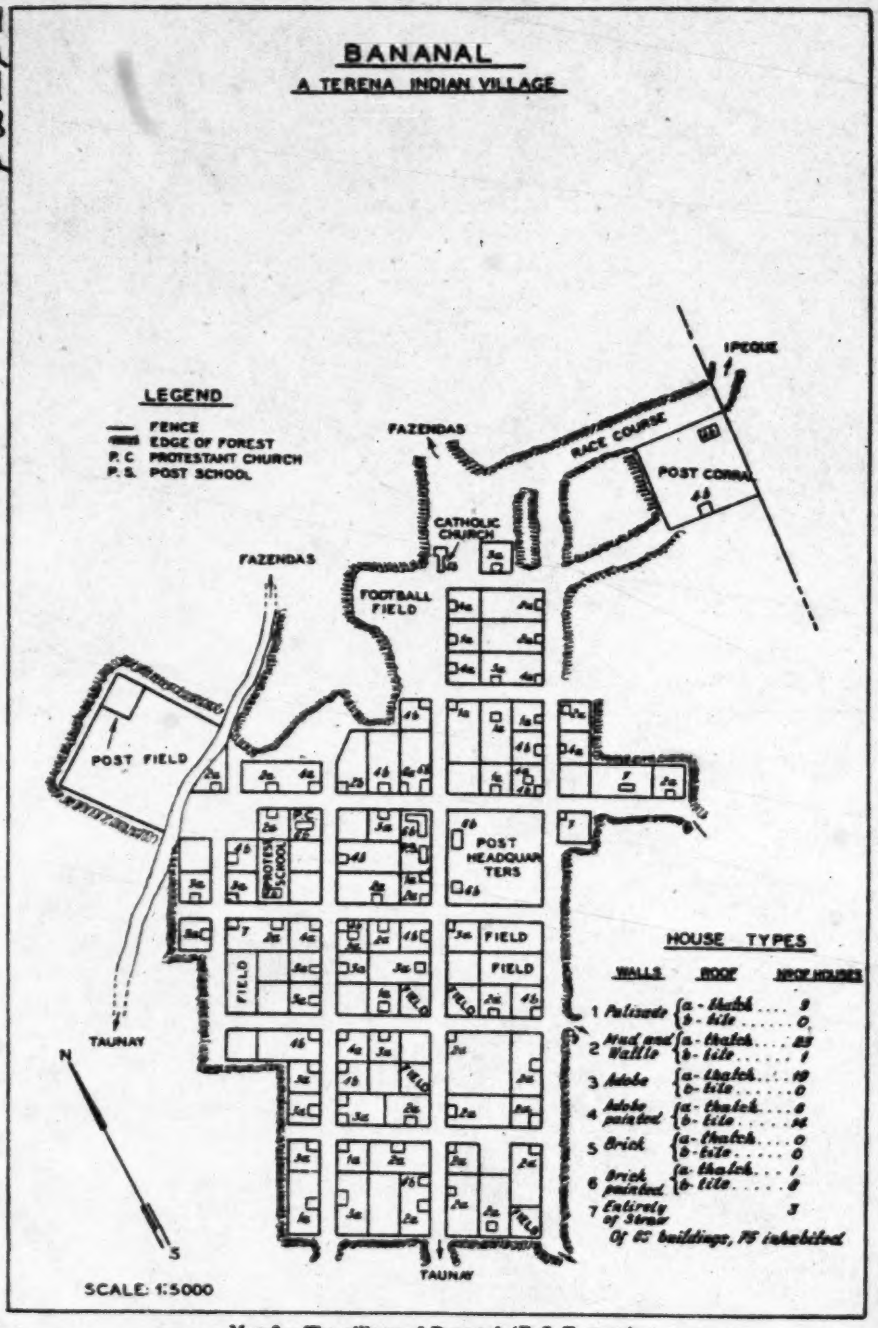
The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

311
342
361
368
102



MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).
(For Ipeque on map, read Ipegue.)

[P. 21]

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177]
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 352
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[P.22-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [797] [342]

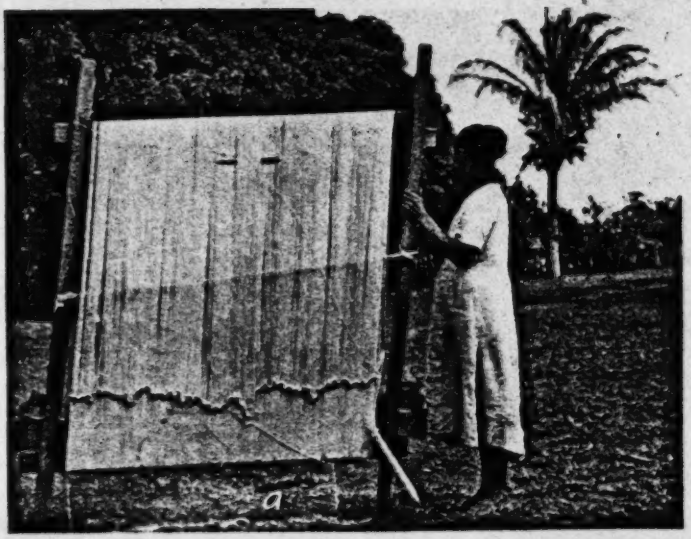
The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

342

PLATE 4.—Terena house types. a, House with stale walls. b, House and cooking shed.

[End Plate 4]
[P. 76]

286
291



342
417

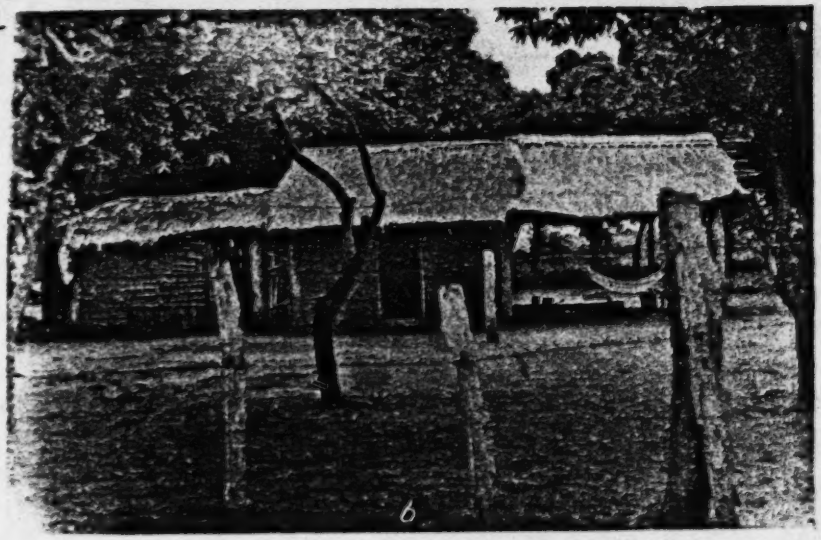


PLATE 5.—Economic life of the Terena. a, Women with loom. b, Adobe house with adjoining shed.

[P. 77]

[End Plate 5]

756
755
342

796
177

PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shaman dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated banner.

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

/71 cont./

175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikú, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikú; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [798] [578] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
● 342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

:Oliveira--196b E-5,1 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136b/

342
351
296

Terêna "favela" in Aquidauana. (1958)

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphêytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
[342] Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[445] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.

162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

the following night the novice was expected to have a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans. During 756 774 787

Once a year the shamans held a public performance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*. 756 796 [787] [346]

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the graveyard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power. [795]

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, he would perform certain miracles before his house to impress the villagers who were gathered around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece 756 796 789

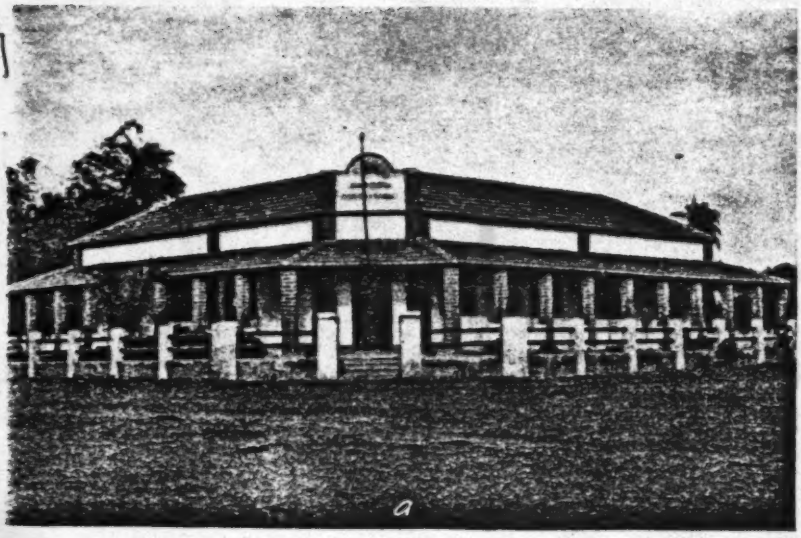
346

PLATE 2.—Terena churches. a. Protestant church. b. Catholic church.

[P. 74]

[End Plate 2]

346
[648]



[997]

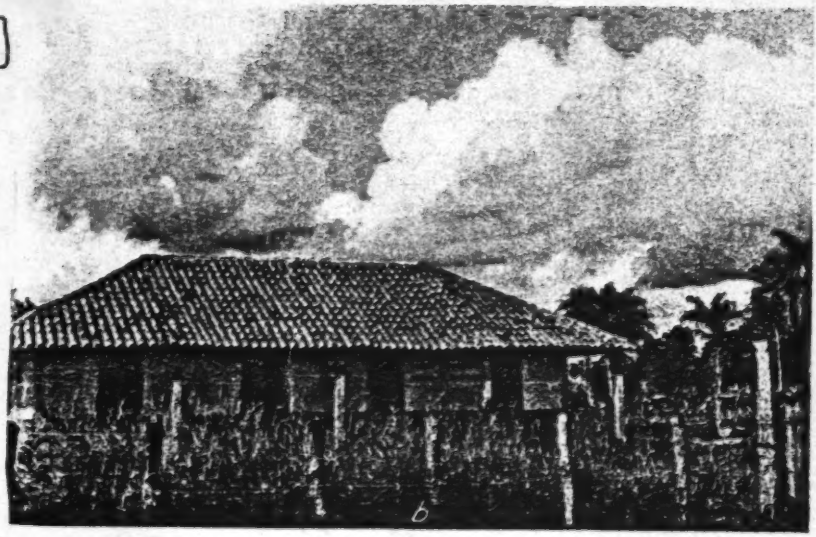


PLATE 3.—Terena schools. a, Government school. b, Protestant mission school.

[P. 75]

[End Plate 3]

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ In all the aldeas, in front
796 of each rancho, they build
[346] a roof with two slopes, of
straw and two meters square
and one meter 80 centimeters
high, supported on bamboos.
Under this roof they place a
bamboo fork from which they
hang a plume of feathers and
a gourd. They go in large
crowds from rancho to rancho,
every half hour, singing and
making noise with the gourd.
On the fourth day, at dawn,
they make a great din with
horns, cry out, and discharge
gun powder; it is an impressive
noise, so impressive that even
the animals take fright, and
accompany the music with
[431] their cries and moans. On
the fifth day a masked figure
appears (the Yuna-kalũ-rco)
with a little bag in his hand,
clowning and requesting
contributions from everyone
for the great banquet which
they will all celebrate.
Accompanied by music, drums,
and flutes, they celebrate
the banquet and dances which
end on the seventh day with
much drinking." (1916:91.)

796 festivities were carried out among the Terêna whom he visited
[114] at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, ~~there was~~ only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."

872
628

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

[341]
[875]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875

they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community, 621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho." [439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians, 439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts. 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community [346] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission, 177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

3:Oliveira--196b E-5,1 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136b/

342
351
296

Terêna "favela" in Aquidauana. (1958)

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure. 342 [178] [824]

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.] [354] [252] [352] [513] [248]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau* has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.] [513]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitiri*. 114 352 513

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [792] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 795 [197]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [583] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159
one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the [352]
other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [353]
His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [405]
the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from
the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241]
outside the village, growing manioc and sugar-
cane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443]
which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438]
rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891]
simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997]
he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592]
a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352]
tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513]
In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405]
and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416]
great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231]
10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he
cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241]
His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494]
and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212]
from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997]
missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191]
little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177]
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	28
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 352
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 352 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yuhú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *vení* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

3:Oliveira--126a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88a/

142
291
302
294
352

Terêna girl working on her trousseau. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

3:Oliveira--126b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/
142
291
302
326
413
352

Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

122 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
585 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All 302
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.*
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

[P.9-A]

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [999] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [352] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513] In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 [159] years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the [551] Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Por- [212] tuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and [191] he now lives with his six children, who help him [592] cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes [342] covered with palm fronds, which also cover the [352] roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner [353] are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, [241] and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and [231] a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the [166] Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. [285] Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros [435] apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His [551] native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild [592] and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, [352] and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he [241] grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns [231] about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some [438] milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian [231] farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days).

353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village.

291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries.

[292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men.

302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen.

291

[P. 23-A]

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[P2] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/90 cont./

341 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[145] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
776 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure. 342 [178] [824]

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.] [354] [252] [352] [513] [248]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau* has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.] [513]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*. 114 352 513

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177]
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 357
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

After resting, the men saunter around the village visiting their relatives and friends and discussing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena. 512 517 [521] 512 513 [825]

During the rainy season when the crops are growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life. 462 [356] [857]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions. 616 [616]

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any village of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial 616 622

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, Nº 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/83 cont./

161 Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W.
166 tells us that this influx is
621 also due to the inroads of
[798] Protestantism, which inci-
[578] dentally is limited to
Bananal alone"--and we
might add: due to the
internal conflicts emerging
from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is
interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a
homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered
separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira
and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in
earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native
Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant
church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house,
as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469). 175 648

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding. [131]

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return. 175 361 [648]

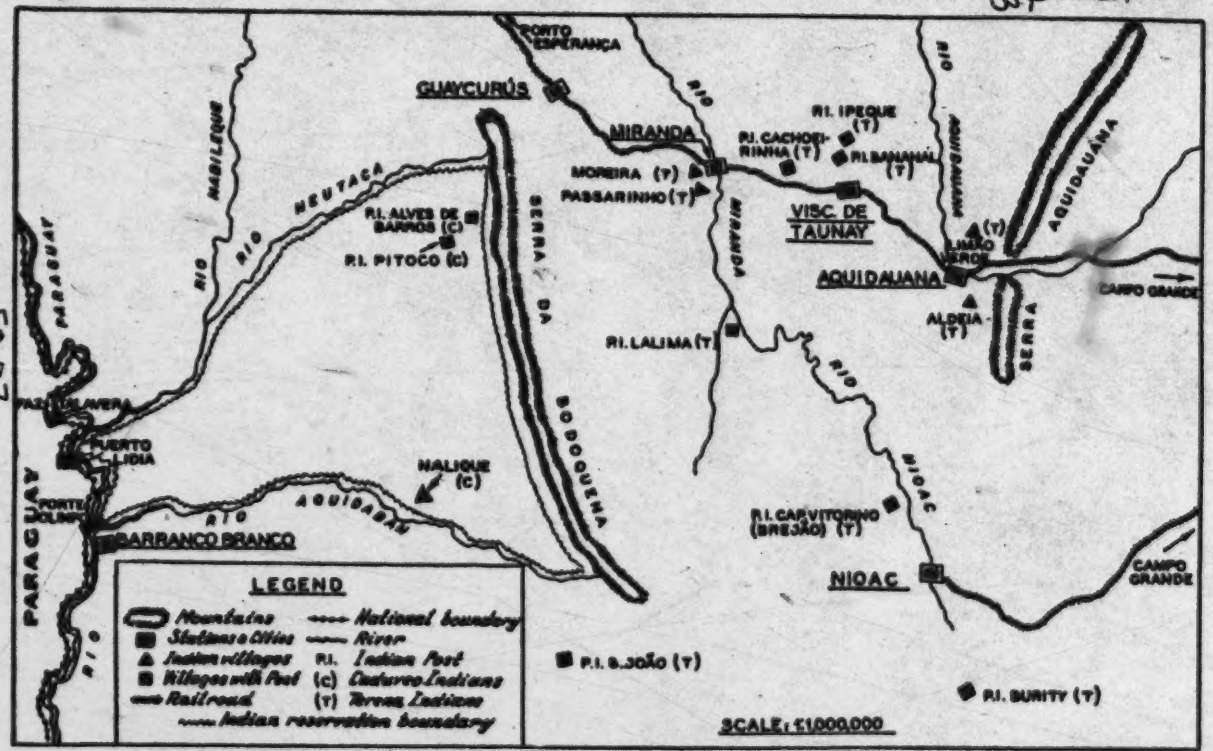
The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo. 175 648

[P. 4-A]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

M 9
103
102
131
361
162
133

[p.7]



MAP 2.—Part of southern Mato Grosso, showing location of Terena and Caduveo villages. The population of the important Terena villages under the control of Posts in 1946 was as follows: Bananal or Taunay, 600; Cachoeirinha, 600; Ipegue, 304; Cap. Vitorino, 182; Surity, 478 (two-thirds of which are Terena); Lalima, 186 (half of which are Terena); São João, 60 (Terena and Kinikinao mixed). The remainder of the Terena are located in independent villages like Limão Verde, Aldeia, Moreira, Passarinho, and in the penal Posts in São Paulo State. The total Terena population is estimated at 5,000. The population of the three Caduveo villages of Alves de Barros, Pitoco, and Halique is not constant, owing to the nomadic habits of the Caduveo. The total population is estimated at 150. (For P. I. Ipegue on map, read P. I. Ipegue.)

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [826] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nõneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

1 A [Work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure. 342 [178] [824]

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.] [354] [252] [352] [513] [248]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau* has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.] [513]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*. 114 352 513

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [1756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [1789]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. [132] Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). [412] The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilomo'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. [412] [516] With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. [177 407] After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. [824] "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.] [181] [516]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women. 592 241 462

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco. 241

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6 243

[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

421 [428] [768]

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

241 476 592 462 [241]

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

476 [224] [241] [602]

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

177 178 648

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[167] [361] 177 241 648

[P. 13-B]

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick-
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders
of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers
upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of
the railroad and the influx of settlers there has
been a gradual increase in the dependence on the
money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact
picture of Terena economy and the relative im-
portance of subsistence farming and dependence
on commercial transactions can be obtained if we
examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[3] today has a popu-
lation of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 162
mately one-third of the Terena population it will 434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena
economic life. Statistics show that families at
this Post average 5 persons, which would give
the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots
outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village
working on ranches, on the railroad as section
hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda,
Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager
of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out
of the Post at all times engaged in wage work.
Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away
from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time
of the year. Men who work for the railroad us-
ually remain away for a year, often longer. If
the man is married he often takes his family
with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[3] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

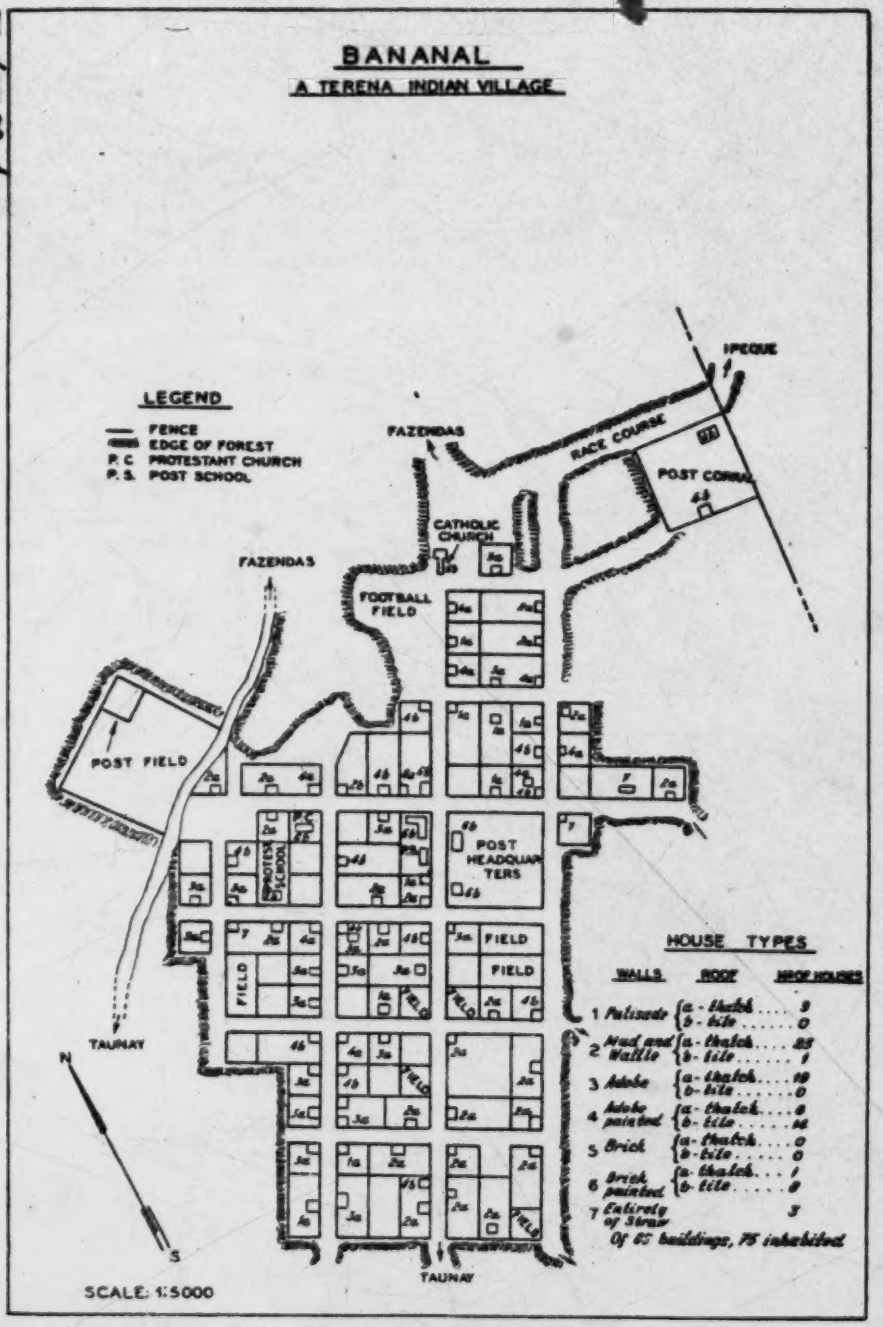
The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analysis]

311
342
361
368
102



MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).
(For Ipegue on map, read Ipegue.)

[P.21]

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177] grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361] the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366] The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177] by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356] whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264] show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 352
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the gen-
eral disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888
undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century.
The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena
on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and
subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *waherehane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

[P. 37-A]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [971] [526]

361

231
492
291

PLATE 1.—Views of Bananal Village (Terena). a, Post buildings and main street. b, A Terena gaucho.

[End Plate 1]
[P. 73]

/13 cont./

114 of Cachoeirinha, because this is one of the communities most
121 representative of the Terêna world, which we selected, of course,
101 after an analysis of the "survey" in question. In 1957, during the months of October and November, we returned to the field and were able to revisit seven of the eleven aldeas previously
[162] studied, including Cachoeirinha. In the following year, in July
[103] and August, we returned to Mato Gross with the aim of studying that portion of the Terêna population that, having left its communities of origin, /14/ lived in cities, such as Campo Grande,
[361] Aquidauana, and Miranda. At this time, we became acquainted with the twelfth Terêna community, known by the name of Aldeinha and situated in a suburban area of the city of Aquidauana.
114 Thus, altogether, we devoted about eight months to field research, divided in such a way as to allow for the preparation of two studies: one on O Processo de Assimilição dos Terêna, as a whole, and another referring specifically to the aldea of Cachoeirinha, set up along the lines of a "community study." As for this latter projected work, we hope to publish it some day, possibly following a new stay in the aldea, when we shall be able to ascertain the results of certain changes (2) that were foreshadowed in 1955

2. In a short communication (1958, b) we had the opportunity to deal at greater length with Cachoeirinha, studying it from a demographic and ecological point of view.

and that became apparent in 1957 and 1958.

114 The present essay is thus chiefly the result of the "survey"
121 referred to above, of the work of historical reconstruction (initiated in the first half of 1955), and of our third trip to the field. The data obtained in Cachoeirinha in the course of the first two trips, which were superior qualitatively and quantitatively to those gathered in the other aldeas, served as elements of comparison and control for the other material, since these last communities

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G C 101 175

/19 cont./

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G 175 [261] [649] [162]

C 161 [361]

G. Ki M 161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

/33 cont./

G
M
175
648
[651]
[431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G
M
175
648
574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M
[562]
[622]

G
M
175
648
361

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

G M 175 648 361 G [62] G M [363]

/34 cont./

fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

G M 175 648 563

The chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

G M 175 648 M 727 G 829

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

3:Oliveira--76 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL 2

159 cont. 1
H
175
167
G
[illegible]

On the right bank of the Miranda, through the years, since its foundation in 1797, there survived only the fort of the same name, surrounded by some aldeas of Guanás, Quiniquinaus, and Guaxis.--In the Vacaria region, the beautiful campos of native forage stretched to the horizon, like a green, softly billowing ocean dotted with small spots of thickets.... These campos were to remain isolated from civilization for many years. At the same time, during the third decade (of the 19th century), on the banks of the Parnaíba and in the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraguay River, the settlement of those vast lands isolated in the heart of Brazil began." (Mário Monteiro de Almeida, op. cit., pp. 227-228.) See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

a
H
175
167
H
233

We believe that only in the mid-19th century, shortly before the Paraguayan war, did the Guaná become conscious of the consequences of this pastoral frontier. Up to then, the bulk of the regional livestock--as we have said--seems to have come from Paraguay. And one might rightfully assume that this wave did not present a favorable demographic index for permanent settlement: the size of the glebes and the extreme mobility of livestock rearing, along with a sparse population, would hardly have presented

/61 cont./

H 175 167 496 162 361

idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

G 175 177 /62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population ((108)

G [101] [361]

108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

G [162]

cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

G [361]

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/64 cont./

175 177 797 had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 177 797 184 [101] Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna communities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

[361]

175 648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

/66 cont./

175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

G /67 cont./
121

Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

G
B
175
648

Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

B
[653]

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

G
[341]

G
[162]

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikináu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

G /67 cont./
B taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even
175 after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the
648 Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members
B of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service.
657 While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the
G Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904,
[361] and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

H
175
648
K
175
177

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

H
[712]
[592]

/68 cont./

H
175
648
G
175
177
[797]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G
162
381
B
423
233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B
G
464

G
241
286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

/170 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/171/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/71 cont./

175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

135. Ibid.

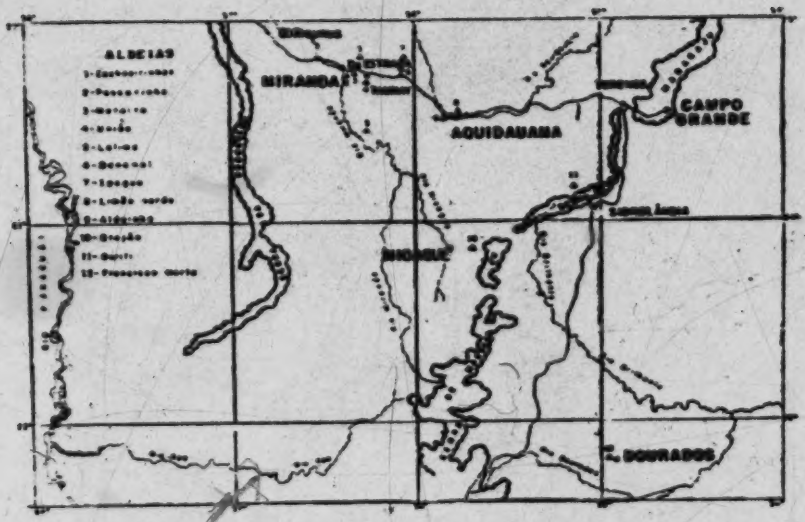
103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikú, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikú; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

/72 cont./

000



Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

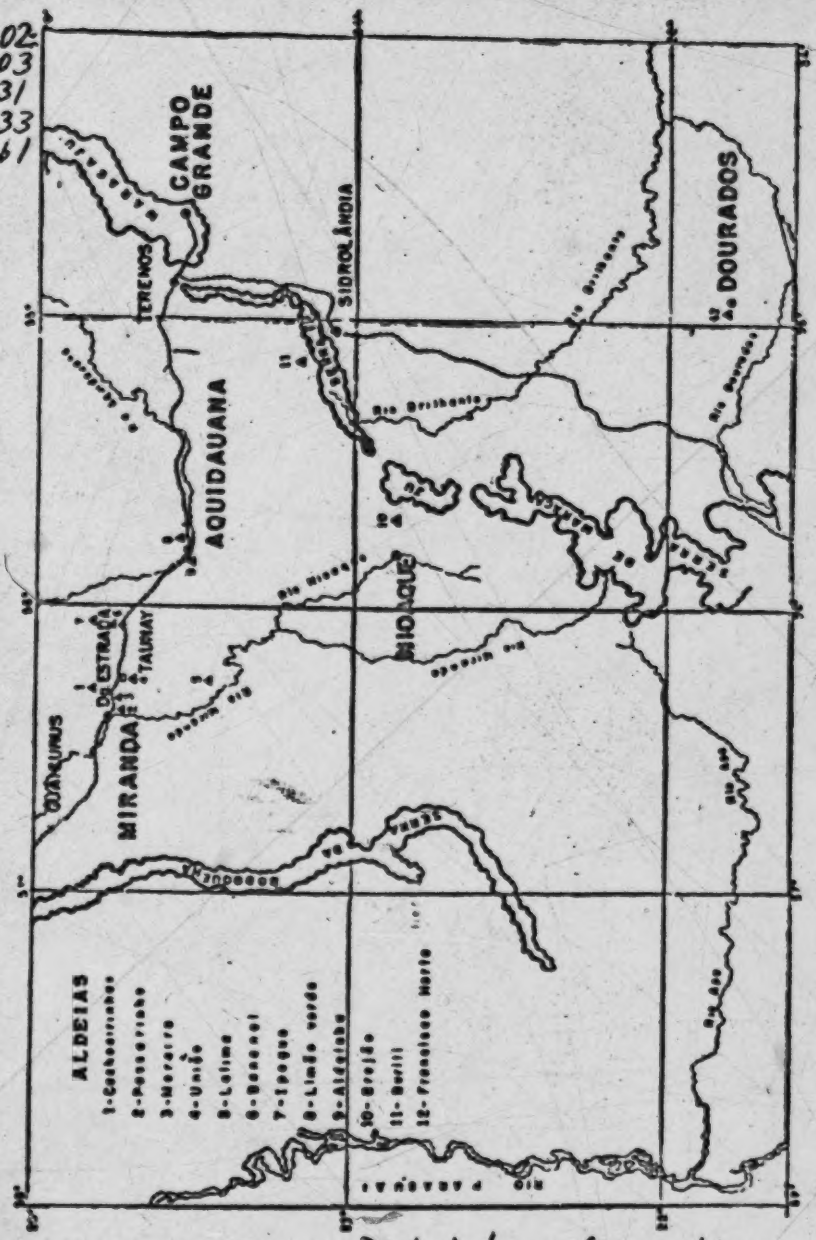
361/166 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no matter in how precarious a fashion. Some of these places were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

361/178 648 [657]

[Text continues on p. 104]

3:Oliveira--103a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

102
103
131
133
361



Map 2. Distribution of the aldeas.

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
[162] communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

797 138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas.

798 The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 439 name and with which a few Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

/159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

● 361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./
361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikináu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved
621 out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
162 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[134] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[361] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[161] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./
Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 621 The first accurate census data available compel us to deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 166 621 [13] 146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [578] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terena. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the
geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy
reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one
in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal
have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem
of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central
nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate
to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue
stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we
find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the
other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the
reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha
and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central
nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected
not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira,
Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The
major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal,
in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to
supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and
Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far
more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/86 cont./

Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
175 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[798] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

● 361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals,
scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates
at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time,
had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju
range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family,
seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea,
[166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The
[648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that
move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due
to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel
Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso.
[162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year
following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among
[166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of
those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of
Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further
[162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather
small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."
872
628
Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited
[341]
[875]
to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

[Buriti]

193 cont. /

175
621
648
423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.
621 It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was
[162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during
[166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range
[648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter);
or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former
175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate,
361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea,
as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[162]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./

464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[361] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[621] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
[162]

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/126 cont./

*177 them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of
369 life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the
[571] city, raise their children there, or build up their families there.
[829] On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in
[464] the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and
[361] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated
[186] in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi-
[571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 In the examination in which we are engaged, with re-
128 spect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna
369 population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the
[181] most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*[177] [563]

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

● [361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihã (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
177 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites
178 since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
170 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootú; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulú; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," ōngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[170] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
[342] Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.

162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
776 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages 136
and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the [231]
art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has [826]
been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild
pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato
and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the [224]
thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the [262]
same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-
footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit,
cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many
are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle 361
surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*.
Villages, which varied in size, were built near
sources of water and cultivable land. In the final
stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were [178]
not very permanent, as the Terena were on the [362]
move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling
place but was also the primary political unit and
the center of ceremonial life. Each household
had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if
these plots were at some distance from the village
temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for
the night. The size and disposition of the houses
gave no indication of the organization of the
Terena into moieties or of the social importance
of the chiefs.

As the Terena no longer remember the type of 342
house which they used in the Chaco, we must
depend upon historical sources. Even historical [127]
sources give us but an indirect description of the
Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná:

> The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

1 [Work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-A]

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Tannay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--ANALYST]

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

797 138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas.

798 The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[526] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177] grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361] the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366] The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177] by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356] whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	28
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264] show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 351 every house has a low platform bed resting on 513 forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[P.22-A]

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[62] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
● 366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[191] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder
233 is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[161] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikinau and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

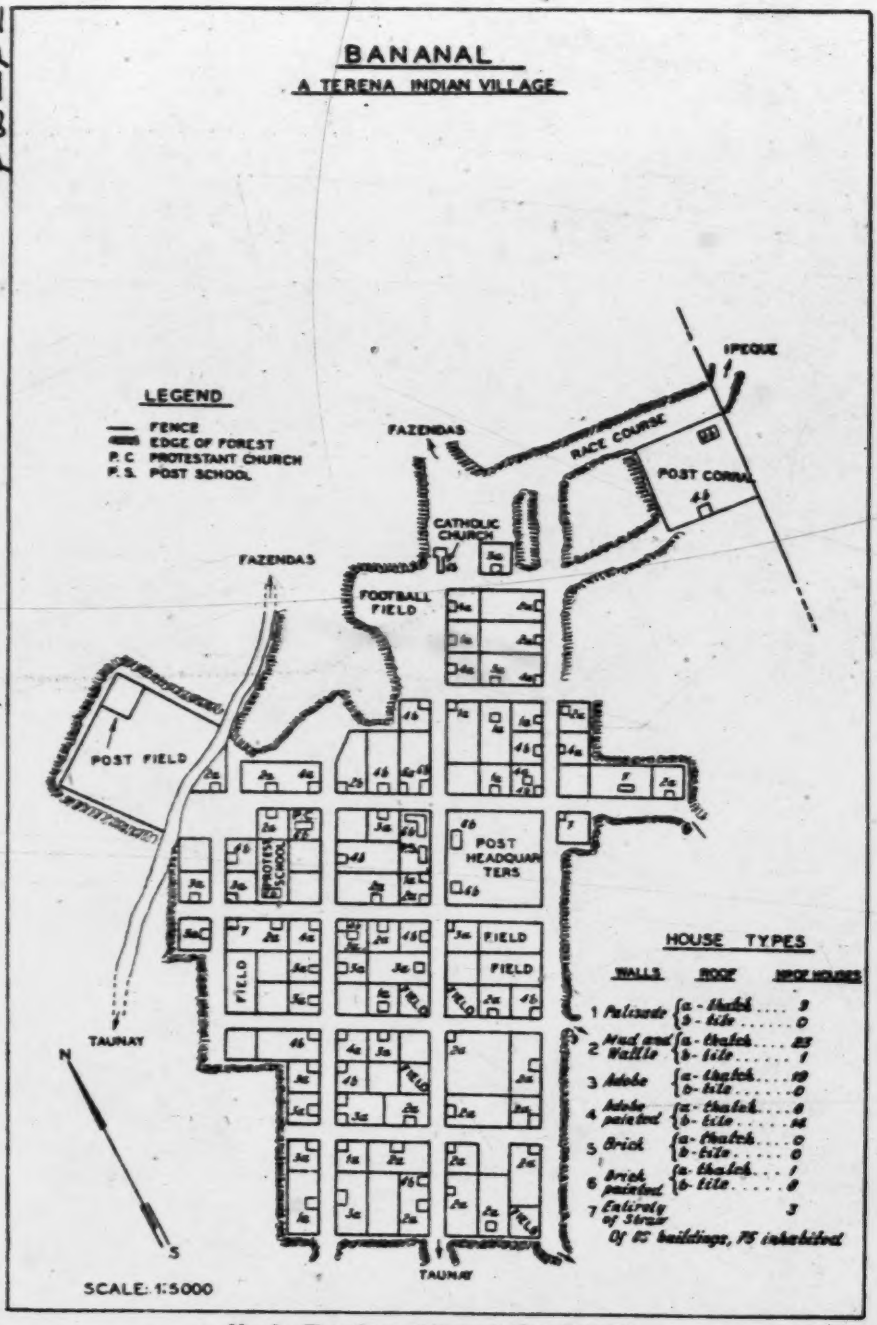
The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analysis]

311
342
361
368
102



MAP 3.—The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay).
(For Ipeque on map, read Ipegue.)

[P. 21]

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas. The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

797

798

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

62/ population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

36/ The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[34] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
36/ the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[36] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
489 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children....This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

/119 cont./

184 It is impossible to exaggerate, on the other hand, the
177 distance existing between the aldea Terêna and those who are
● 369 scattered in the cities or fazendas, when we discuss their positions in the process of assimilation. Both are subjected to the same socio-cultural mechanisms that operate in this process, although the latter tend to react more favorably, especially when they belong to the second or third generation. Incidentally, these mechanisms will be examined in the final chapter of this work. First, however, we shall try to characterize this non-aldea population in order to ascertain whether it is legitimate to take it as a variant of the process of assimilation.

121 The greatest difficulty met with by the ethnologist in
162 working with a population scattered through an area as extensive
369 as that occupied by the detribalized Terêna, (189) concerns

189. The term detribalized designates that Terêna population that is not settled in aldeas and that lives on fazendas and in cities. Although detribalization may refer to a "condition" (as in the present case), it frequently indicates a "process," whenever we are considering a given population that lives independently from the local groups, although it may be connected with them in certain aspects; strictly speaking, the local group or the native community has no direct control and very little indirect control, over this population.

/119 cont./

/121/ of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the
appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the
investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and
Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with
one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view
of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time
available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac,
the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna
families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher
than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families,
comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[62]

190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in
/120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at
least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already men-
tioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how wide-
ly the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we
made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--
that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families,
a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried
out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of
individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which
add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/120 cont./

121 382 individuals organized into 55 families. (191) In order to
162
369
125

191. As for the census of the city, we naturally excluded Aldeinha, whose population was already mentioned in Chapter V. The estimate of the number of Terêna living on fazendas was done on the basis of information supplied by Indians of Aldeinha, who listed the families and, with us, figured out the number of their members.

121 In order to
125 study the urbanized Terêna alone (192)--owing not so much
369

192. The term urbanized refers to that part of the detribalized Terêna population that lives in cities. The same distinction emphasized in Note 189 regarding the dual meaning of the concept, as a "condition" and as a "process," must be extended to urbanization. This second meaning would permit the formulation of a research project aiming to measure the degree of variation between families or generations, according to their greater or lesser incorporation into the patterns of behavior of the city. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958(a).)

/120 cont./

121 to their relatively high numbers, but to their dispersion--we
125 had to rely on sociographic techniques such as the giving of
369 questionnaires and the carrying out of interviews, along previously worked out lines, aside from the use of "life histories" and "case" studies. (193)

[114]
[101]

193. The giving of questionnaires and some of the interviews were carried out by our colleague, Dalton Moreira de Araújo, who accompanied us to the cities, Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, during the second half of June and the first half of July, 1958, as a research assistant.

121 Once the area had been reduced, an investigation was
125 made to find out whether this urbanized population could be
369 regarded as representative of the world of the Terêna living
162 in cities. Through interviews with innumerable Terêna of Campo Grande and Aquidauana, it became evident that these cities were the centers of the largest Terêna concentration, especially the former, with its 16 families or 121 individuals. Thus, in decreasing population order, we have Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, on a "gradient" that expresses the significance of these centers as foci of /121/ attraction. This gradient led us to dispense with Nioac and the smaller settlements along the railroad line, since it showed that there is a correlation between the size of the cities (in area and population) and the number of Terêna Indians who reside in them. This strengthened the objectivity of the data obtained through indirect means about Nioac, according to which that town had a Terêna population equivalent to that of Miranda. The conclusion we reached was that we would be working with more

/121 cont./

121 than 80 per cent of the urbanized Terêna population, or, in
125 absolute figures, with 242 individuals or 36 families. It must
369 be pointed out, however, that among these 242 individuals,
162 not all can be considered "pure" Terêna; these, or rather, the offspring of a Terêna father and mother, do not number more than 120 individuals; the rest are divided in the following way: interethnic mestizos (offspring of interethnic unions) 102, intertribal mestizos (offspring of intertribal unions) 5, "Purutuya" 11 (whites 5, negroes 6), Guaikuru 2, Paraguayans 1, and 1 individual of unidentified ethnic origin. But, on the other hand, it is no less legitimate to deal with all of them as belonging to a single group, since they are all part of the same network of social relations, since the 36 families registered are identified as Terêna by themselves and by their Brazilian neighbors, regardless of the fact that the "head of the house" himself may be a "Purutuya" (usually a caboclo /mestizo/, if not a Negro) or a Paraguayan.

369 A painstaking analysis of the ethnic picture in these
162 three cities shows that the relations between the urban and communal structures (both, of course, structures with an indigenous content) show asymmetrical profiles when compared among themselves in terms of cross-breeding data. While in the aldeas (taking Cachoeirinha as an example) the interethnic mestizos add up to 37.83 per cent and the intertribal mestizos to 62.16 per cent, thus presenting a higher index of intertribal mestizos, in the cities we have the reverse, if we take the total of the urbanized mestizo population: 95.32 per cent of interethnic mestizos and 4.67 per cent of intertribal mestizos, i.e., an obvious majority of interethnic mestizos. (194)

194. These percentages obviously do not indicate the number of mestizos (a) or (b) in relation to those of other ethnic origins.

/121 cont./

369
162

As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next
162 chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the
882 preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population,
167 as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that
167 this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding
369 the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that
621 they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[161] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/124 cont./

369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

[128]

369 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to re-
619 main faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to
177 their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification,
369 along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national
[561] structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the
[619] assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

/124 cont./

*177 For now, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out certain
●369 regularities that emerge from the observation of the Terêna contingent born in the cities.

*177 The regularities observed may be synthesized in the
369 following proposition: Assimilation is more viable, progressively,
184 beginning with the generations subsequent to the one that settled in the cities. And as a corollary, we have then: Those families that were organized (or formed) in the aldeas and, later, moved to the cities, are less likely to see their members assimilated into /125/ the local Brazilian society, than those families that were formed on fazendas or in the cities themselves. Whereas the former maintain greater stability and remain more closely connected to the communities from which they came or where they were born, the latter are more likely to enter the process of disorganization, permitting greater marginalization of their members, especially those of the younger generations, opening the way to "desegregation" and, as a result, facilitating
121 assimilation. The reader must already have seen, at this point, that we are using a special scheme of references, with the object of making intelligible a process so difficult to verify empirically. This scheme, recently developed by Daniel Glaser, includes the situations of "segregated," "marginal," "desegregated," and "assimilated," as sociological categories arranged in a "continuum," whereby the dynamics of ethnic identification can be understood. (196) Glaser's basic hypothesis

196. "Continuum:" "segregating" ↔ "marginal" ↔ "desegregating" ↔ "assimilated." (1958: 33.) /Cited in English./

is that "the change of the pattern of identification of a person,

/125 cont./

*177 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of
● 369 this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginali-
156 zation (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual,
829 ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group,
etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based
on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual
begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is
attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing
his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as
[124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from
[123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior
of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos
and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun
[121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme,
regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it
permits a more practical view of the problem of individual
assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically
congruent categories.

*177 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who
369 live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process
of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a
processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent
integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for
assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself
is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population
to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically
and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced
from the detailed examination of the relations between the
Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the
representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso.
[167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave
[571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Where-
[829] as on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities
they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system
of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/126 cont./

*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

[361] [186] [571]

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

/121 /128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/129 cont. /

better recreation, and better education for their children. This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience, since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences we had with the aldea population, especially with the Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[44]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[132] in Campo Grande, he had
[69] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/131 cont./

life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164ff. (Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
● 369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

/133 cont./

*177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
562 indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

[571]

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. [illegible] present, with the probable exception of the population that [illegible]all resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
369 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/138 cont./

*177 666 369 829 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way) and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" [154] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[159]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

G /141 cont./

*177 463 565 [124] [369] [167] rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself, such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

G [464] [167]

Divergent Factors

G *177 563 369 B 563 G [191] 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is concerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G [142]

G 563 184 207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G
563
184

into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

G
*177
563
369
B
563
G
[191]

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/-- the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros." (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

/143 cont./

some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./

*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, but in the cities, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/147 cont./

the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient.... But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Purutuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered
● 369 by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining
571 the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were
[511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life
[565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be
369 considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna
565 and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions,
[511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

/149/

*177 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for
369 both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point
585 that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic
[511] reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them
162 there. As for the fazendas,
175 as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized
162 later. Nevertheless, this
619 population is still identified
369

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.)

*[177]
[563]

This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361]* The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*179 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[626] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/151 cont./

*177 naturally suffered much less damage than the Exoaladi, Layâna,
178 or Kinikináu, whether physically (depopulation) or culturally (deculturation). This explains their survival of the vicissitudes they underwent after the war with Paraguay, with their captivity, the disorganization of the local groups, and their dispersal through the fazendas that were forming. With the creation of the native reservations, they even had the strength to reorganize into aldeas, to face /152/ the epidemics and the competition with the regional neo-Brazilian population, because they still made up a rather numerous and highly integrated group.

II. While the majority of the Terêna had gradually returned to aldea life, a minor contingent remained on the fazendas, where they settled, entering a process of detribalization. Today, we find the following picture: some are permanently settled in the "colônias" of those fazendas that granted them better treatment, equivalent to that given the neo-Brazilian countryman; others went on moving from fazenda to fazenda, following the harvesting cycles and the availability of work. Nevertheless, this detribalized population continues to identify itself, on the whole, as belonging to a definite ethnic group and to be recognized by the Terêna "community" as a component of it. The occurrence of interethnic marriage leads, through cross-breeding and family disorganization, to individual assimilation; in a sense, this assimilation becomes easier to be carried out in the rural zones than in the urban areas, in view of the smaller "cultural distance" existing between these zones and the aldeas, in spite of the fact that the cities loom as the most powerful agencies of change.

*177 III. With the progressive urbanization of the neo-
178 Brazilian population nuclei, i.e., with the formation of the
●369 cities, both aldea and detribalized Indians became attracted by them to the point that numerous families settled in the urban and suburban areas and came to live there, subsisting on their urban occupations. In spite of being detribalized and urbanized, these Terêna continued to remain connected with

/152 cont./

*177 the aldeas of their origin, (i) identifying themselves with them,
178 (ii) keeping "lots" in them, and (iii) returning to them for
369 secular activites or magico-religious rituals. The assimilation of this urbanized contingent tends to occur in the generations that follow that of the Terêna emigrant, and in accordance with certain conditions, the most important being: family disorganization. Whether in relation to this urbanized contingent, or in relation to the merely detribalized one--mentioned in the previous paragraph--the assimilation mechanisms are the same, their content obviously varying.

*177 IV. Although the analysis in depth to which we subjected
178 only those Terêna classified as aldea /Indians/ and as urbanized
128 /Indians/, was sufficient to give us an idea of the assimilation process, the exclusion /153/ of the detribalized Terêna, that is, those living on fazendas, imposes on this work a serious limitation which we attempted to circumvent through the use, perhaps the abuse, of a very poor set of data, often obtained by means of indirect methods. Nevertheless, the viability of this procedure, defensible from a methodological standpoint, permitted us to deal with the Terêna as a whole, to classify them into objective sociological categories, and to proffer generalizations about them. The manipulation of the concepts of acculturation and social mobility helped us to foresee two basic aspects or conditions of the assimilation process. Finally, the detailed examination of this process, through an examination of the psycho-social mechanisms emerging from it--carried out with the aid of a particular theoretical scheme (Glaser)--led us to understand the dynamic aspects of ethnic identification and their importance to the survival of the Terêna, as groups.

*177 V. The final conclusion reached is that the Terêna
178 population, in spite of being integrated into the regional economic structure, nothing indicates that in the near future it will come to be assimilated by the Brazilian society or by its socio-cultural segments. (213) Perhaps this will not even

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimabé*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopée*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yuhú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimaká*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duiku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
262 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[585] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

[Post-Chaco Period]

In one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling. [159] [352] [353] [405]

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians. [241] [443] [438]

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village. [891] [997]

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use. [592] [352] [513] [405] [416]

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away. [231] [241] [494]

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro. [212] [797] [191]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910-17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees." [132] [412] [412] [516] [177 407] [824]

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291-292.] [181] [516]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women. 592 241 462

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco. 241

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heópuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6 243

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Chaco Period] Terena

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

they built temporary shelters of brushwood. During this period, fish moved close to the banks and into shallow pools to feed and could thus be caught with greater ease. A very common way of catching fish consisted in a number of men entering the water in order to drive the fish into a corner from where they could be caught by hand and thrown ashore. In shallow water the Terena also used conical wicker baskets open at the top and bottom. These baskets, which were about 2.5 feet high, were dropped over the fish, the fish being extracted through the top by hand. Larger wickerwork fish traps were also used. The Terena claim not to have used nets. Fishhooks made from bone were used in deeper water. For catching large fish swimming on the surface of the water, the Terena used the bow and arrow. Among the commonest varieties of fish the Terena mention the following: "marobás," *chaca-chaca;* "*trairas*," *himon;* "bagres," *ayaporé*. Fish were either boiled, broiled, or baked wrapped in clay. For broiling, the fish was cleaned, split, and placed in a cleft stick with cross sticks to keep the fish spread out. The stick was then stuck into the ground near a fire and turned until the fish was broiled. Fish were also dried on a latticework frame over a fire.

The principal weapons of the chase were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the wooden club. The Terena used a bow about 5 feet in length and oval in cross section made from a reddish-color wood, the string being made of tucum palm fiber. For game, bone-pointed arrows with two feathers were used. For birds, arrows with several slender bamboo points were used. Arrows used for shooting fish did not have feathers. In using stones, with which to kill birds, the Terena put two strings on their bows. Formerly the spear was pointed with bone, but with the introduction of iron an iron point was used. A heavy flat wooden blade or club was also used for dispatching wounded game. In addition to these weapons, the Terena used pitfalls and numerous kinds of traps.

When game was scarce and spread over a wide area, men on foot went out individually stalking deer, peccary, rhea, and tapir. If game was more plentiful and the country suitable, game could be surrounded and driven into an enclosed area where they could be shot down or speared. This method of collective hunting was particularly common after the adoption of the horse. Jaguars were sur-

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

3:Oliveira--70a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55a/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--70b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55b/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of cafia /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously, and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten. As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows, and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

[Chaco Period]

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, baskets, and netted bags. In their houses they also kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick, stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Materials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of animals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the rafters. 415 412 353

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a *shiripá*. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by men on war parties. During cold weather everyone wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In warm weather children went about unclothed. Both men and women used pentagon-shaped leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was combed back over the head and fastened with a cord. 291 302

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, *nakóti;* bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.* These decorations were made by stringing dried seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold were used. During ceremonials the Terena used diadems made from red feathers and short skirts made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers could be used only by chiefs and usually signified that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins. 301 292 [293] [237]

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the Terena, Castelnau says: 291 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paintings, Castelnau adds the following: 302

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with [301]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees." [132] [412] [412] [516] [177] 407] [824]

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century: [181]

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.] [516]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women. 592 241 462

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco. 241

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6 243

months later, depending upon the type and the 243
conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted [252]
before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes
called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also pre- [273]
pared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize
were also dried and stored in the house to be [251]
later crushed in a mortar and used for making
porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the 244
Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc [262]
was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut 244
up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, 252
had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first
cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The [412]
pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *hihi*, or large cakes, *hapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was 249
a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *hepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *hiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *haraiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on [252]
hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the 262
staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yuki* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[P. 22-B]

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] 286 [439] [797] 294

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young children are carried straddling the mother's hip. [854]

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[P. 23-B]

[Bananal Village]

later the field is weeded again with a hoe. After 244
this weeding the manioc plant is strong enough to 262
overcome the weeds and no more weeding is necessary. Sweet manioc takes 8 months to mature, and bitter manioc 1 year. Even then, mature manioc is left in the ground until required.

Sweet manioc is dug up as needed for daily use, 252
the tubers being boiled or baked. Less often, boiled sweet manioc is mashed, made into cakes, and baked. Sweet manioc is also widely used in soups made with dried meat and onions. This latter dish is probably of Brazilian origin because one meets it in a "caboclo" hut as well as in a first-class hotel. [177]

Bitter manioc, on the other hand, cannot be used 252
until the poisonous acid is expelled. Bitter manioc 244
is dug up by rows and processed. An Indian will say, "Today I am going to dig up two rows of manioc," which means that he is going to prepare a certain amount of manioc meal. In collecting manioc a man is usually assisted by his family, all carrying netted bags or large baskets and digging sticks. The stalk is pulled up and the dark brown tubers, ranging from 6 to 18 inches in length, are dug up and placed in the bags and baskets and carried home. At the back of the house the women 252
clean the tubers, scraping off the loose dirt, small 412
roots, and skin. The white tubers are now ready for grating. There are at least three principal types of graters. The simplest kind consists of a board with many nails driven through it so that one side is covered with spikes protruding about a quarter of an inch from the board. A woman then passes a tuber over the grater until it is reduced to shreds. Another type of grater resembles our kitchen grater, being a piece of tin with many holes punched through it, and is used in the same manner. A more efficient grater is made by covering a wooden cylinder with a sheet of tin punched full of holes. This roller is then fixed to the center of a special table and is turned by hand, the grated manoic falling into a vessel below.

The Terena no longer squeeze manioc pulp in a 252
cotton cloth with sticks at both ends to give added purchase. Today, following the Brazilian custom, [177]
they put the pulp in a wooden press and squeeze out the juice, which contains a poisonous acid. The resulting semidry mass, called *hihi*, is first dried in the sun, then put through a rough sieve, and later toasted over a fire in a large iron pan. The meal, *yuma*, is then ready for use. It is eaten [262]

[P.24-B]

3:Oliveira--126b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/88b/

142
291
302
326
413
352

Terêna Indian, metalsmith. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

For carrying and storing foodstuffs the Terena 415
used such containers as clay pots, calabashes, bas- 412
kets, and netted bags. In their houses they also
kept such tools and weapons as the digging stick,
stone ax, club, spear, and bow and arrows. Ma- 353
terials for weaving baskets and bags were kept in
corners, while dried meat, dried fish, skins of ani-
mals, and bags of vegetable foods hung from the
rafters.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Both men and women wore a cotton loincloth 291
stretching from the waist to the knees, known as a
shiripá. A shorter black *shiripá* was worn by
men on war parties. During cold weather every-
one wore a sleeveless cotton shirt, *repenóti*. In
warm weather children went about unclothed.
Both men and women used pentagon-shaped
leather sandals fastened with a leather thong. All
body hair, including eyebrows and pubic hair, was 302
carefully pulled out with pincers. Hair was
combed back over the head and fastened with a
cord.

The Terena were fond of wearing necklaces, 301
nakóti; bracelets, *imotáki;* and anklets, *imóheve.*
These decorations were made by stringing dried
seeds, animal teeth, and disks of shell and bone
on a cotton cord. In later days, glass beads and
bracelets and rings made from silver and even gold
were used. During ceremonials the Terena used 292
diadems made from red feathers and short skirts [293]
made from rhea feathers. Yellow parrot feathers
could be used only by chiefs and usually signified [237]
that the wearer had killed an enemy. War chiefs
wore, in addition, a robe made from jaguar skins.

Discussing the dress and painted designs of the 291
Terena, Castelnau says: 302

> These Indians have no other clothes than a piece of cloth which they wrap around their kidneys, their hair is suspended at the back of the head and tied up to form a tail. Both sexes have the habit of covering their bodies with singular paintings, resembling those of the Guaycuru. Their designs are often excessively delicate and represent a harmony and delicacy which by no means can be described. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 471.]

In connection with ornaments and body paint- 302
ings, Castelnau adds the following:

> Here are glass beads which are fastened onto cotton [301]
> cloths with wide stripes. There are scarlet feathers which are tied together and cut to make head ornaments; over there is a woman who is covering her husband's body with

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *ponana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *verí* and large bags, *nimaká*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duíku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 795 [797]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yuhi* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Bananal Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P.27-A]

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

312 /406 cont. / Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[586] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
● 415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[412] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[829] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[445] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling. [352] [353] [405]

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians. [241] [443] [438]

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village. [891] [997]

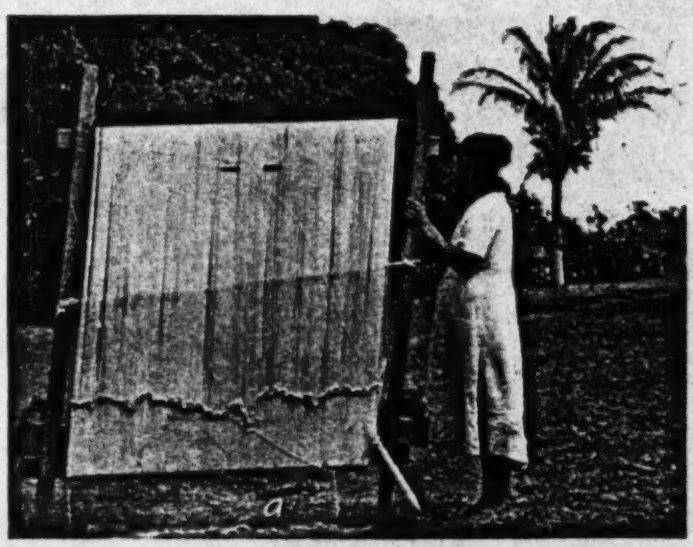
CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use. [592] [352] [513] [405] [416]

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away. [231] [241] [494]

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro. [212] [997] [191]

286
291



342
419

PLATE 5.—Domestic life of the Terena. a, Weaving with loom. b, Adobe house with adjoining sheds.

[P. 77]

[End Plate 5]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361] 140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder
233 is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very important to an understanding of those migration movements we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident. After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal, we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

/86 cont./

Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
176 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[01] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175
621
648
● 423
[13]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

193 cont. /

175
621
648
423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.
621 It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was
[162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during
[166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range
[648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former
175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate,
361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

G /68 cont./
241 make hammocks and various
286 fabrics. --In their aldeamentos
G
295 /villages/ they plant orange
trees, lime trees, lemon trees,
citron trees, and guava trees.
G
231 They raise cows and horses
463 and they are excellent
vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros,
464 "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also
465 prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough
to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
428

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

G
B
466
●426

/69 cont./

debts, so that they will not be overburdened during the new fiscal year.--The poor Indians, convinced that their master is a well of kindness, leave happy and in the evening give themselves up to the usual amusements, so that the new debt starts growing at once; the debt is reopened with the consumption of alcohol to celebrate the master's generosity.--Actually, the wretched camaradas owe nothing to the usurer; first of all, because their services are not paid what they are worth, but at a reduction that benefits the master alone; secondly, because in the sales made by the master to the camaradas, the latter are cheated to such an extent that they never manage to get back to their feet in their trading relations with him.--Whence a new type of slavery, whose preservation is upheld by the state police whenever one of these camaradas, tired of putting up with a bad master, gathers the courage to leave him and seek out a new life."--And the report adds: "No 'camarada' with an account can leave his

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

> master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

G
466 Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of
173 stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these ob-
128 servations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example,
[115] we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the
[254] community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

B
424 "A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados
625 /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131)

131. Idem:83-84.

/65 cont./

175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date
648 back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and
184 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While
[427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on
[439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[444] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

421 [428] [768]

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

241 476 592 462 [241]

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

476 [224] [241] [602]

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

177 178 648 [167] [361] 177 241 648

[P. 13-B]

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

/89 cont. /

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not 881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken- [352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned [302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several [534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every [602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and [285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and 575 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the [506] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way 595 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at 527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis- 768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they [304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons. 766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont./

766 [622] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[428] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[805] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
[342] Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[62] habited by 367 Indians.

/42 cont./

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
591 the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

G M 175 648 [201] M 565 648 175 G M 175 648 431 G [208] M [565] [574]

/31 cont./

their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko. "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights over those people. Whence the Niyolotas call Guaycuru caciques and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

34. Idem:267.

offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not offered such presents, even though they are provided with food during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 648 G [439]

To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the 17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 648

Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák, (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

/33 cont./

M
G
175
648

some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

G
M
175
648

Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

M
G
[65]
[43]

/33 cont./

G M 175 648 [651] [431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G M 175 648 574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M [562] [622]

G M 175 648 361

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
571

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 431 565 558 The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txané.

616 796 526 Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192] 75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of [184] Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178] 76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

[Traditional Culture]

796 [346] /51 cont./ In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalú-rco) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate. Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

[431]

796 [114] festivities were carried out among the Terena whom he visited at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1–11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yúrikoyuvakái* taught the people to practice agriculture: 174 241 [197] 174 241 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomo'i;* the knife, *piritas;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *pulú'oi;* the bow, *shokió;* arrows, *shumá;* and the spear, *suiká.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopás.* *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days. 174 241 [127]

The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence 174 241 433 [136] [137] 174 241 [132] [648] [177]

[P. 6-A]

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts [797]
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addi-
tion, they taught them such handicrafts as black-
smithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close associa-
tion with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the rail-
road. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stim-
ulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chick-
ens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders
of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers
upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of
the railroad and the influx of settlers there has
been a gradual increase in the dependence on the
money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact
picture of Terena economy and the relative im-
portance of subsistence farming and dependence
on commercial transactions can be obtained if we
examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a popu-
lation of 995. As this Post contains approxi- 162
mately one-third of the Terena population it will 434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena
economic life. Statistics show that families at
this Post average 5 persons, which would give
the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots
outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the fol- 434
lowing facts: 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village
working on ranches, on the railroad as section
hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda,
Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager
of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out
of the Post at all times engaged in wage work.
Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away
from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time
of the year. Men who work for the railroad us-
ually remain away for a year, often longer. If
the man is married he often takes his family
with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, 434
or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce 241
the staple food products themselves while living 433
at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. 511
These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is 511
spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr. $
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90,00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85,00
1 pair of pants	45,00
1 pair of shoes	120,00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50,00
Total	390,00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228,00
Underclothing—6 m. at Cr. $2,00	72,00
1 pair of sandals	15,00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50.00
Total	365.00

/65 cont./

175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date
648 back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and
184 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While
[427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on
[439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[464] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/76 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/101 cont./

648
621

unperceived by the communities that were not fortunate enough to get a post which, for better or for worse, would supervise life in the reservation. Although this is not in accordance with the administrative norms of the S. P. I., it has not been possible to avoid this distortion to which a large part of the superintendents are subject. The most obvious case is that of União aldea, which, because it is not a reservation but a private spot acquired by the Indians themselves--, does not receive the slightest amount of help; and even, it can be said, is regarded quite unfavorably by the great majority of S. P. I. officials.

648
621
433

In aldeas where the S. P. I. is located, the impression is conveyed of very slight concern with the communal economy, i.e., that of the Indians themselves, which is neglected in favor--of what we shall call--the post economy. We shall not here go into the merits of this "policy," since we do not /102/ know to what extent it reflects the directives furnished by the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, or the regional one, the inspetoria, in Campo Grande. The truth is that there is very great concern over the production of the post, i.e., that resulting from labor financed by the S. P. I, whether it relates to farm plots, to cattle-raising, or to the extraction of wood or angico bark. This labor is ordinarily carried out by the

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

> 160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented
economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and
recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha
can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the 184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could 511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities, 434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas 464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

●433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if [illegible] a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 cent-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224] [226]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will 162 434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the [361]
village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 166 434 464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Rezaaal" by the Terena.

[103]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [197]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy. 434

It must be remembered that the Terena produce the staple food products themselves while living at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure: 241 433 511 511

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr. $
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90,00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85,00
1 pair of pants	45,00
1 pair of shoes	120,00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50,00
Total	390,00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228,00
Underclothing—8 m. at Cr. $9,00	72,00
1 pair of sandals	15,00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50,00
Total	365,00

[P. 16-B]

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

[P. 37-A]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361] 140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for-
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] /feijão miudo/, and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the 184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could 511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities, 434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas 464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

[POST-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was 648
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 177
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders,
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [597]
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addi-
tion, they taught them such handicrafts as black-
smithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close associa-
tion with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the rail-
road. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stim-
ulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch [438] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugar-cane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [352] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513] In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits, customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [797]
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts affected the life of the Terena more intimately and directly. The missionaries taught the people to wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments, and amusements became integral parts of Terena economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian world. The Indians became acquainted with the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor and trade became essential elements in Terena economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *verí* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[P. 22-B]

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] 286 [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[Bananal Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

G M 175 648 [201] M 565 648 175 G M 175 648 431 G [286] M [565] [574]

/31 cont./

their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko. "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

34. Idem:267.

offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not offered such presents, even though they are provided with food during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 648 G [439]

To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the 17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 648

Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

/65 cont./

175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date
648 back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and
184 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While
[427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on
[439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[441] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families... [361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

● 439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361
439

name and with which a few Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional house-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[62] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[491] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder
233 is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the
geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy
reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one
in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal
have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem
of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central
nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate
to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue
stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we
find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the
other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the
reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha
and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central
nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected
not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
● 439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira,
Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The
major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal,
in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to
supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and
Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far
more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

● 439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875 they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolícho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[341] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/129 cont./

*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more
developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[484] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there
than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads),
or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in
colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his
friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he
did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he
purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the
aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and be-
gins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually
becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates
only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the
superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not
find the conditions necessary for his development. We have
an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the
Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian,
Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively
for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an
aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre,
because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture
land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he
no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
[556] at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and
for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed
on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photográph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

312 /406 cont. / Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[439] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[529] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

36/ tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[368] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
578 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[44]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [797] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352] tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [513] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [797] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[368] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [197]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

/140 cont./

*177 464 461 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better [142] [314] [124] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, 46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not 484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the [829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with 46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 463 826 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional 159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case *177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had 256 46 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana, [162]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
258 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 0 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[124] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
126 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
121
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

[Banana] Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house 512
puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté 272
calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat [264] whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, [262] such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available.

After breakfast the men take their tools and go 512
to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry 462
or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry [482] them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at [415] drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are [521] engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter.

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return 512
to their houses where the women have prepared 264
a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits [262] apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk [272] after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. [461] Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock.

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, 512
drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the [264] evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. [262] Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. [517]

[P.27-A]

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

177 178 565 This ethnic stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 178 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

> 160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented
economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and
recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha
can be taken as the most representative of this latter
type.

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
66 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive
*177 to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-
648 ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as play-
ing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical
relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized
Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they be-
long. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the po-
litical parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor
of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*177 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first
557 two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction
the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as
the source of new experiences and advantages to the young
Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane
of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on
social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above,
in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of
the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned
plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we
are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility
or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor
[464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social
mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been men-
tioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from
various standpoints.

*177 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long
464 time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato
Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied.
[178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the
southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased,
but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work,
herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico
bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor
[461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they
[142] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[142] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[124] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
● 461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
● 461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
● 461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[162] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to
births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on in-
dividual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which
one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this
woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." --
If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and
sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the
mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes
to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from
her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, in-
deed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way
for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes;
later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For
[824] the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit,
which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but
only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today
they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work.
But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by
the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at
another place. I also have him to thank for the information con-
cerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other
Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared [132] of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times [412] of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the [412] "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516] ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177] to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden 407] plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until [824] the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They [181] have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have [516] handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. 241 The clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

421 [428] [768]

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

241 476 592 462 [241]

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

476 [224] [241] [602]

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

177 178 648

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[167] [361] 177 241 648

[P. 13 - B]

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

[Banana I - Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P.27-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discus- 517
sing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for 512
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 178 565 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú 178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

171
462
177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462
273

The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

462

[177]

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their integration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably

177
178
648
462
565

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

177 178 648 462 565

during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175] [128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm
178 work is explained, on the one
462 hand, by the important role
562 they played in Guaná culture,
565 which was organized basically
171 around matrilocal extended
[591] families, despite the fact that
[596] the Terêna today, are bilocal;
on the other hand, by the
attempt to parallel Guaykuru
women, who "throughout the
period of their marriage enjoy
the position of ladies....
It reverted to the husband's
care to provide the game and
other provisions to feed the
family." (Labrador, 1910;
II:26.)

178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can
555 be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin
565 as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have
[721] become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of
[631] captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this
manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way
as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group
a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we
have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever
compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like
the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by
means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension
was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the
Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives,
who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e.,
the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[282] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[789] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[178]
[573]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182
619
571
462
[114]

largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

[222]
[223]

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

796
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[301]
[302]

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikinau (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[439] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [177]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. [342] On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, [241] carâ, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained [166] there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [194]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and
repairs harness for people in the village and for [282]
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [197]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Chaco Period]

Native dances like the Shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]

G
[172]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
295

make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees. They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
231
463

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
428

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] feijão miudo, and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the 184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could 511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities, 434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas 464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
●463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[167]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[824] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
● 463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G [464] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts [997]
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addi-
tion, they taught them such handicrafts as black-
smithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close associa-
tion with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the rail-
road. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stim-
ulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59
The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will 162
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena 434
economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 434
464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena. [103]

166
434
464

road company. If these workers are near, they visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually all these workers come back to the village when they become ill or too old to work. One complaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a man will leave the village for 6 months, become [197] ill, and then return to the village to be treated. The missionaries claim that the Indians do not take care of themselves when away from the Post, that they spend their money on cane rum instead of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The general pattern consists in a young man spending several years away from the village, then returning, marrying, and settling in the village. After settling down he goes out to seek employment only occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465 ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult to determine a standard wage at present. Before the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25 to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this money buys no more than before the war. From what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434] an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434 a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464 to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and to build and repair the buildings belonging to the Post proper. The number of these workers varies; in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465] They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employment of Indians by the Post has other purposes besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is made to provide work for needy families even when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177 ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434 to train them in building and in such crafts as 464 carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The welfare function of this kind of wage work is revealed by the fact that when a man with a large family is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452] in money but arranges credit for him at a store in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434 supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489 living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *waherehane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

[P. 37-A]

/10 cont./

121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]

G
[172]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

/65 cont./

175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date
648 back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and
184 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikinâu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While
[427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on
[439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[444] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikinâu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/68 cont./

H 175 648 G 175 177 [193]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B G 464

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
295

make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees.

G
231
463

They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
426

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

/76 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
297 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim
Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a
former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain
range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain
told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
● 464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 if it were not for the fact that some families had left to work
621 on fazendas. (154) But the population did not cease growing.
[464]
[113]

154. The Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, for the year 1937, says the following: "Before (1937) the number of inhabitants was greater, but some families left in search of work, in order to acquire such staples as food and clothing. The lack of agricultural implements contributed to the departure of these families." And it cannot be said that the departure of Indians from Buriti was a minor affair, when we see that already in 1926 there were in that community 450 persons living in 52 houses, according to the Relatorio da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for that year. We see that from 1923 to 1926, in three years, the population of the aldea grew by 30 individuals; and from 1926 to 1937, aside from the population dropping slightly, we see quite a big increase in the number of ranchos: from 52 to 91--

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
Gi
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
Gi
175 By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
621 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
423 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
162 individuals It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
G begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
648 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p.142]

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[164] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[166] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/126 cont./

*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

[361] [186] [571]

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/131 cont./

369 *177 511 181 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a 369 *177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

*177 701 464 554 2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

*177 701 181 [171] From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
●464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
*66 177 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*177 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 464 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. [178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [147] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[142] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

/141 cont./

rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself, such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is concerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
● 464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S.P.I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
● 464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [168] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [1797]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Be 159
sides himself, his wife, and six children, the house
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male [592]
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children [513]
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [352]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio [231]
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grand- 177
father, who was a medicine man, came from the 715
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were bap-
tized in the Catholic faith, although his grand-
father never became a regular church member.
Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission
school until he was 12. During these years he
lived with and worked for the English missionary,
herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was
not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his
little farm at the Post. He then went to Aqui-
dauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's
assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable
farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, tak-
ing his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he re-
turned to the Post to help his grandfather, who
was becoming very old. After his grandfather
died he married and went to live with his father- [591]
in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During
this time he, together with some other Indians,
worked for a while on the telegraph line. In
1932 he and several other Indians went with the
manager of the Post to fight in the revolution,
staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in
the village and began working for the manager
of the Post, doing many things, such as building
repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which [465]
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not
cultivate land of his own. He has been the cap-
tain of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
295

make hammocks and various fabrics. --In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees.

G
231
463

They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
426

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros. --It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head. -- They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católíca de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/144 cont./

*177 191 369 561 But in the cities, i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).

*177 191 142 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 212 464 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a divergent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attainment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we [465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without [369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 461 369 511 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.) exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

G /68 cont./
241
286
G
275

make hammocks and various fabrics. --In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees.

G
231
463

They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

G
B
464
465

And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

G
B
466
426

130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros. --It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head. --They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

debts, so that they will not be overburdened during the new fiscal year.--The poor Indians, convinced that their master is a well of kindness, leave happy and in the evening give themselves up to the usual amusements, so that the new debt starts growing at once; the debt is reopened with the consumption of alcohol to celebrate the master's generosity.--Actually, the wretched camaradas owe nothing to the usurer; first of all, because their services are not paid what they are worth, but at a reduction that benefits the master alone; secondly, because in the sales made by the master to the camaradas, the latter are cheated to such an extent that they never manage to get back to their feet in their trading relations with him.--Whence a new type of slavery, whose preservation is upheld by the state police whenever one of these camaradas, tired of putting up with a bad master, gathers the courage to leave him and seek out a new life."--And the report adds: "No 'camarada' with an account can leave his

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

> master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

G
466
173
128
[115]
[754]

Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

B
624
625

"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131)

131. Idem:83-84.

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
●466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
797

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G
[184]

[Cachoeirinha]

174 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
369 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 187 249.

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareokí*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 357 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yuhú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *verí* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

[Banana] Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P. 27-A]

/129 cont./

*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more
developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[484] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there
than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads),
or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in
colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his
friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he
did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he
purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the
aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and be-
gins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually
becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates
only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the
superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not
find the conditions necessary for his development. We have
an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the
Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian,
Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively
for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an
aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre,
because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture
land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he
no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
[556] for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and
for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed
on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[162]

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [797]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
● 489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[162] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[191] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
621 boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
233 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
241 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm
464 plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

●491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[166] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./
Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 621 The first accurate census data available compel us to deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 166 621 [13] 146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
825 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[433] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, ~~which~~ nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant. 245 177 249

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth. 241 [276] [283] [286]

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used. 231 492

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires. 322 285 [482]

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle. 283 415 284 415

36

23
492
291

PLATE 1.—Views of Bananal Village (Terena). a, Post buildings and main street. b, A Terena gaucho.

[End Plate 1]

[P. 73]

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [197]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

434
463
489
494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352] tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [513] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

[Banana] Village]

alone or mixed with cooked meat or sprinkled over boiled beans and other foods. 252 [262]

From the extracted juice the Terena prepare starch. Water is added to the juice, after which it is passed through a cotton cloth that captures the larger particles. The liquid is then placed in a wooden trough and allowed to settle. Next day the water is poured off gently and the fine powder in the bottom of the trough is allowed to dry in the sun. The dry powder is admitted to be a fair quality of starch and is sold by the Terena to the shopkeepers in Taunay. [439]

Manioc meal is stored in cotton bags or large cans. On long journeys a bag of manioc meal mixed with pieces of boiled meat provides a satisfactory and easily transportable food supply. Manioc meal mixed with cane sirup is also used as a dessert among the Brazilians. Bitter manioc, then, is the mainstay of the Terena. It is easy to cultivate, as it requires very little care. 251 262

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane, the Terena say, is next in importance to manioc as a food and cash crop. The Terena cultivate three principal types of cane. The old type known as "caiana" was cultivated in the Chaco but is not used very extensively at present. Another type known as "cana do Japão" is a thick reddish cane which grows well and produces a juice with a high sugar content. The most popular type, because it is the most resistant to disease, is "cane 78." The Terena use the Portuguese word for sugarcane, "cana de açucar." 249 [262]

Sugarcane is planted in the moist lowlands near the streams. The land is prepared with a hoe, and the cuttings are set out just before the heavy rains in September or October. Two weeks after planting, the field is weeded and again a month later to give the cane plants a good start. Ten to twelve months later the cane is ready for cutting. The cane is cut with a machete and hauled to the village in oxcarts. [494]

The three principal products obtained from sugarcane are sirup, "rapadura," and raw sugar. The cane press used by the Terena is the old-type wooden press which has been used by the Brazilians for centuries. This machine consists of three large wooden cylinders, about 2 feet in diameter and about 4 feet long, set perpendicularly close together in a line on a wooden platform. To the axle of the central cylinder a long wooden 257

/9/

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[498] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

3:Oliveira--80 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil SL2
Historical Paraguay SK2

G
H
HP
175
167
648
R
[173]

/61 cont./

a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

G
H
175
648
H
567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

G
H
175
167
496
H
[653]

The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

G H 175 167 496 G [177]

/61 cont./

Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic increase brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil.(107)

H 175 167 496 162 361

107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

/82 cont./

Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 621 The first accurate census data available compel us to deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 621 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 166 621 [113] 146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the
geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy
reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one
in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal
have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem
of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central
nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate
to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue
stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we
find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the
other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the
reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha
and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central
nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected
not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira,
Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The
major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal,
in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to
supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and
Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far
more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

Terena
Mbaya SK11 M G 105 648 [511]

Compared from the point of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo.

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

M 142 M [123] M [144]

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Lab-

[P. 5-A]

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, 434
or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce 241
the staple food products themselves while living 433
at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. 511
These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is 511
spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr. $
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90,00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85,00
1 pair of pants	45,00
1 pair of shoes	120,00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50,00
Total	390,00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228,00
Underclothing—6 m. at Cr. $9,00	72,00
1 pair of sandals	15,00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50.00
Total	365.00

[P. 16-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[POST-Chaco Period] Terena

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. [12] 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [794]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and
repairs harness for people in the village and for [282]
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [797]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 195
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [197]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.[1]

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *waherehane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the 184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could 511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities, 434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas 464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

G /103 cont./
184 damaging it. (161) Aside from these activities, there are those
464

G
Gi
[245]

161. We exclude the extraction of maté, since Terêna Indians do not work at it. Witness Francisco Horta, in Dourados, a maté area, where the Terêna community stands aloof from that industry, whereas the Kaiwá find it their chief productive activity.

related to the cities, which are undertaken by a considerable number of Indians from aldeas such as Passarinho, Moreira, Limão Verde, and, to a lesser extent, Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, /all of which/ are close to Miranda and Aquidauana.

G
511
433

This situation--of the homogeneity of the Terêna economy, seen in general terms--does not preclude, however, the existence of some native families that are practically "self-sufficient," i.e., families that, operating as efficient production units, forego the possibilities of work coming from the outside. The average number of such families, per aldea, is not more than two. In such cases, the nature of the post production is important, not so much because it is responsible for the type of production developed by these families, but simply because the two economies coincide since they both undergo the same ecological conditioning. Thus, in Lalima and Brejão, reservations with excellent pasture ground, we have Terêna families with herds sufficiently large to permit a relative economic /104/ independence. (162) In Bananal and

G
184
233
511

162. Buriti, in spite of its pastoral character, does not

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/109 cont./

184 621 797 795 [665] [28]

Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621 795 511 [184] [182] [648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
167 If we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
432 in Campo Grande, he had
[69] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
●511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/131 cont./

369 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to
*177 the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the
511 greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market
181 is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban
369 "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a
*177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

*177 2. Military service is another important factor, but
701 which, of course, applies only to the male population. It
464 presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences,
554 supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

*177 From this desire to travel and to know new places--al-
701 ready pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal
181 peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could
[171]

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/144 cont./

*177 But in the cities,
191 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
369 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
561 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
●511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna, that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city. This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed information regarding this "fazenda" population that would permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts, whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work, it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 369 571 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life [511] [565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 369 565 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions, [511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

/149/

*177 369 365 [511] goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

162 175

162 619 369

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

[Bananal Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P. 27-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discuss- 517
ing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, 512
covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

[P. 27-B]

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure. 342 [178] [824]

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 278.] [354] [252] [352] [513] [248]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau: 361

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau* has this to say: 411 352

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.] [513]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*. 114 352 513

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Be 159
sides himself, his wife, and six children, the house
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male [592]
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children [513]
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [352]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young [231]
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grand- 177
father, who was a medicine man, came from the 795
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father- [591]
in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which [465]
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugar-cane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352] tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513] In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

[Banana/ Village]

structed. The type of house a Terena will build 342
depends on his financial resources as well as his social prestige and the type may vary from a grass hut to a painted adobe house with a tile roof. All Terena houses, even when they are made of dried [177]
grass, are of the Brazilian pattern, that is, rectangular with a gable roof. A house generally has two rooms, with a lean-to kitchen in the rear. Each room usually has one window without glass which can be closed for the night by a shutter. There are usually a front and a back door. The floors are always of beaten earth.

As the village is laid out in rectangular blocks [361]
the houses form a regular pattern facing the streets, with gardens and orchards in the rear. [366]
The few Terena stores imitate the stores in Taunay [177]
by painting "Casa (and name of owner)" over the doorway. In some cases adobe houses are [356]
whitewashed inside. A few dabs of yellow or red paint cover the underlying whitewash.

A study of house types on the basis of building material and the presence or absence of paint gives the following distribution for the 86 buildings in the village:

Type:	Number
(1) Mud and wattle with thatched roof	23
(2) Adobe with thatched roof	19
(3) Painted adobe with tile roof	14
(4) Palisade walls with thatched roof	9
(5) Painted adobe with thatched roof	8
(6) Painted brick with tile roof	8
(7) All grass on bamboo frame	3
(8) Mud and wattle with tile roof	1
(9) Painted brick with thatched roof	1

Upon entering a Terena house one is immedi- 352
ately aware of the scarcity of furniture. Only the best houses have a table made from rough hand-sawn planks. It appears that the table is more for [264]
show than for use, as the Terena eat around the cooking fire at the back of the house. The best houses also have one or two rough wooden benches or a chair or two made from box lumber. Almost 351
every house has a low platform bed resting on 513
forked stakes driven into the ground for the owner and his wife. Other occupants sleep in home-made hammocks, which during the day are hung against the wall. In several of the houses regular spring beds with mattresses are found. For covers the Terena use a single cotton or light woolen blanket. Blankets are not an important item, for during

[Banana Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 352 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yuhí* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *verí* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discus- 517
sing their crops and activities of the day. The
women remain at home but men gather in small
groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some
time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors
return to their respective houses and retire for
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, 512
covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the
mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets
are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing
their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for
axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and
mats. During this period the women spin cotton
yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew
clothes for themselves and their families. As
everywhere in the world, the women have such
constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking,
washing, and taking care of the children. The
older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little
by little learning the common duties and tech-
niques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were di-
vided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was
called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa"
in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild
people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these
moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they
exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to
settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of
a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made
from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat
shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was
no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena
people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young children are carried straddling the mother's hip. [854]

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the 177
"caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of food products. In the preparation of the land, [412]
the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Bananal Village]

times rice is also eaten in the form of thin porridge. 000

In addition to these principal crops the Terena produce small quantities of pumpkins, onions, tomatoes, red and green peppers, and garlic. 244

Among fruits, mangoes, oranges, tangerines, lemons, limes, guavas, and pineapples are important. During December and January mangoes are so plentiful in the village that not only people, but horses, cows, hogs, and chickens, eat them. Bananas and plantains also form an important year-round part of Terena diet. Among the bananas that grow well in this region are the "nanica," a small banana called "veia" and the "São Tomé." The plantain, which in Portuguese is called "banana de terra," is used boiled, fried, and dried. 245 [252]

Tobacco.—This crop is grown to some extent. When the plant matures the leaves are picked, rolled, and squeezed in a press to remove moisture, then unrolled and left to dry. This process is repeated several times. When the leaves are finally dry they are rolled into a cord about 1 inch in diameter, the cord being coiled into a compact cylindrical block about 12 inches in diameter and 12 inches high. This tobacco is sold to stores and is retailed by the meter or centimeter. The Terena use this type of tobacco for making cigarettes, dried corn husk being used for rolling. They, however, prefer cheap manufactured cigarettes to the rather heavy, home-grown tobacco. 249 [276]

Cotton.—The Terena still grow cotton, and it is the special privilege of the women to sow the seed. It is planted at the beginning of the rains. The bolls are picked and the seeds are removed by hand. Cotton is spun on a native spindle, consisting of a 2-inch whorl on a stick about a foot long. The Terena still use the traditional loom already described. 248 [462]

THE DAILY ROUND

It is customary for the Terena to arise at dawn. The first person up, whether man or woman, lights a fire at the back of the house and puts a kettle of water on the fire to boil. For awhile the fire builder may fan the fire with a plaited "abanico," or fan. While the water is heating the others get up and all wash their hands and faces either by pouring water into one hand or, more rarely, by washing in a basin. Soap is used when it is available, but towels are rarely used. 512 [372] [515]

[P.26-B]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 24 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared [132] of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times [412] of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the [412] "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516] ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177 to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden 407] plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until [824] the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They [181] have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit [516] down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. 241 The clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

3:Oliveira--151a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104a/

142
291
301
302
● 516
152

[126] Terêna child frightened by the author's Rolleiflex. (1955)

[Banana I - Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P. 27-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village visiting their relatives and friends and discussing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena. 512 517 [521] 512 513 [825]

During the rainy season when the crops are growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life. 462 [356] [857]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions. 616 [616]

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any village of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial 616 622

[Bananal Village]

When the water boils, the woman of the house puts a handful of maté leaves into a special maté calabash and pours the boiling water over the leaves. Every one, starting with the father, then sucks maté through a tube, the calabash being passed from hand to hand until all have had enough. The tube may be of cane or if the family has enough money it may even be of metal. A decorated silver tube is a luxury which few Terena can afford. After drinking maté the people eat whatever is left over from the last evening's meal, such as boiled sweetpotatoes, meat mixed with manioc meal, or whatever fruit may be available. 512 272 [264] [262]

After breakfast the men take their tools and go to work, either to their fields or to their carpentry or building. Unless field work is urgent the women and children remain at home, the women preparing manioc meal, sewing, washing clothes, and preparing the noonday meal. Right after breakfast the women go to the wells in the village to draw water. They fill their water pots and carry them to their houses on their heads. Often many women meet at a well, each taking her turn at drawing water with a metal bucket attached to a rope. In the meantime, the other women are engaged in conversation, usually amid peals of laughter. 512 462 [482] [415] [521]

When the sun reaches the zenith, the men return to their houses where the women have prepared a meal of beans, manioc, and dried meat. Each one fills his dish from the cooking pots and sits apart to eat, sometimes sitting on a low stool but usually squatting on the ground. Mothers provide the food for the younger children. Maté is drunk after the meal. Eating is a private act, while drinking maté from a common calabash brings everyone together. The Terena consider maté drinking an important social activity. After eating, both men and women lie in hammocks to rest. Around 2 or 3 o'clock they arise to return to work. In order to prevent the siesta from becoming too long the Post manager rings a bell sometime between 2 and 3 o'clock. 512 264 [262] [272] [461]

Near sunset the men return home, rest awhile, drink maté, wash themselves, and put on clean clothing. The wives then call the men for the evening meal, which usually consists of beans, rice, manioc, and perhaps some kind of meat. Sometimes the people eat "rapadura" or perhaps sirup with manioc meal before drinking more maté. 512 [264] [262] [517]

[P. 27-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discuss- 517
ing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521] ●
by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for 512
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, 513
covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

[P. 27-B]

[Chaco Period]

performed when the occasion demanded and were 527
accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition 526
to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everáni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pan." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation 522
of a European court scene with a king or prin- 527
cess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the 536
moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden [177]
walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*.

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee.

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound.

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

They usually win when playing on their own field. 526
The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, [527] and Bodoquena are played on special holidays only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day.

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the 541 Terena indulge is horse racing. There are no fixed 525 dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races.

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 795 [197]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[p. 33-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [971] [526]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 177 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children. 535 527 [178] [262]

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonuméti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright. [243]

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural. [554]

On the day following the *kochóvonuméti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena 527 526

[Chaco Period]

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *pirituti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

[Chaco Period]

performed when the occasion demanded and were 527
accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition 526
to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everéni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation 522
of a European court scene with a king or prin- 521
cess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the 536
moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden [177]
walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during [578] dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the [177]
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

[Post Chaco Period]

They usually win when playing on their own field. 526
The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

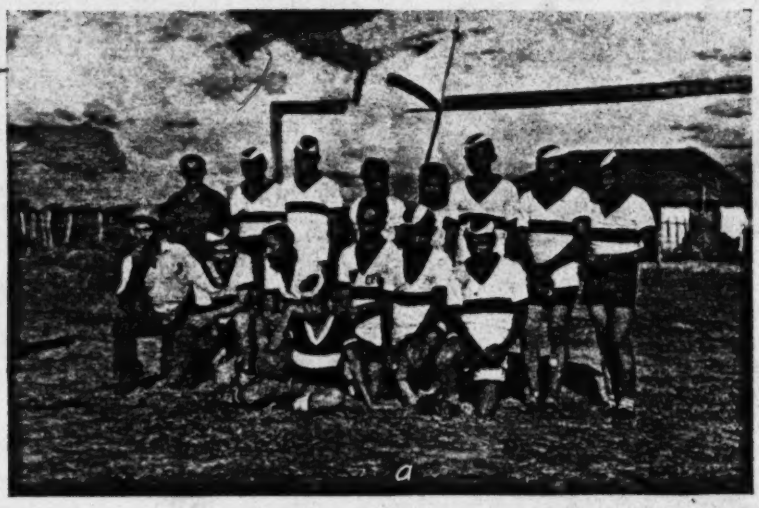
Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, and Bodoquena are played on special holidays [527] only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day.

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the 541
Terena indulge is horse racing. There are no fixed 525
dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races.

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

526
292



541

PLATE 11.—Terena sports. a, Football game. b, A crowd gathered for a horse race.

[p. 83]

[End Plate 11]

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 431 565 568 The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txané.

Then, the food was carried

616 796 526 to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616
796
526
565
178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of
535 Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining
[526] only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by
[178] the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race
[114] of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and
[534] witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

797

138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas. The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

798

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[755] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

• 526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after 178
the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these func- 182
tions were carried out with increasing laxity. 616
They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted.

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety [535]
basis have largely disappeared. The really im- 177
portant social activities today are centered around 527
the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena 535
elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a per- [526]
formance in which opposition of two groups is a
primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that 177
the Terena in most villages are divided into Catho- 182
lics and Protestants, each sect having its own char- 795
acteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 797 [798] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children. 535 527 [178] [262]

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright. [243]

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural. [554]

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena 527 526

[Chaco Period]

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

[P. 48-B]

[Chaco Period]

performed when the occasion demanded and were accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everúni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating. 527 526

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation of a European court scene with a king or princess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The 522 527 536 [177]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[Post Chaco Period]

every night so that every sequence can be executed more or less automatically. The two leaders demand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period. 535 527

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau," are at once [177]

[P. 50-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchú* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances. 177 527 535 [534]

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet. [533]

Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold- 535 527

ing their children in their arms. The only light is a lantern or two in the house. The young men stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight. 535 527 [578]

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha. 526 [177]

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

They usually win when playing on their own field. 526
The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, [527] and Bodoquena are played on special holidays only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day.

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the 541
Terena indulge is horse racing. There are no fixed 525
dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races.

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

/114 cont./

184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

> 183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as tra-
ditional play activities performed on festive days, such as
Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[202] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
595 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont./

766 [622] [428] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 [852] Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 [527] latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques [628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his [302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 [805] Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 [162] [114] [103] [342] Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] [162] [621] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

delicate drawings, or even an individual painting himself. 302
The painting is done with a small stick which is dipped into a mixture of charcoal and "genipapo" dye. Sometimes they use a real seal to print a figure on the skin. One of our companions could not resist the women's request to make an Indian out of him, as they said, and [531] soon his arm was covered with charming colored triangular figures, forming squares of decreasing size. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 472.]

COLLECTING, HUNTING, AND FISHING

The seasonal ripening of the various wild fruits, 221
the availability of roots and the tender shoots of young plants, the movements of game, and the presence or absence of fish in shallow waters imposed upon the Terena an annual cycle of production and consumption. From November to February algarroba and tusca pods, the fruits of mistol and chañar were gathered and eaten. In [262] March and April the people depended upon such wild foods as palmito and Barbary figs. May and June were months of plenty. Cultivated crops had, by now, matured and were ready for use, many wild fruits were available, and fish entered shallow waters to spawn. This was a time for travel, visiting, and ceremonial activity. By July and August lack of rain reduced the productivity of the savanna, and people consumed the products of their fields and gathered palm fruits and nuts. October was a lean month during which the Indians depended largely upon what foods were stored. This month, also, was the time for preparing the fields for next season's planting.

Algarroba and tusca pods were crushed in a 262
mortar, mixed with water, and eaten in the form 252
of mush. Sometimes algarroba pods were ground into flour from which cakes baked over coals were made. Most of the wild fruits were eaten either raw or boiled. The terminal shoots of palms were eaten raw, boiled, or baked. Palm fruits were eaten raw; the kernels were crushed and eaten or, in some cases, the oil was extracted by boiling, the oil being skimmed off the surface of the water. Wild roots were baked or boiled. Algarroba meal, palm nuts, and certain wild roots could be stored for several months after collecting. Storage of wild foods, however, was not resorted to by the Terena to the same extent as was common with the tribes of the central Chaco.

For several weeks during May or June the Te- 226
rena depended almost entirely on fish, the people 221
moving to the banks of the Paraguay River where

3:Oliveira--70a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55a/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--70b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55b/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

312 /406 cont. / Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[585] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

Palm fibers also were sometimes used. Whether the Terena used the lacing or knotting method for making netted bags in the past is not certain. They now make them from *yulú* fiber string, using the reef knot method of netting. Small bags were called *veri* and large bags, *nimakí*. 284 415

After removing the seeds from cotton and plucking it out, the cotton fibers were spun into yarn or string on a wooden spindle, *hopáe*. The spindle was a thin stick of wood about 12 inches in length with a pottery whorl about 2 inches in diameter fixed near one end. After attaching the string near to the whorl and setting it in motion, the spindle was dropped and allowed to turn in the air. 283

Although the Terena no longer remember the form of the loom used in the Chaco, it is highly probable that it was much the same as the type used today. The loom is made of two upright sticks which hold a crossbar above, while another crossbar is fastened below. The warp is wound around these two bars, but at each turn the warp is looped back over a string running horizontally between the two bars. This makes cutting unnecessary after the cloth is woven. The weft is passed through the warp with a wooden shuttle. Periodically the weaver battens down the weft with a long thin wooden stick. The weaver begins at the bottom and works upward. In the past, the Terena used woven cotton cloth for making loincloths, sleeveless shirts, mantles, and narrow belts. 286 [178] [291]

Out of clay the Terena made cooking pots, water jugs, and flat bowls for serving food. The clay was dried, pulverized, and sifted through a netted cotton cloth. Powdered potsherds and water were then added, the mixture being well kneaded. The potter now made a flat disk to serve as the bottom of the pot. On this disk she built her pot by adding coil after coil, flattening each one between her fingers. After several coils were added she smoothed the inner and outer walls with a small shell, dipping it repeatedly into a pot of water. When the pot was of desired thinness and smoothness it was left to dry, after which it was fired. The pots were then decorated with black color for which the resin of the "jatobá" tree was used. The Terena claim they made some pots in the forms of animals and birds. 323 [386] [532]

Fire, *duíku*, was made by rotating a pointed stick between the palms of the hands, one end of 372

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[Post Chaco Period]

177
527
535

apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used [534] is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chiúruchú* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances.

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and [533] Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet.

535
527

Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
177 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
197 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And, in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waheresháne*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 881 565 622 [292] [562] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

[p. 28-B]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

177
527
535

apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchú* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances. [534]

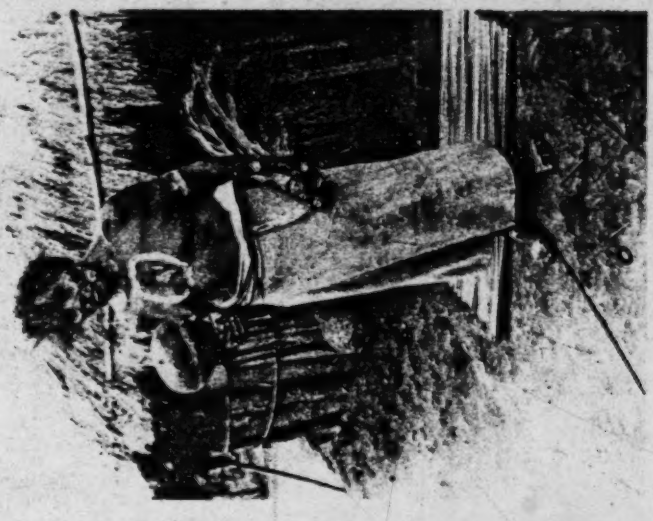
When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet. [533]

535
527

Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

756
291
302
534
293



535
301
292

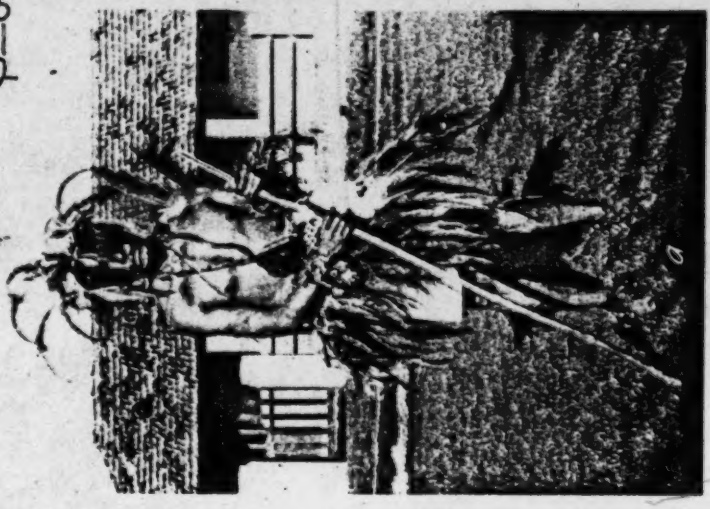


PLATE 8.—Terena dancer and shaman. a, "Bide-pan" dancer dressed in rhea feathers. b, Shaman with half tusks (rattle) and kipuko (rhea feather baton).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

3:Oliveira--46a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

291
534
535

Parade of the "Bate-Pau" (Kohixoti-Kipahê) dancers in the aldea streets, with the fife and drum in front. (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 526 565 178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 [526] [178] [114] [534] Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

3:Oliveira--103c E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Laguna
/72b/
292
301
534
756

Gonçalo at "work." (1955)

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[Chaco Period]
Native dances like the shaman
dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance 105
leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree [535]
of specialization, owing to the presence of stores,
masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural [463]
activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non- 105
Indian world, first, by being made a part of the 177
Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the 105
Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other In- 648
dians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term 186
of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between [554]
the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused 843
by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware [842]
that she is pregnant when her menses cease and

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children. 535 527 [178] [262]

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonuméti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright. [243]

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural. [554]

On the day following the *kochóvonuméti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena 527 526

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [24]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

[Post Chaco Period]

every night so that every sequence can be executed more or less automatically. The two leaders demand strict discipline, reprimand careless dancers, and are careful about the selection of the drummers and flute players. Drinking is forbidden during the practice period. 535 527

On the appointed day the dancers meet at dawn in one of the broad streets in the village of Bananal. They form two parallel lines, the dancers standing abreast of one another about 2 feet apart, each line being headed by its dance leader. Facing them are the musicians. When the music starts the leaders guide their respective columns, one turning to the right, the other to the left, but each man in the column must come to the position first held by his leader before he begins making the turn. In this way the two columns form circles, the leaders meeting where the rear men in the columns began, then dancing abreast they come to their original positions. During each of these turns the dancers go through a different sequence. In the first turn one end of the stick rests on the thigh while it is held upright in the hand. This sequence has a characteristic step. In the next the stick is carried like a spear. In the following step the stick is held in the middle and following the leaders each man strikes his stick against that of the man abreast of him—once below, twice above—making a triple clack, clack-clack sound. In one sequence the bow is used instead of the stick. In another the dancers intermingle in small circles, beating their sticks. The dance begins slowly, the tempo increasing as the dance continues. The movements give one the impression of contest between two columns, as if they were going through a mock battle.

After the sequences are completed, the columns separate, each following a drummer and a flute player. They go through the village and dance before each house, receiving coffee or some other beverage from the occupants. The two columns keep dancing until one by one the two leaders lose their followers. The leader who loses all his followers first is the loser. The winning dance leader is then carried on the shoulders of his followers, seated on a stretcher made from the dancing sticks. The chief of the village then provides food and drink for all the dancers.

To an observer the non-Indian characteristics of the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau," are at once [177]

[Post Chaco Period]

177
527
535

apparent. While it is true that the body paintings, the rhea feather skirts and diadems, and the flutes and the bows appear to be of Indian origin, one is nevertheless impressed by the European tempo of the dance rhythm. The drum used is not the skin-covered pot used in the *chúkuchú* but a European-type drum suspended in front by a strap around the neck. The manner in which the sticks are used is European in appearance. There is no singing, so common in Indian dances. [534]

When questioned about the "bate-pau," which, literally, means "beat the stick," the Terena say that it is post-Chaco, in other words, that it was danced only after the Terena settled in their present location in Brazil. They say that it was revealed to one of their shamans in a dream, who then taught the Indians how to dance it. Actually the Brazilian origin of the "bate-pau" is as easy to trace as the origin of the *láia*. In Brazil there is a pageant known as the "mozambique" which is danced by the "caboclos." Like the "congada," it is a reenactment of the historic conflict of Christian and Moor in Portugal. The Terena no doubt observed the "mozambique" while they were working together with the Brazilian "caboclos" on the fazendas and adopted it, adding to it their own body paintings and costumes. The opposition between Christian and Moor fitted into the Terena pattern of moiety opposition in ceremonial activities.

In addition to the dance of the shamans and the "bate-pau," the Terena dance modern dances (polka and one-step) which they have learned while working on the fazendas. A dance is generally held on Saturday night, additional dances being held on saints' days and political holidays. The music is provided by a violinist and an accordion player, the tunes being Paraguayan and Bolivian in origin. The typical Brazilian samba has not diffused this far west as yet. [533]

535
527

Usually a man invites people to a dance at his house and arranges for the music. About 7 or 8 o'clock in the evening the young people wander slowly to the place where the dance will be held, the girls and young men going in separate groups, only married couples going together with their children. The owner of the house places benches outside his house on which the girls sit. A little to one side sit the musicians. Older people squat on the ground, the women hold-

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. [578]
Quarreling and fighting are not common during dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

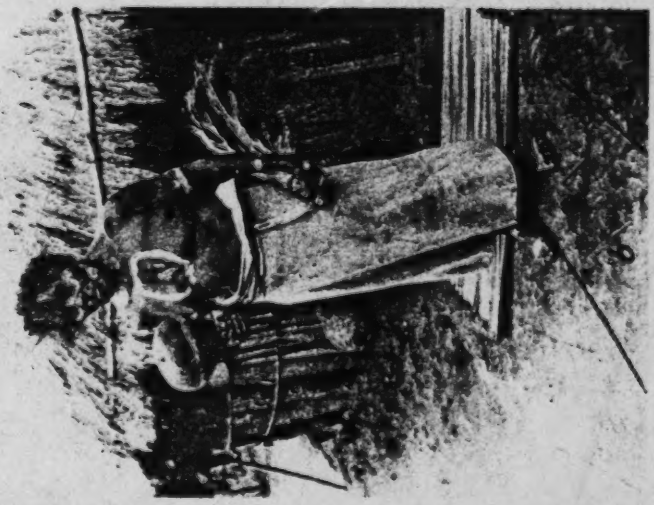
The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the [177]
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

756
292
302
534
293



535
301
292

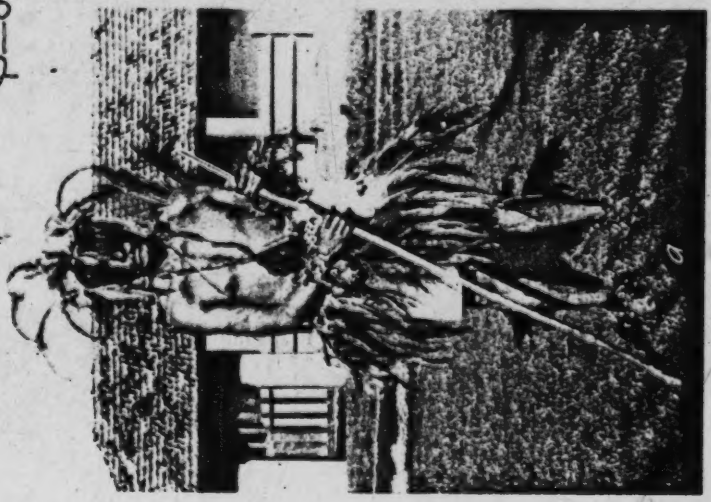


PLATE 8.—Terena dancer and shaman. a. "Rain-pan" dancer dressed in rhea feathers. b. Shaman with bird masks (rattle) and kit pouch (rhea feather basket).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

535

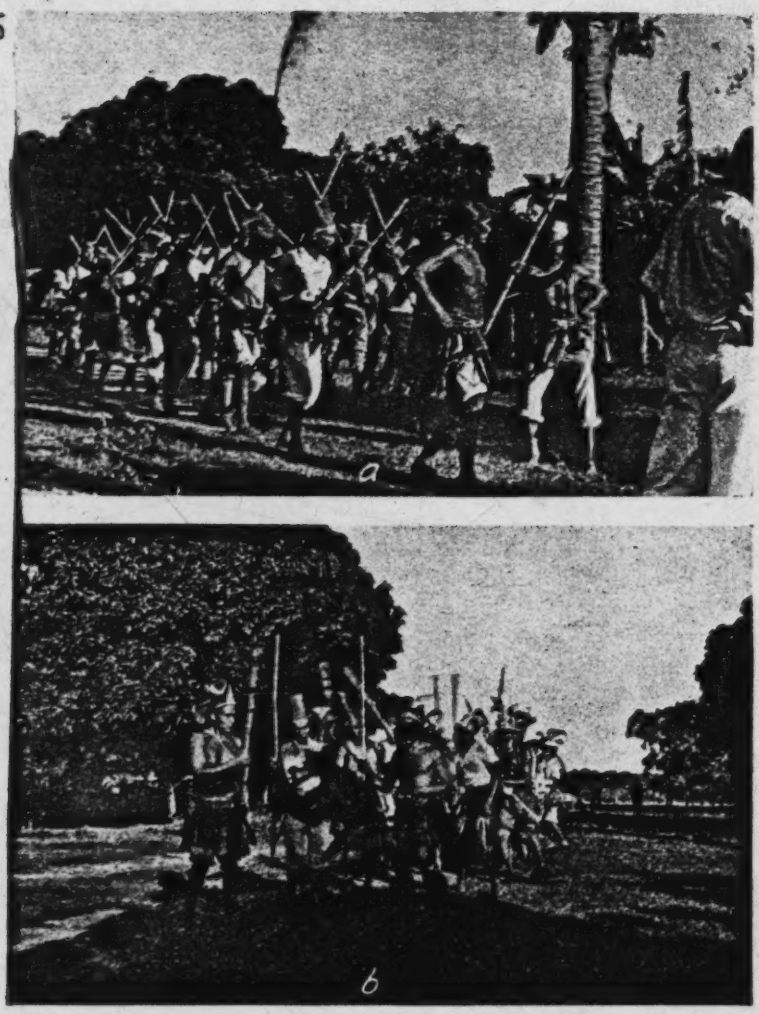


PLATE 9.—Terena dances. a, The "Bate-pau" dance. b, The "Bate-pau" dance.

[End Plate 9]
[P. 81]

3:Oliveira--46a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

291
534
535

Parade of the "Bate-Pau" (Kohixoti-Kipahê) dancers in the aldeia streets, with the fife and drum in front. (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--46b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

142
301
535

Terêna dancers dressed and adorned for the "Bate-Pau."
(Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 526 565 178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 [526] [178] [114] [534] Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

3:Oliveira--70a E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55a/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau" (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

3:Oliveira--70b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/55b/

142
535
531
411

Scene from the "Bate-Pau," where the two groups, Harara-Iti and Hononé-Iti, appear, led by their respective "Caciques." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

/114 cont./

184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas. (182)
621
166

> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

> 183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
●535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/115 cont./ An interesting

178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

178 756 755

178 796 [117]

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

● 535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

/92 cont./

535 orchestra of drums and flutes. In front of the dancers are lo-
[622] cated two pairs of caciques, who witness the dance. They are accustomed to take part in the dance from the smallest Indian to the oldest; couples join up man with man and woman with woman, the men to the right and the women to the left of the music; when they arrive in front of the caciques, each pair is obliged to salute; the dance goes on in this way for three-
[114] quarters of an hour. I witnessed this dance in Agachy, when 48 couples took part, all of whom danced keeping time well with the music.

In the second dance the pairs of men form an arc in front of the music, but with their backs to it. The couples of women pass through the middle of the arc, and when they come out of it they split up, one to the right and one to the left, reuniting in front of the caciques. In this way the dance went on for half an hour, the men passing once more before the caciques
[114] for the defile. It was also in Agachy that I witnessed this dance.

[114] The third dance, which I saw right there, was similar to the first, but the dancers carried in their hands bunches of flowers and branches of wild plants, with which they saluted when they passed in front of the caciques.

[114] This fourth dance was witnessed by me in the aldea of Santa Ana. In front of the two pairs of caciques and four musicians with their drums and flutes, 22 couples formed up, men and women in equal parts. The dancers carried in their hands a piece of tacuara /a kind of bamboo/ more than one and one-half meters long. In files, the men to the /93/ right and the women to the left, and taking double steps to the rhythm of the music, they alternately struck the tacuaras against one another. This provided a pleasant sight; they did it so well and with such cleverness they seemed to be true artists. This dance lasted an hour and a half, without respite, leaving the dancers, on finishing, completely exhausted.

[Chaco Period]

performed when the occasion demanded and were 527
accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition 526
to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everáni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pau." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation 522
of a European court scene with a king or prin- 527
cess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the 536
moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden [179]
walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinerei*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarí*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1–11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174 241
by direct investigation the exact nature of the
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the
Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as
being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking
tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly
agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174 241
Y'úrikoyuvakái taught the people to practice agri- 539
culture:

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Y'úrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomo'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *puld'oi;* the bow, *shokió;* arrows, *shumó;* and the spear, *suiká.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopóo.* *Y'úrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of
Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to as-
sume that they were agriculturists in pre-Colum-
bian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is
understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only
the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long [132]
drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable
surplus not necessary in a region where annual
rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that
depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and
collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic cus-
toms seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and
raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living. 775

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows: 776 773 776 773 539

> In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Lívéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Lívéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

> *Yúrikoyuvakái* was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

> In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.
>
> The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hivoé*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm. 539 773 776

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *puíd'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopée*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life. 773 776

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story: [821] 539 773 776

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itáaka*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

[P. 42-B]

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [953]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [961]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. "The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death."

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

[Post Chaco Period]

They usually win when playing on their own field. 526
The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

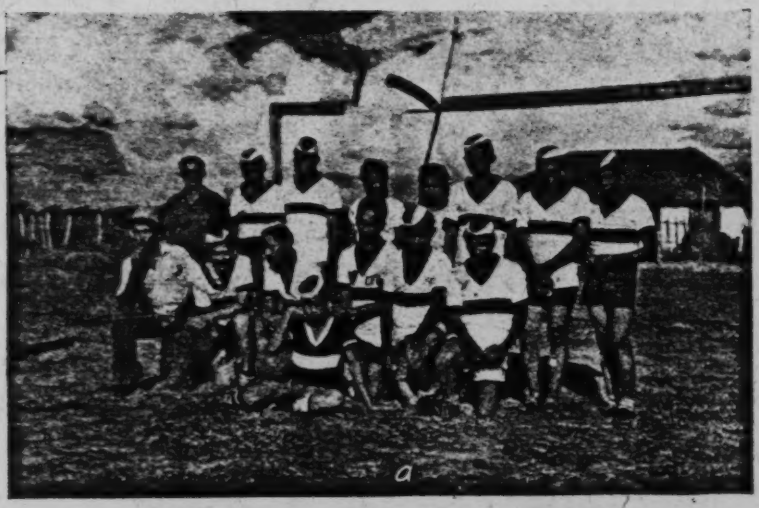
Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, [527]
and Bodoquena are played on special holidays only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day.

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the 541
Terena indulge is horse racing. There are no fixed 525
dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races.

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

526
292



541

PLATE 11.—Terena sports. a, Football game. b, A crowd gathered for a horse race.

[p. 83]

[End Plate 11]

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[228] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

• 541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr. $
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2.059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. [551] His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. [342] His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. [795] He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. [797] He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikihí*) is 47 years old. [551] He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. [795] He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. [212] He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. [191] He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. [342] On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 603 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 551 177 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
[175] of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
[851] the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
[551] adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
[178] At present, with the probable exception of the population that
[369] still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent
occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio
system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which
the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic
compadrio is more common, not only because the field is
naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire
to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same
mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from
the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio,
to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic
groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio repre-
sents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
[184] structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
[795] fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by
individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution
with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer,"
is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
[171] have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the
indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
725 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikũ, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuscháti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
725 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikũ, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. G M 174 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing. M 177 648 231 554 M [727] [567]

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders. G 231 177 554 648 M 648

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began 175

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [562]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest 554
rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet [534]
as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [292] [237]
feathers.

[p. 28-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena 177
remains the language of the village. Among 182
themselves the Terena, young and old, use their 191
own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained.

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which 177
have led to the integration of the Terena as a 182
group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena 648
are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service.

As the manager is the highest authority and 177
social leader in the village, it follows that status 554 ●
among the Terena is measured in relation to the 648
patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission station. The activities of the missionaries go far 797
beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684]
the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648]
sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear. 756 796 789

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season. 796 756 [292]

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world. 756 554

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him. 756 [197] [797] 756 795 [789]

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children. 535 527 [178] [262]

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright. [243]

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural. [554]

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena 527 526

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [654] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] [567] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/70 cont./

178 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna com-
554 munities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its
[184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have
121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall
128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

/71/

V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that
36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks
[167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as
[162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time
[103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a
[162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/131 cont./

369 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to
*177 the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the
511 greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market
181 is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban
369 "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a
*177 most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

*177 2. Military service is another important factor, but
701 which, of course, applies only to the male population. It
464 presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences,
●554 supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

*177 From this desire to travel and to know new places--al-
701 ready pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal
181 peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could
[171]

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164ff. (Central America).

/138 cont./

*177 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something
666 that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which
369 are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way)
829 and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" [159] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[159]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

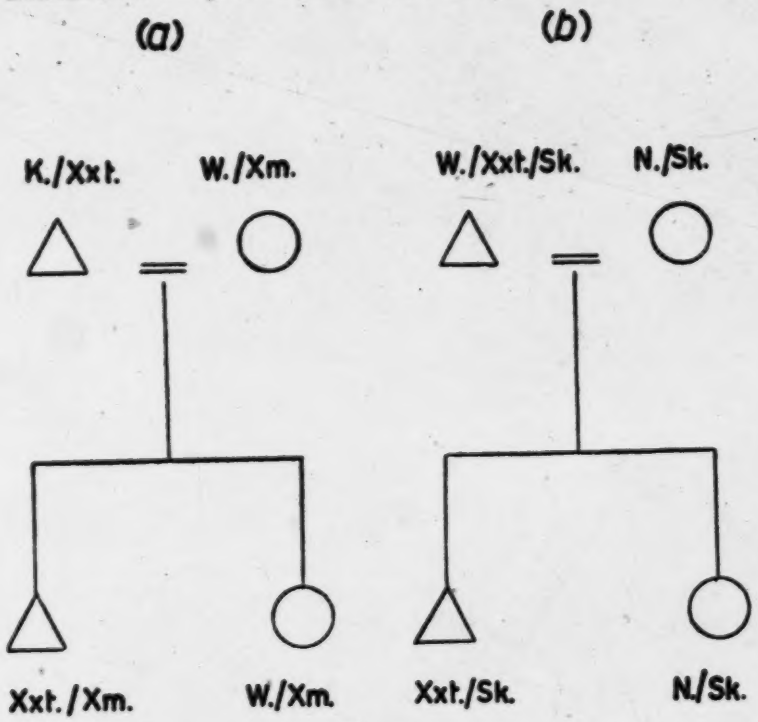


Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, [622]
"Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [777]
Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

142 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

114
565

class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahere-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114
565
555
701

Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group, [567] whether they were Naati or Wahere-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not [171] explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on
178 removing women from farm
462 work is explained, on the one
562 hand, by the important role
565 they played in Guaná culture,
171 which was organized basically
[591] around matrilocal extended
[596] families, despite the fact that
the Terêna today, are bilocal;
on the other hand, by the
attempt to parallel Guaykuru
women, who "throughout the
period of their marriage enjoy
the position of ladies....
It reverted to the husband's
care to provide the game and
other provisions to feed the
family." (Labrador, 1910;
II:26.)

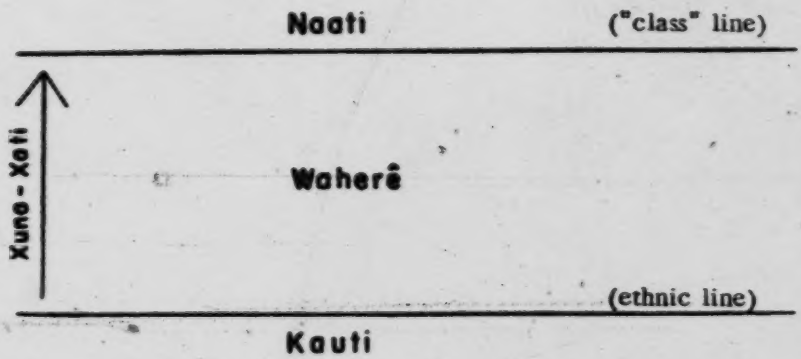
178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can
555 be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin
565 as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have
[721] become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of
[631] captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this
manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way
as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group
a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we
have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever
compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like
the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by
means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension
was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the
Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives,
who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e.,
the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different
565 ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local
[563] group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could



[563]

Figure 1. Threefold asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited
[565] to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumoné and Sukirikioné.

/47 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555
563
565
616

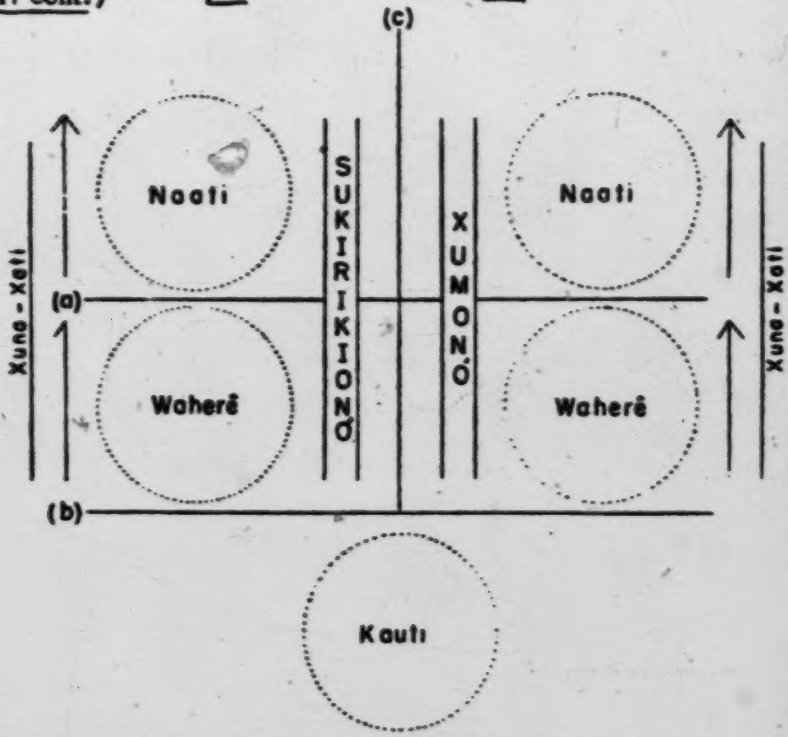


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú....* (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[121]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[167] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[126] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
126 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terena with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

126 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G [464] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph
555 and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were
[701] recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

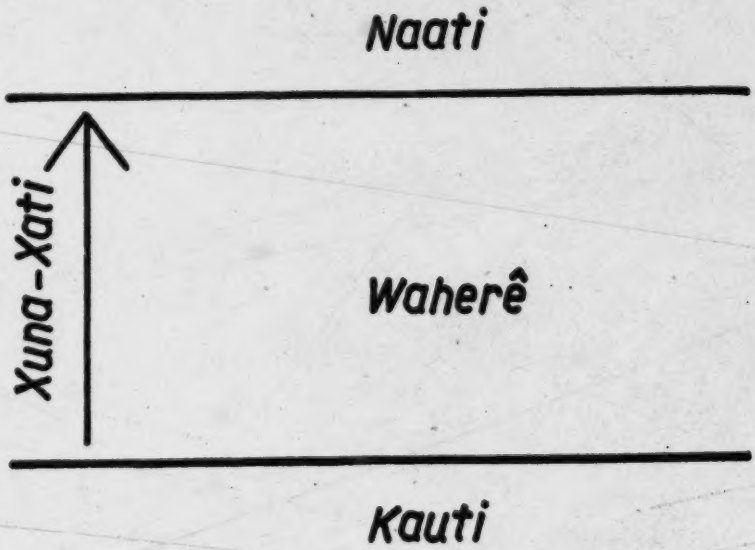


Figure III

582 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matri-
565 monial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking
557 stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
62 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361] 140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

/129 cont./

*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[404] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
[558] at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 557 369 562 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by *177 582 563 369 562 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [549]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife
582 there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in
563 addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city
369 (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to
562 cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order
[571] to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 The widening of the family network by means of the
608 compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommo-
● 557 dation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy
[175] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the
[851] time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/134 cont./

563 608 557 175 851 551 178 369 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 797 171 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
*66 *177 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*777 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 464 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. [178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [142] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 555 [701] the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

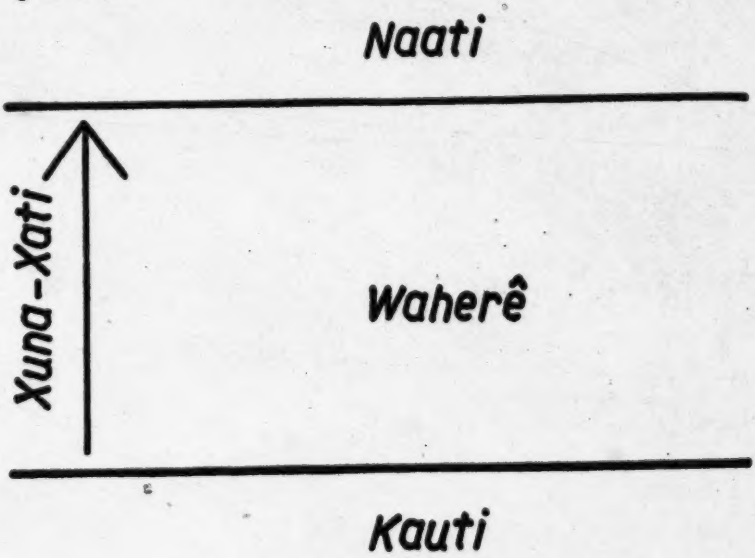


Figure III

582 565 557 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matrimonial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

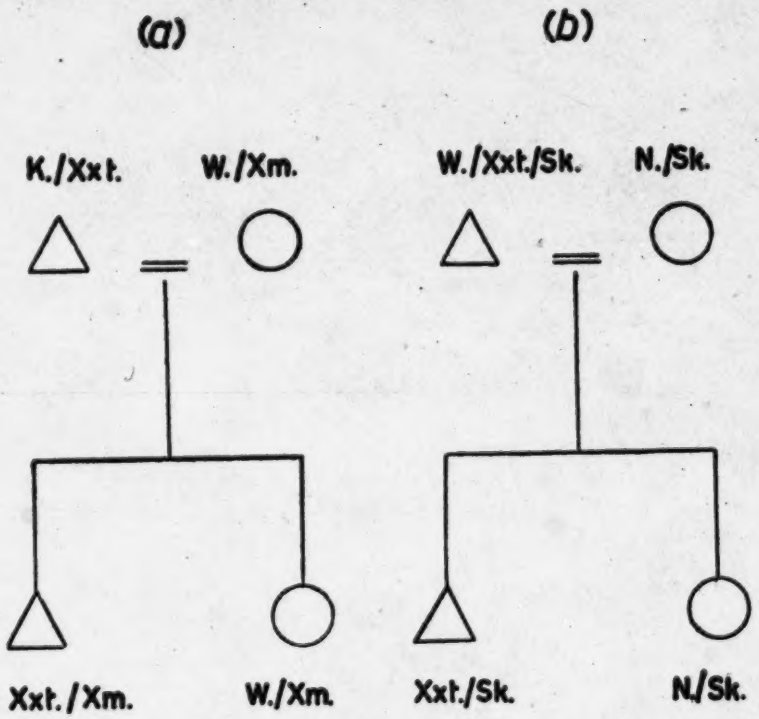


Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

565 554 557 611 [185 182]

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

121 [114 60]

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

582 [835]

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

582 587

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 431 565 558 The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txané.

616 796 526 Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192] 75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178] 76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
648 genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/124 cont./

369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as [128] those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

369 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to re-
619 main faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to
177 their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification,
369 along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national
[561] structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the
[619] assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

/143 cont./

some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./ But in the cities,
*177 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
191 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
369 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).
561

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as "racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses, claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certificate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card, end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews we carried out, however, show that there is already an awareness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they return to the aldea to work on their farm plots, even if this results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waheresháne*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [562]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired [641]
status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest 554
rank in the village and drank first at all cere- [534]
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [237]
feathers.

[p. 28-B]

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
121 the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175 Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
648 subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
M Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
[65] been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
G kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
[582] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
G captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
[566] caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm
178 work is explained, on the one
462 hand, by the important role
562 they played in Guaná culture,
565 which was organized basically
171 around matrilocal extended
[591] families, despite the fact that
[596] the Terêna today, are bilocal;
on the other hand, by the
attempt to parallel Guaykuru
women, who "throughout the
period of their marriage enjoy
the position of ladies....
It reverted to the husband's
care to provide the game and
other provisions to feed the
family." (Labrador, 1910;
II:26.)

178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can
555 be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin
565 as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have
[721] become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of
[631] captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this
manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way
as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group
a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we
have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever
compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like
the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by
means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension
was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the
Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives,
who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e.,
the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/133 cont./

*177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
562 indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

[571]

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.)

*[177] [563]

This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*177 369 565 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[563] [571]

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 369 582 562 563 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in forming families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[628] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle.* Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion. 159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal. 159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench. [342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him. [212] [794] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers. 159 [212] [797]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

3t Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

727
563

/For the role and function of the kauti or war captives in Guana society, see category 565./

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
172 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guanás groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
121 the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

G M 175 648 361 G [62] G M [563]

/34 cont./

fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

G M 175 648 563

chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

G M 175 648 M 727 G 829

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

M 565 631

the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree; and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

G [131] [171]

We see here that

G M 565 563 171

both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss

G M [113]

60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

below.-

[Text continues on p. 47]

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

/21

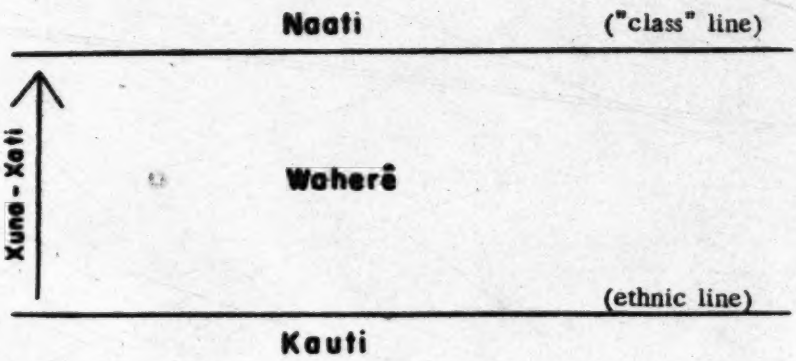
66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different
565 ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local
[563] group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could



[563]

Figure 1. Threefold, asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited
[565] to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumonó and Sukirikioné

/47 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555
563
565
616

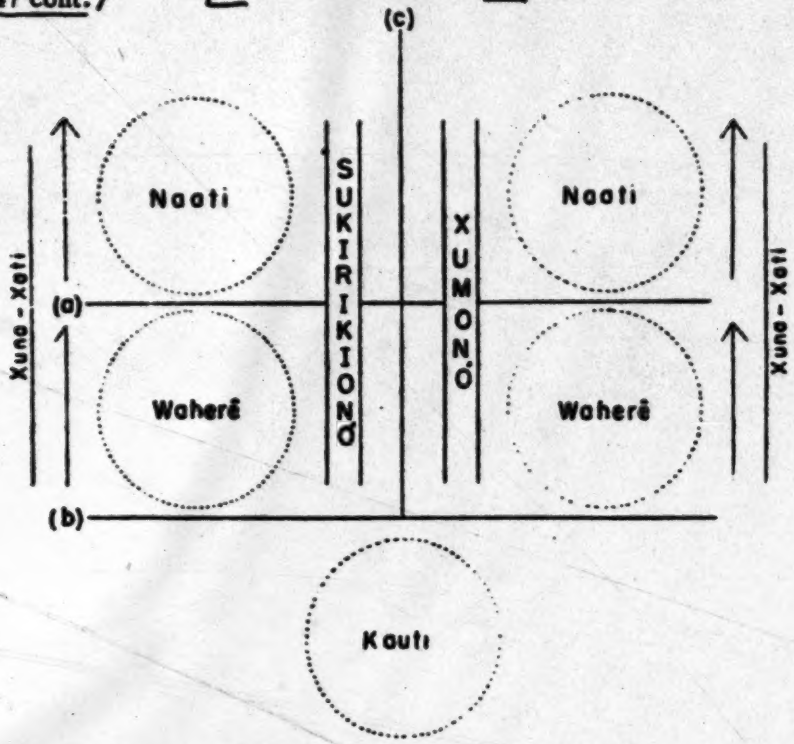


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/133 cont./

*177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
562 indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [648]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

[371]

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G [469] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G 563 104

into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

G *177 563 369 B 563 G [19]

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/-- the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros" (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

/143 cont./

G *177 563 369 B 563 some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

G *177 191 369 Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

G [561] [648] G [284]

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*[177]
[563]

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[626] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174 1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the [120] presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, Nº 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 622 [292] [567] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

[Post Chaco-Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the gen- [648]
eral disappearance of social stratification. The fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena [511]
on the same economic and social level. When they again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *waherehane*, and *kausti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [797] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 283 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

[Chaco Period]

881
also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 622
This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565
father and in the presence of all the members of
the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied [292]
the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion
did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584
tween their children while the children were still
young. The parents of the boy would take presents
to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents
accepted, they would take their girl to the house
of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day
or two. When the girl returned she was consid-
ered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage tak-
ing place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, [567]
was rather an elaborate performance. On going
to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and
mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led
a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave
was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*.
Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents
were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The
yuhokóti remained standing until he made his
speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying,
"*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to ar-
range about your girl). The girl's father, if he
agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All
right, I shall receive you). The messenger then
sat down and the parents discussed the marriage
of their children. When arrangements had been
completed the boy's parents left their gifts and
departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585
ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574
ents invited relatives and friends and built a spe-
cial shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which
the dances were performed. Much food and drink
were prepared for the guests. When the guests
had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom
and his parents. When the groom arrived he said,
"*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To
this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye
eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my
son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585
mock on which the bride was already seated. The
groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

[Chaco Period]

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hevé koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [273]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 197 585 [198]

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 173 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 631 [127] /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 101 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G
565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to re-
G [104] fer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané),
M 565 and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

M 565 631

59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

M 565 631

the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree; and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

G [631] [171]

G M 565 563 171

We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss below.

G M [113]

60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

[text continues on p. 47]

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná com- [565] munities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 But let us consider yet another passage, written already 565 in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which [104] in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [654] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
587

> 63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Waherê-Txané, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

> 64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114
565

class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahêrê-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the
565 warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle
555 and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally
701 translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group,
[567] whether they were Naati or Wahêrê-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not
[171] explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 178 565 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú 178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupí) people, the

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

171 462 177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462 177 The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the 462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both [177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their inte- 177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the 178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in 648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably 462 565

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 178 648 462 565 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175] [128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

177 178 462 562 565 171 [591] [596]

178 555 565 [721] [631]

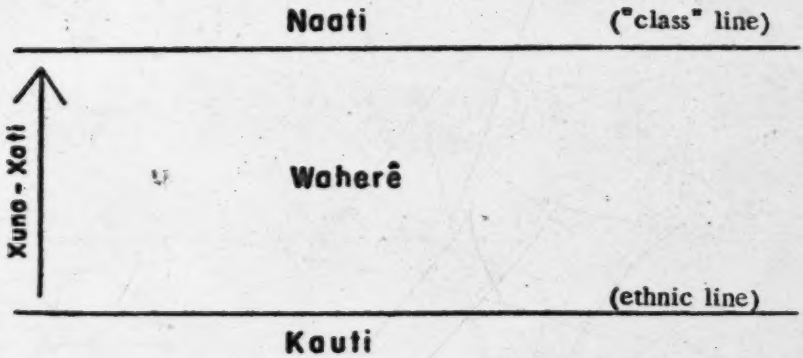
/45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different
565 ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local
[563] group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could



[563]

Figure 1. Threefold, asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited
[565] to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumoné and Sukirikioné.

[Traditional Culture]

/47 cont./

555
563
565
616

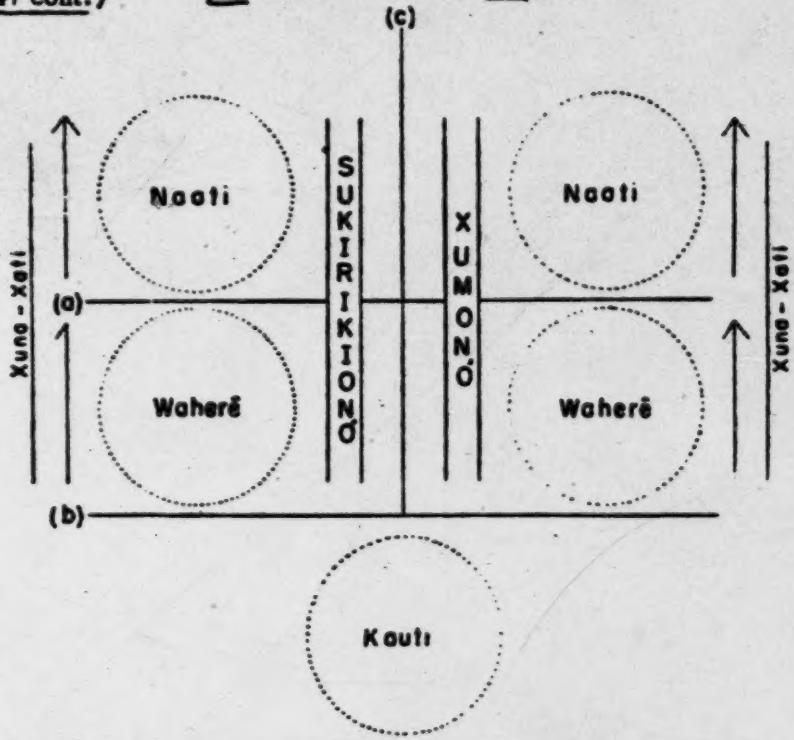


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
571

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

[Traditional Culture]

/48 cont./

616 796 431 565 558

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Wahêrê-Txané.

They, the food was carried

616 796 526 to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616
796
526
565
178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of
535 Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining
[526] only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by
[178] the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race
[114] of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and
[534] witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered
369 by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining
571 the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were
[511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life
[565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be
369 considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna
565 and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions,
[511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

/149/

*177 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for
369 both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point
565 that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic
[511] reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

162
175

162
619
369

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*177
[563]

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

●565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

616 796

565

Naati

("class" line)

Waherê

(ethnic line)

Kauti

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

616 773

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616 which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces
611
565 at work within the tribe.

565 It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum
582 system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

565
582
616

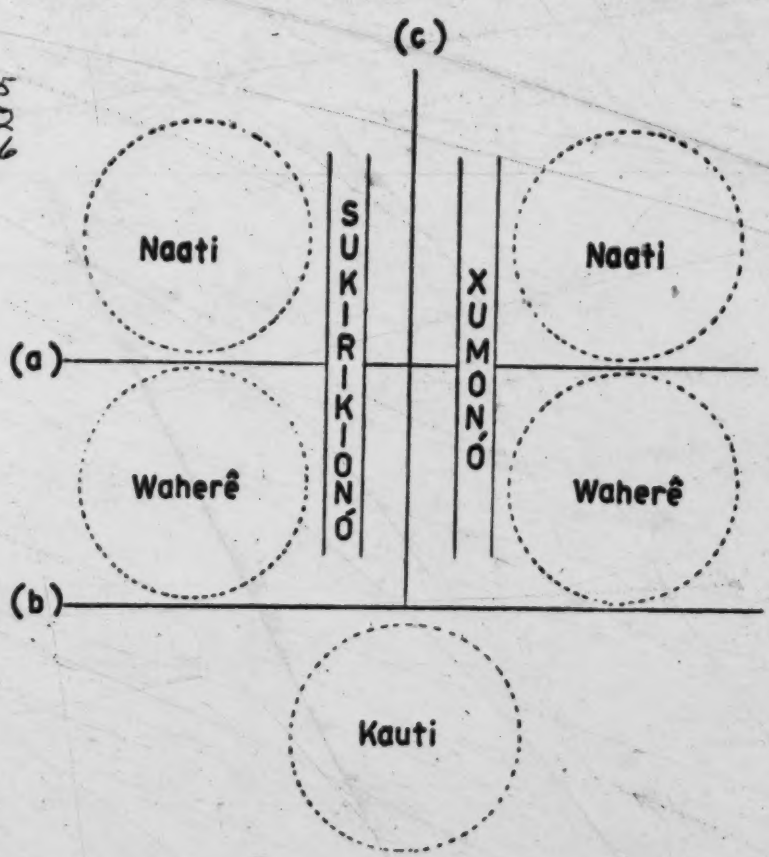


Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 555 [701] the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

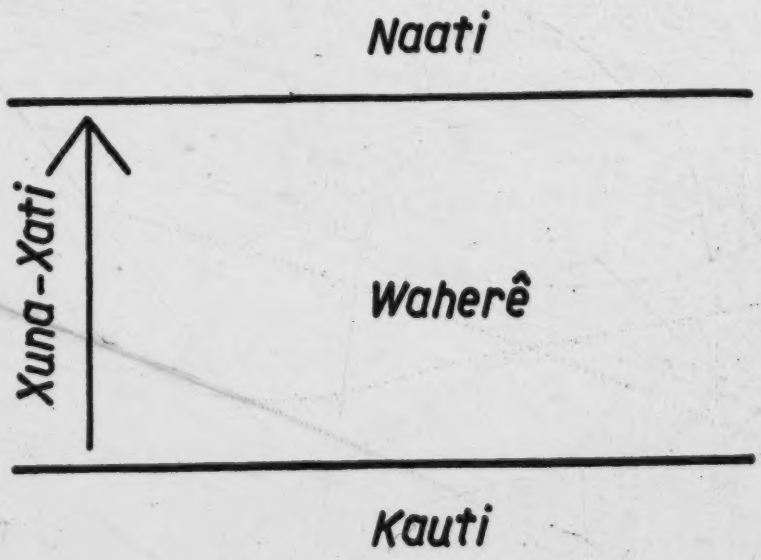


Figure III

582 565 557 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matrimonial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

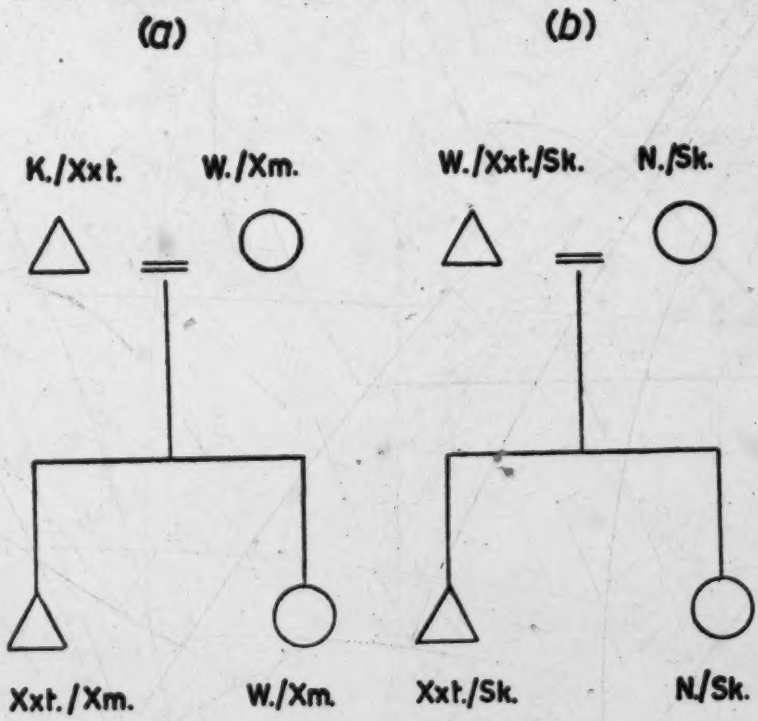


Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115 178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenô). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecatemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

566
567

/Information on the "slave" or "vassal" relationship of the Guana to the Mbaya people will be found in category 648./

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175
648
M
[651]

Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some

G
[582]
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or captains married according to their fashion Guaná women caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

G
[566]

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such."(33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 881 565 622 [292] [568] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

[p. 28-B]

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves
were captured as children it is not likely that they 565
returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [1797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Chaco Period]

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 881 622 This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565 father and in the presence of all the members of [292] the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584 tween their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *koyenóne*, [567] was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopô*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585 ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574 ents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585 mock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

566

567

/Information on the "slave" or "vassal" relationship of the Guana to the Mbaya people will be found in category 648./

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

/2/ /73 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
631 ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[17] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

● 567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

●567 101 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G 565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to refer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané), and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

G [104]

M 565

M 565 631

59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 But let us consider yet another passage, written already 565 in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which [104] in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [554] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114 longer existed at the time (1920) when /42/ he lived with the
565 Terêna, since they were unable to make raiding forays or even
178 to trade captives (63) in a region completely transformed by
567

63. In the second half of the last century, there still existed what may be called trading of captives, as may be seen by this passage by Taunay: "The Caiuás /Cayua/ (a Guarani group--RCO) who had been sold passed from hand to hand as slaves or, as they were called there, cativeiros /"captivities"/." (1931:21.)

114 the establishment of the national society. But, on the other
565 hand, he mentions the "Shunachati" as belonging to a stratum formally identical to the others. As for this, our experiences among the present-day Terêna lead us to disagree not only with Rattray-Hay, but with ethnologists like Oberg and Altenfelder, who decided that these Indians were stratified into four strata or classes: Naati, Xuna-Xati, Wahere-Txané, and Kauti. (64) Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the

64. Oberg, 1949:28; Altenfelder, 1949:319-320. It is necessary to emphasize that these authors use the term "Unati" rather than Naati, which is the correct one. "Unati" merely means "good." On the other hand, these authors use the term class, with which we cannot concur, since

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114
565

class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahere-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114
565
555
701

Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group, [567] whether they were Naati or Wahere-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not [171] explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

G M 175 648 131 M 563

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

G M 175 648 571

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

M [563] [622]

G M 175 648 [527] 1622 [582]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/ will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

G M [101]

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layana words.

G [191]

The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

3:Oliveira--41 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

G M 175 648 M 721 563 [381]

/371/

The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy throughout the Paraguay basin.

G M 175 648 571

We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná subjection: "According to the best informants I could get," he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

3:Oliveira--42 E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

G
M
175
648
571

/37 cont./

very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

G
M
[172]

53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

G M 175 648 571

/38 cont./

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G 121 128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G [173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
571

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[792] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[789] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[573]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
[114] festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[222] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
[223] all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on:
[301] "Some sew glass beads on
[302] pieces of striped cotton cloth,
others cut and lay out the red
feathers with which they make
ornaments for the head; yet
others sketch on their husbands'
bodies delicate paintings, when
they do not do this themselves."
(1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal
relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained
among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only
moment when the local groups manage to gather together all
(or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today
coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather
the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

796 90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/104 cont./

184 233 511 include any native families that own reasonable numbers of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 233 511 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending [166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from [441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd [427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring 182 241 511 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas, like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and, especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 571 177 The most significant differences between Terêna communities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane, since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 798 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796

Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

[619]

178 571 [172]

This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
60 tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
582 ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

/125 cont./

*177 369 156 829 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginalization (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual, ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group, etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as [124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from [123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun [121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme, regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it permits a more practical view of the problem of individual assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically congruent categories.

*177 369 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced from the detailed examination of the relations between the Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso. [167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave [571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Where- [829] as on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/126 cont./

*177 them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of
369 life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the
[571] city, raise their children there, or build up their families there.
[829] On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in
[464] the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and
[361] more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated
[186] in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimi-
[571] lation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 In the examination in which we are engaged, with re-
128 spect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna
369 population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the
[781] most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [849]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 [571]

situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557

The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/148 cont./

000 with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

*177 4. Aside from the barriers mentioned so far, namely: (1) the ethnic ones (phenotype and language), (2) those created by the urban labor market (lack of documents and preference for agricultural work), and (3) those created by the intervention of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (segregation and discrimination), there are also, to make difficult the full functioning of the assimilation mechanisms, those barriers that we shall call "social," because they operate on the level of the organization of the associative life.

*177 The first of these emerges from the difficulty encountered
369 by the Terêna population coming from the aldeas in maintaining
571 the same index of associative life. Whether they settle on fazendas or in cities--especially in cities--Terêna families become involved in more impersonal relations, more shallow, and limited to a small group of fellow tribesmen (usually neighbors, relatives, and compadres) and a few fellow workers. The intensive "social life" of the aldeas (festivals, games, visits, etc.) has no counterpart on the fazendas or in the cities. All of that typically tribal interaction to which they were
[511] accustomed gradually disappears. Even the recreational life
[565] of the Terêna emigrant, which at first seemed about to be enriched by his move to the urban areas, for example, proves much poorer because it is inaccessible to the less favored strata of the population in which he settles.

*177 This integration into the lowest strata, in turn, can be
369 considered as a second barrier that arises between the Terêna
565 and the national society. The detribalized population, from the moment when it leaves its aldea, even if it does not lose touch altogether with its local group, goes on to live either as landless country people (when it settles on fazendas), or as manual laborers (when it lives in the cities). The exceptions,
[511] already mentioned earlier, are rare. But the fact that this detribalized population (especially the urbanized one),

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*[177] [563]

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.
*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
561 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[628] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
● 571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/150 cont./

*177 182 571 off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginalization (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy, making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" /condition/--which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrap olating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English./ As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

*177 128 It should be made clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

182
571
[648]
[828]
[628]

REFERENCES

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949—"Mudança Cultural dos Terena" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo, pp. 271/379.

BACH, J.
1916—"Datos sôbre los indios Terena de Miranda" in *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, LXXXII, Buenos Aires, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1937—"A sucessão hereditária do Chefe entre os Tereno" in *Ensaios de Ehtnologia Brasileira, Coleção Brasiliana*, pp. 70-85.
1950—"Lendas dos índios Tereno" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo, pp. 217-232.

BALDUS, HERBERT e EMILIE WILLEMS
1939—*Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia*. Companhia Editora Nacional.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE
1949—*Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul*. Coleção Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editora Nacional, São Paulo (vol. II).

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1922—*De la Division du travail Social*, 4° édit., Paris, Alcan.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1936—*We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London.
1954—"Social Organization and Social Change", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 84, pp. 1-20.
1955—"Some Principles of Social Organization", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 85, pp. 1-18.

113

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 881 622 This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565 father and in the presence of all the members of [292] the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584 tween their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *koyenóne*, [567] was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585 ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574 ents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585 mock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

/33 cont./

G M 175 648 [651] [431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G M 175 648 574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M [562] [622]

G M 175 648 361

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group, as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during [578] dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the [177]
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648
439
366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
628 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the
578 result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to
166
692

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a
622 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi-
872 pal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/83 cont./

161 Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W.
166 tells us that this influx is
621 also due to the inroads of
[795] Protestantism, which inci-
[578] dentally is limited to
Bananal alone"--and we
might add: due to the
internal conflicts emerging
from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is
interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a
homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered
separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira
and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in
earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native
Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant
church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house,
as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/105 cont./

797 648 578 795 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is the result of the missions' activities, which is not always consistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense, what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldea routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.
797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!
621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
[797] character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

795
771

165. Altenfelder da Silva,
in his work on Bananal, refers

/129 cont./

better recreation, and better education for their children. This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience, since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads), or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and begins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences we had with the aldea population, especially with the Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not find the conditions necessary for his development. We have an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian, Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre, because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

/130 cont./

369 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had be-
167 come "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to
528 the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)
181

[159]

199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

369
[44]

200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798]
[655]

201. As a source of such
friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

616
the *nukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. [562]
The daughters of the chiefs also went through a
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the war- 554
rior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all cere- [534]
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [237]
feathers.

[p. 28-B]

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. 582 An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. 595 There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. 591 There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. 105 How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. 177 Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. [847]

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175 Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
648 subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
M Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
[65] been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
G kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
[582] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
G captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
[566] caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G M 175 648 [57] [622] [682]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.
G M [101]
In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layãna words.
G [191]
The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP7
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
[60] tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
[582] ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

/121 cont./

369
162

As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369 The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next
162 chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the
582 preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369 The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population,
167 as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that
167 this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding
369 the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that
621 they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

/133 cont./

*177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
562 indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 ●582 563 369 562 [549]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[541]

*177 582 563 369 562 [571]

situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557

The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*[177]
[563]

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[626] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
● 582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house; chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616
611
565

which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces at work within the tribe.

565
587

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

565
582
616

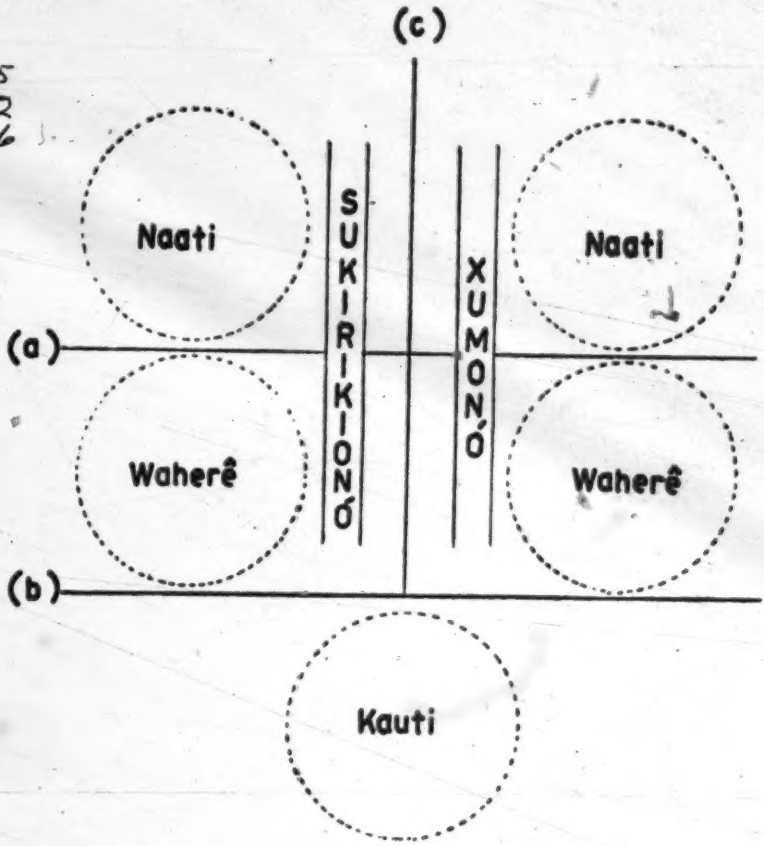


Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 555 [701] the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

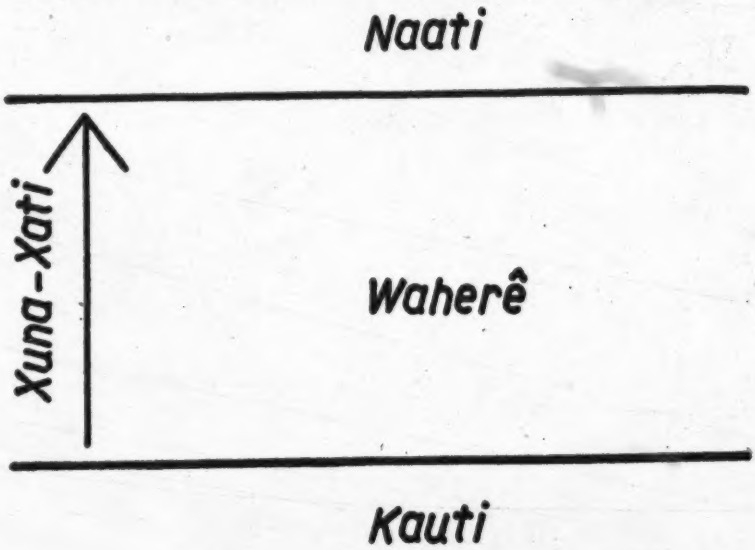


Figure III

582 565 557 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matrimonial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Na- 582
ati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of 565
the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mecha- 557
nisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is at- [554]
tested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each [672]
local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a [701]
single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold 565
assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodat- 554
ing the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) 611
in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, 851
but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

582
[587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly
835 a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena
773 myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

601

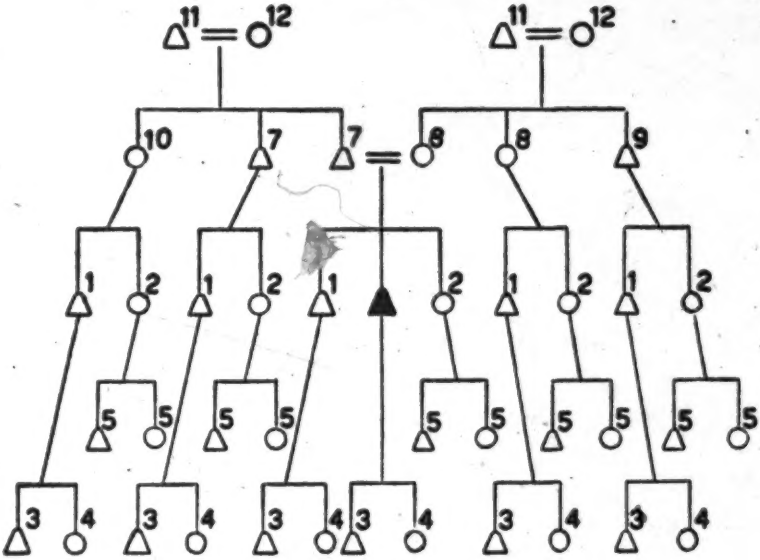


Figure V

(1) Ang̃i, (2) Mongetxá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inxiné, (5) Nevongó, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Keno, (9) Kungó, (10) Oonge, (11) Ongu, (12) Onze. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of
[114] reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Keno and Mongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Keno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

835 man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words
773 of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their
[587] case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115 178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenõ). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati in-group. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

[Chaco Period]

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 881 622 This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565 father and in the presence of all the members of the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied [292] the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584 ● tween their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *koyenóne*, [567] was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopô*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585 ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574 ents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585 mock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

[p. 39-B]

[Chaco Period]

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi hevé koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [273]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 177 585 [178]

[p. 40-A]

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

[Chaco Period]

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 881 622
This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565
father and in the presence of all the members of
the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied [292]
the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion
did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584
tween their children while the children were still
young. The parents of the boy would take presents
to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents
accepted, they would take their girl to the house
of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day
or two. When the girl returned she was consid-
ered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage tak-
ing place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, [567]
was rather an elaborate performance. On going
to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and
mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led
a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave
was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*.
Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents
were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The
yuhokóti remained standing until he made his
speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying,
"*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to ar-
range about your girl). The girl's father, if he
agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All
right, I shall receive you). The messenger then
sat down and the parents discussed the marriage
of their children. When arrangements had been
completed the boy's parents left their gifts and
departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585
ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574
ents invited relatives and friends and built a spe-
cial shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which
the dances were performed. Much food and drink
were prepared for the guests. When the guests
had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom
and his parents. When the groom arrived he said,
"*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To
this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye
eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my
son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585
mock on which the bride was already seated. The
groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

[P. 39 - B]

[Chaco Period]

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouki hevó koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *uuati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [293]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 177 585 [178]

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belong-
ings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet fac-
ing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not per-
mitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts, 836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does 585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the 833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes [825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it [824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man 178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later [126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could [114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

312 /406 cont. / Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[386] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo). The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[585] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[824] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[439] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded. --
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[821] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
585 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
595 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belong-
ings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet fac-
ing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not per-
mitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

SP7
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

582 [587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

835 773

601

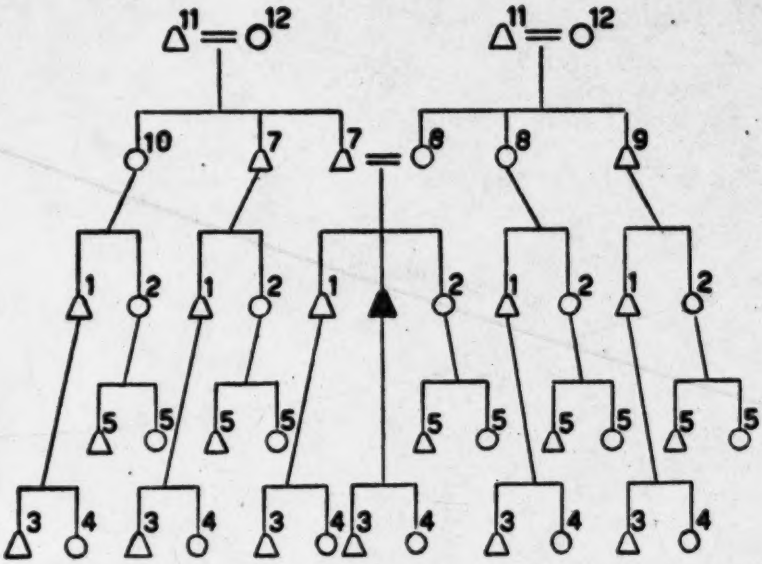


Figure V

(1) Andi, (2) Mongetxá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inxiné, (5) Nevongó, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Eeno, (9) Eungó, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onso. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Eeno and Mongetxá. Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Eeno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

[114]

835 773

man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

[587]

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, [622] "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [779] Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, [241] carâ, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch [438] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, [463] even gold. He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and 241
beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it
is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this 433
area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal 231
cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and 262
some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing [224]
and hunting supply only a negligible amount of [226]
food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic 177
history of the Terena in the last hundred years. 433
The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

59

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will 434
serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, [361]
have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study 166
made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts: 434
464

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

[103]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 795 [797]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 582 595 591 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. 105 177 [847]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [971] [526]

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly. 177 585 [591]

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything were missing the ghost would return to claim his property. 761 764 [775]

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village. 764 [756]

After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead. 768 [551]

The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had 765 [587]

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on
178 removing women from farm
482 work is explained, on the one
562 hand, by the important role
565 they played in Guaná culture,
171 which was organized basically
[591] around matrilocal extended
[596] families, despite the fact that
the Terêna today, are bilocal;
on the other hand, by the
attempt to parallel Guaykuru
women, who "throughout the
period of their marriage enjoy
the position of ladies....
It reverted to the husband's
care to provide the game and
other provisions to feed the
family." (Labrador, 1910;
II:26.)

178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can
555 be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin
565 as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have
[72] become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of
[631] captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this
manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way
as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group
a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we
have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever
compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like
the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by
means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension
was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the
Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives,
who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e.,
the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

178

[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[276] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

602 /41 cont./
622 When Ečiviagatí died about 1925, Nalikí, as his eldest son and the oldest of his brother's sons, became chief of Mureira. Nalikí was therefore already 80 years old then. He had two sons
622 and two daughters. The eldest son is married to a daughter of
591 the chief of Passarinho and lives with his father in Mureira (but
602 in his own hut). The second son is married to a daughter of the chief of Cachoeirinha and also lives with his father in Mureira. The oldest daughter was married to the eldest son of the chief of Lalima and died in childbirth. The second daughter also lives in Lalima; she is married to the second son of the chief there.

622 The order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is the following:
602 1. The oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
2. The oldest among the sons and brother's sons of No. 1 (that is, either the oldest among the chief's son's sons or the son's sons of one of his brothers).
3. The oldest among the chief s sister's sons.
4. The husband of the oldest daughter of the chief.
5. The oldest among the sons of the oldest daughter of the chief.
6. The husband of the oldest daughter of No. 1, that is, of the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
7. The next oldest brother of the chief.
8. The husband of the oldest among the chief's brother's daughters.
9. The husband of the oldest sister of the chief.
10. The husband of the oldest among the chief's sister s daughters.

/42/ According to what has been said, it seems that one may assume that if the chief has no descendants and siblings, the succession does not fall to the relatives of his wife, but to the oldest brother of his father and his descendants or, if such a one does not exist, to the husband of the oldest sister of his father and his descendants. I could not find out anything about this, however.

The following presentation, in which in any given case the oldest, and thus the legitimate individual to succeed, is always indicated, may serve as an example to clarify the order of succession:

/42 cont./

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
● 59/ the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
585 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[821] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, [622]
"Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [777]
Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [178] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati ingroup. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. [132] Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). [412] The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the [412] "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the [516] ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began [177] to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden 407] plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. [824] "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century: [181]

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. [516] Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, 592 which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. 241 The clearing and digging of the land were performed 462 by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were 241 maize, sweet and bitter manioc, cará, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at 243 least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 795 [797]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. [342] On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, [241] carà, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. [443] He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. [438] In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [352] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513] In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. [191] He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [159] [551] [212] [191] [592]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

5:Rohde--1 E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
592 sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

122 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

● 593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
882 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [771] [526]

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 582 595 591 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. 105 177 [847]

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP7
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[776] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
170 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[821] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587 offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595 ● *polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, [622] "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [777] Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [797] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [991] [526]

[Traditional Culture]

177 178 482 562 565 171 [591] [596]

/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 555 565 [721] [631]

/45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
[60] tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
[582] ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[Chaco Period]

601

In the paternal generation there are two terms for ego's father—the referential term *sa'a* and the vocative term *ta'ata*. There are two terms for mother—the referential term *ēno* and the vocative term *mēme*. Father's brother is termed *poisa'a* (literally, other father). Father's sister is designated by the descriptive term *mokechansa'a*. Mother's sister is called *poiēno* (literally other mother) and mother's brother is designated by the descriptive term *ayoēno*. In addition to these terms for the siblings of parents, the Terena appear to have terms corresponding to uncle and aunt, for father's brother and mother's brother can be termed *eungo* and *lulu*, and father's sister and mother's sister can be termed *ongo*. A completely satisfactory explanation of these uncle and aunt terms cannot be made until more is known about the language and culture of the Terena. They may be respect terms for mother's brother and father's sister which are extended to male and female relatives of the parental generation in the manner in which *ta'ata* and *mēme* are extended to all older people in the father's and mother's generation.

In ego's generation, male speaking, there are two specific classificatory terms for brother—*enjovi*, older brother, and *andi*, younger brother. Both these terms are extended to male parallel and cross cousins on both the father's and mother's side. A man calls his sisters and female parallel and cross cousins *mongecha*. These terms are reversed when a woman is speaking. In addition, there is a more general term for brother, *lele*, which can be used to designate men of one's own generation of more distant relationship. The term *cucuná* is used for designating a middle brother.

In the children's generation there are terms for son, *djeá*, and daughter, *inziné*, which are extended, male speaking, to the sons and daughters of brothers. Sisters' children are termed *nevongé*, sex being shown by the addition of *hoyeno* (male) and *seno* (female). When a woman speaks the terms are reversed.

There is just one term, *amori*, for grandchildren. *Hoyeno* and *seno* may be added if necessary.

In the parent's generation both classificatory and descriptive terms can be used for affinal relatives. Father's brother's wife may be called *meme* or *yenolulu* (uncle's wife), and mother's sister's husband may be called *ta'ata* or *imaongo* (aunt's

[p. 30-B]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7 Terena

[Chaco Period]

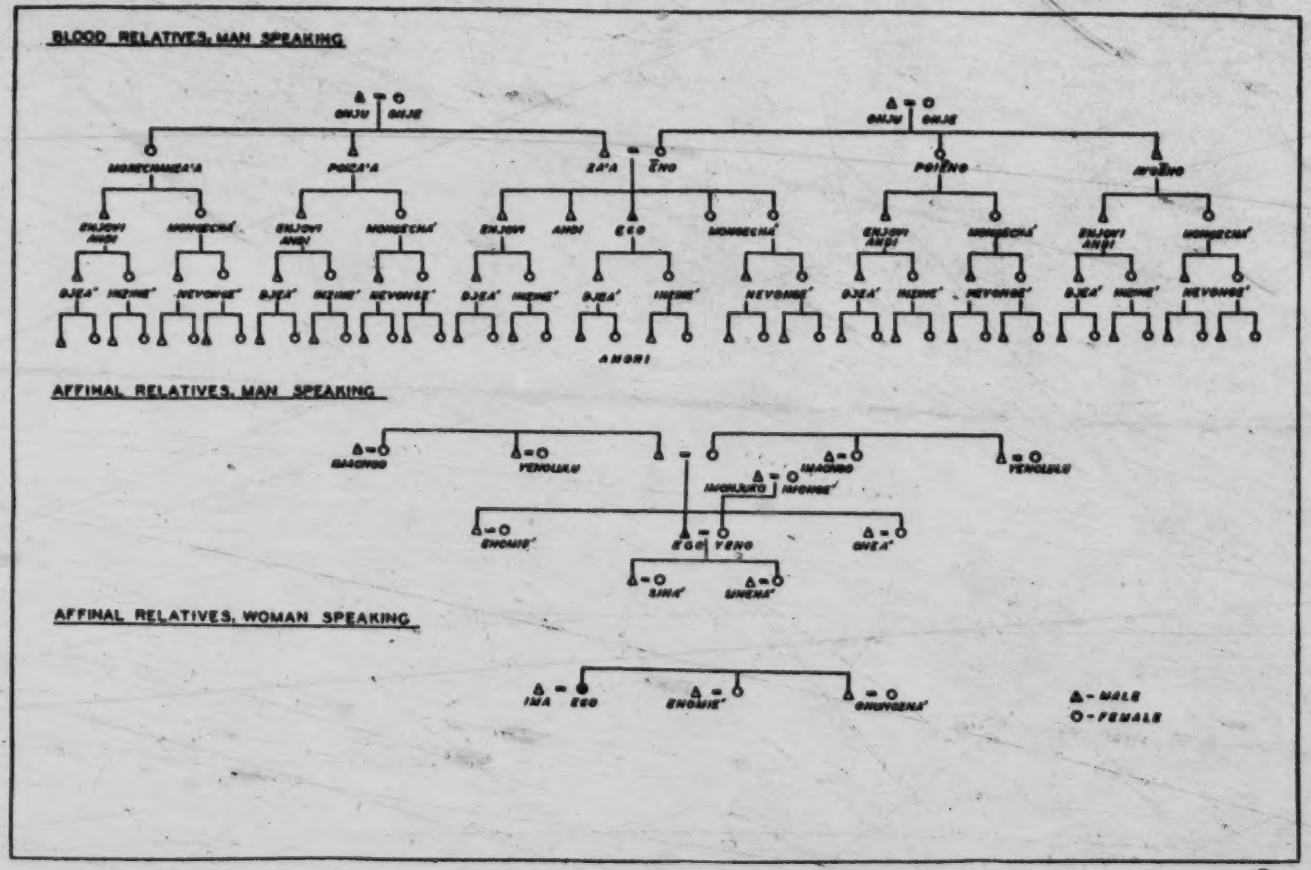


CHART 1.—Terena kinship terms.

[P.31]

61

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. 582 An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally monogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. 595 There was no strict rule of residence, the young couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. 591 There was no mother-in-law or father-in-law avoidance. 606

The above is a general description of the social organization of the Terena while they were in the Chaco. 105 How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. 177 Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin. [847]

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 929

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP7
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[62] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[58] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

721 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
170 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's brother's daughter," nevoangé. --- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father, who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter, moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his younger brother after his father's death.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

582
[587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly
835 a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena
773 myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

601

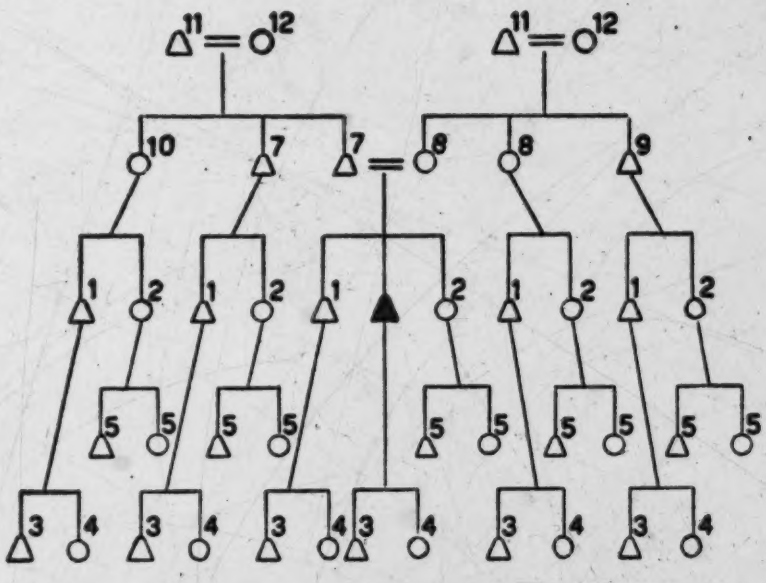


Figure V

(1) Ang̃i, (2) Nongetxá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inxiné, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Eano, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Ongu, (12) Onxe. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of
[114] reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Eano and Nongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Eano, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

835 man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words
773 of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their
[587] case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

421 [428] [768]

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

241 476 592 462 [241]

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

476 [224] [241] [602]

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

177 178 648

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[167] [361] 177 241 648

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

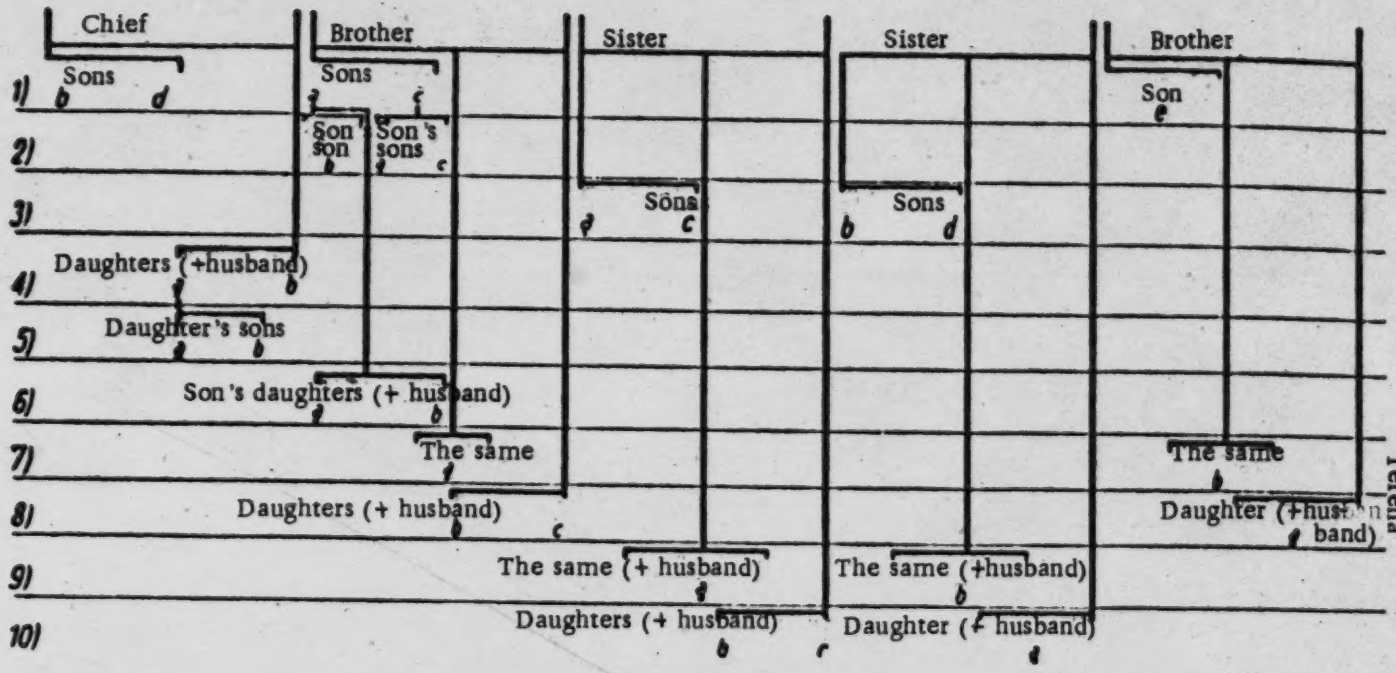
602 /41 cont./
622 When Ečiviagatí died about 1925, Nalikí, as his eldest son and the oldest of his brother's sons, became chief of Mureira. Nalikí was therefore already 80 years old then. He had two sons
622 and two daughters. The eldest son is married to a daughter of
591 the chief of Passarinho and lives with his father in Mureira (but
602 in his own hut). The second son is married to a daughter of the chief of Cachoeirinha and also lives with his father in Mureira. The oldest daughter was married to the eldest son of the chief of Lalima and died in childbirth. The second daughter also lives in Lalima; she is married to the second son of the chief there.

622 The order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is the following:
602 1. The oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
2. The oldest among the sons and brother's sons of No. 1 (that is, either the oldest among the chief's son's sons or the son's sons of one of his brothers).
3. The oldest among the chief s sister's sons.
4. The husband of the oldest daughter of the chief.
5. The oldest among the sons of the oldest daughter of the chief.
6. The husband of the oldest daughter of No. 1, that is, of the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
7. The next oldest brother of the chief.
8. The husband of the oldest among the chief's brother's daughters.
9. The husband of the oldest sister of the chief.
10. The husband of the oldest among the chief's sister s daughters.

/42/ According to what has been said, it seems that one may assume that if the chief has no descendants and siblings, the succession does not fall to the relatives of his wife, but to the oldest brother of his father and his descendants or, if such a one does not exist, to the husband of the oldest sister of his father and his descendants. I could not find out anything about this, however.

The following presentation, in which in any given case the oldest, and thus the legitimate individual to succeed, is always indicated, may serve as an example to clarify the order of succession:

122
602


Chief
Brother
Sister
Sister
Brother
1)
Sons
b d
Sons
a c
Son
e
2)
Son's son
b
Son's sons
a c
3)
Sons
a c
Sons
b d
4)
Daughters (+husband)
a b
5)
Daughter's sons
a b
6)
Son's daughters (+ husband)
a b
7)
The same
a
The same
b
8)
Daughters (+ husband)
b c
Daughter (+husband)
a
9)
The same (+ husband)
a
The same (+husband)
b
10)
Daughters (+ husband)
b c
Daughter (+ husband)
a

/42 con..

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
596 the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
frûits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid- [846]
wife then washed the child and gave it to the
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

[Chaco Period]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 195 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
170 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604
[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootṹ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulṹ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Naliki's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Naliki's father, who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter, moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his younger brother after his father's death.

/42 cont./

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
59/ the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed 601
imaongo and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*.

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from 582
marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally mo- 595
nogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young 591
couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or 606
father-in-law avoidance.

The above is a general description of the social 105
organization of the Terena while they were in the 177
Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom [847]
of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587]
the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [622] Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to [797] substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, [622] "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [77] Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [648] [241]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

*177 582 563 369 562 [571]

situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 [175] [851]

The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
175 of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
851 the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
351 adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
178 At present, with the probable exception of the population that
369 still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
184 structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
795 fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
171 have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, Nº 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
170 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootũ; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulũ; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616
611
565

which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces at work within the tribe.

565
582

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

565
582
616

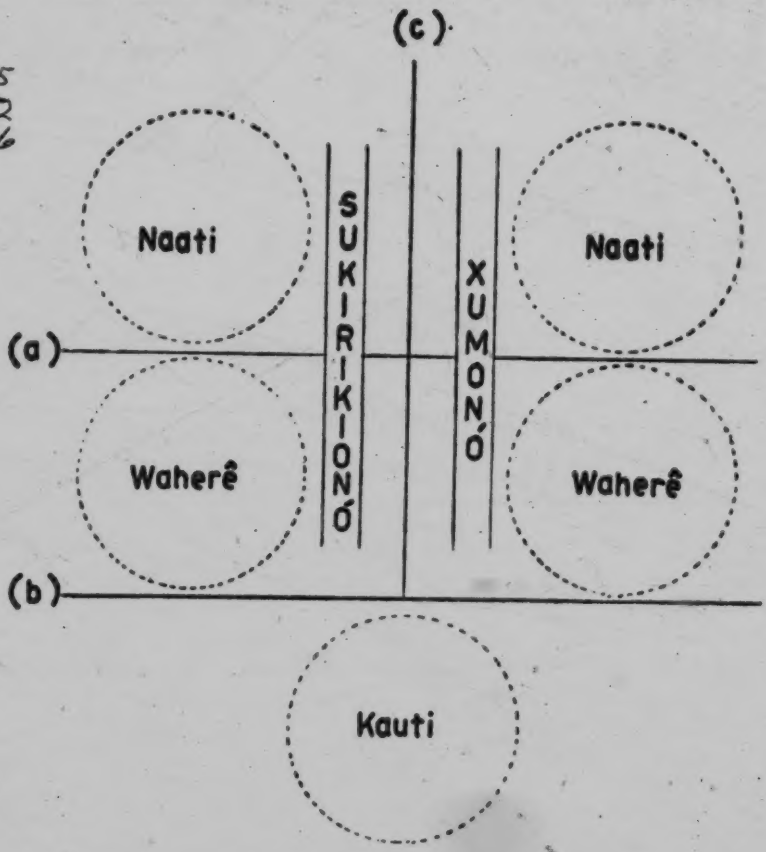


Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

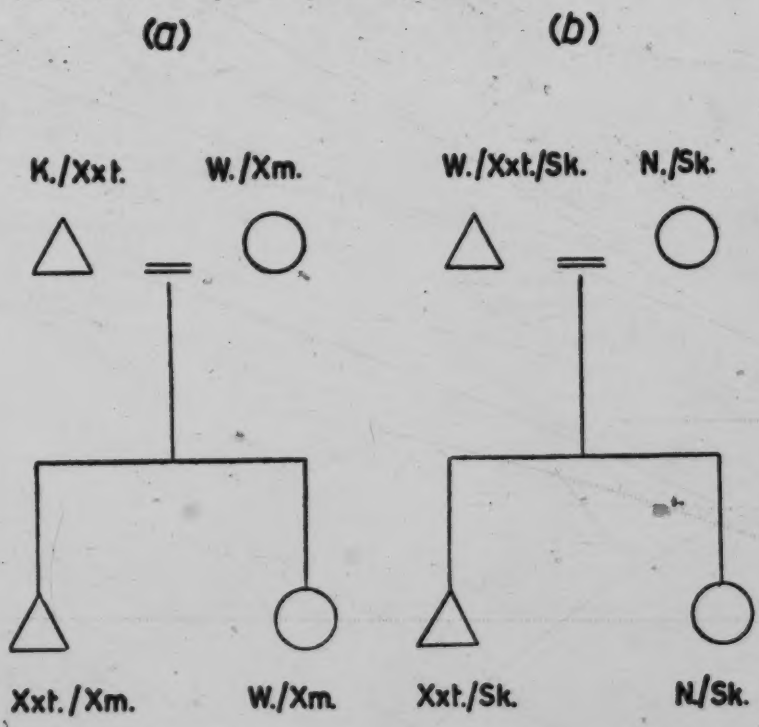


Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society. 565 554 557 611 [185 182]

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper. 121 [114 60]

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws. 582 [835]

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found 582 587

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discuss- 517
ing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for 512
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, 513
covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

616
796
302

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black.

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waheresbane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

565 [582] 281 565 622 [292] [562] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers.

616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

[p. 28-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

[P. 32-B]

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the breakdown of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [829] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their breakdown. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 829

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [771] [526]

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

The European origin of this ceremony is obvious. The "caboclos" of the States of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have a pageant which is Portuguese in origin and which represents a peace ceremony between the Portuguese Christians and the Moors, in which kings, princesses, soldiers, and ambassadors are present. Although the Terena no longer remember the origin of the *láia*, certain similarities enable us to say with some assurance that the Terena have incorporated many of the elements of the "congada" into the *láia*. 522 527 536 [177]

The really important dance of the Terena at present is the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé*, or "bate-pau." Although this dance can be performed at any time, a special performance is put on during "Indian Day," April 19. The dancers are divided into two groups, one being called "mansa" (tame) and the other, "brava" (wild). The members of each side paint their faces and bodies in a special way. The dancers of one side paint the right arm and shoulder red and the left arm and shoulder white, while the dancers of the other side paint one side white and the other black. Thus, although the moiety organization of the Terena has broken down, the "bate-pau" resembles a moiety dance. The names of the two sides (tame and wild) are Portuguese versions of the names of the moieties. The principal differences between the dance organization and the old moiety organization are that individuals can choose the side on which they wish to dance and that the two groups are headed by dance leaders irrespective of their old moiety membership. In addition to body painting, the dancers wear short skirts made from rhea feathers, a rhea feather diadem, and bangles below the knee. 535 527 [302] [616] [187] [292]

The music for the dance is provided by two drummers and one or two flute players who stand in front of the dancers while they are performing circles, or march in front of the dancers when they move from one place to another in two parallel lines, each line being led by its dance leader. Each dancer holds a bamboo cane about 4 or 5 feet long in his right hand and has a short bow strapped to his back. A hole is made in the center of the bow in which a small arrow is placed, one end being fastened to the bow string. The bow is used in one of the sequences to make a rhythmic sound. [533] [534]

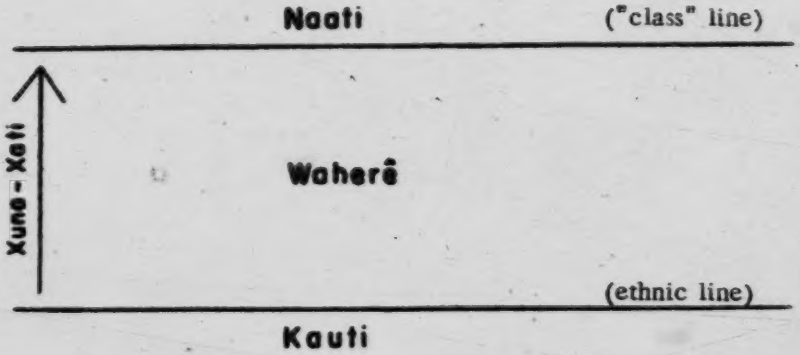
The "bate-pau" has to be seen and heard to be appreciated. For a month the dancers practice

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555 It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different
565 ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local
[563] group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could



[563]

Figure 1. Threefold, asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited
[565] to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumonó and Sukirikioné.

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden".--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[296] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

[Traditional Culture]

/47 cont./

555
563
565
616

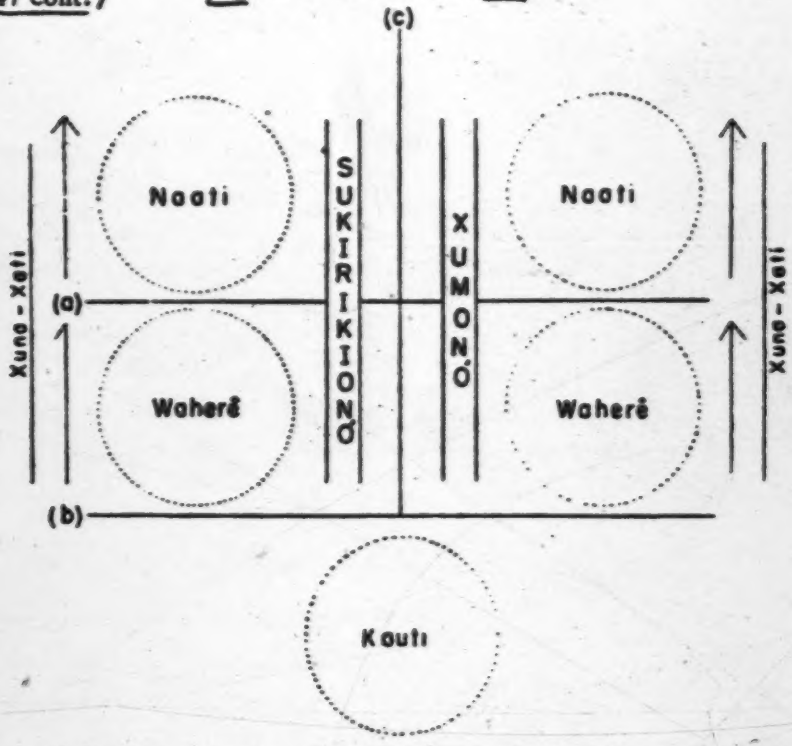


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
671

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 431 565 558

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txané.

616 796 526

Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616
796
526
565
178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 [526] [178] [114] [534] Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dancé--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 It cannot be stated with Rattray-Hay's certainty, in his
535 passage cited above, that the old ceremonial division between
178 Xumonó and Sukirikionó still regulated strictly secular festivals such as the "bate-pau dance" or the "race of the little horses." We were able to ascertain in Cachoeirinha that for the composition of the "Harará-iti" and "Hononó-iti" groups the Xumonó and Sukirikionó distinctions were not respected. This means that, if these moieties functioned in the regulation of the Kohixoti-kipahé in Rattray-Hay's time and in Bananal, nowadays in Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal itself (aldeas that still organize these dances with some regularity) the moieties no longer regulate either the playful or ceremonial activities.
[177] Today they are reduced to a mere tradition, which is under-
[162] standable in view of the fact that it would have been impossible for them to retain their original function /50/ (regulation of marriage) or even those that followed (ceremonial and playful), as the old social structure gradually broke down through the process of acculturation, which intensified with the rise of neo-Brazilian nuclei in the vicinities of the aldeas.

593 Still on the subject of social structure, other aspects are deserving of notice. The first refers to the emphasis laid by the tribe on the solidarity of the group of brothers and sisters, in accordance with the principle of the unity of the "sibling"
601 group, formulated by Radcliffe-Brown. (78) If we analyze

78. Cf. 1952:64-67.

the kinship terminology of the Terêna, for example, we find that the terms used for brothers (sisters)--whether Ego is male or female--are applicable to both parallel and cross cousins.
601 This would lead to the impossibility of marriage within the
582 "sibling" group, i.e., among consanguineal relatives in Ego's generation, which constitutes an additional marriage-regulation
[178] technique aside from the moieties and strata. This, incidentally, permits us to classify the Guaná-Terêna kinship system as

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both 773 children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version [115]

93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each [616] went his way." It seems that we are in front of a myth that reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

/54 cont./

773 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties.
616 Compare the figures of Taipuvuké and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoé, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terêna food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe." (95)

95. 1950:224.

There is no doubt that Pitanoé and Taipuyukê are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyukê (or Pitanoé) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there
[184] arose another. But the first was the master." (96) As is seen,

96. 1949:349.

despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

/55 cont./

773 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations
616 we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as
[177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed
114 in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field.
128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

616 796 565

Naati

("class" line)

Waherê

(ethnic line)

Kauti

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

616 173

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616
773

stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut Yurikoyuvakái in two, both halves later growing into the twins" (1949 : 42). This version does not suggest the superiority of one twin over the other. In a version which we recorded of this same story, there is the suggestion, however, of the predominance of one moiety over the other—to the extent that the moieties may be considered to correspond to the twins. According to one old Terena: "Yurikoyuvakái had a brother Tapuyuké, somewhat shorter than he was. Ane day they started to cut the clouds so as to kill everything, because they did not want us to survive. But the more they cut the more the clouds grew. Then the two stopped cutting because they were tired. And each one went his own way." The versions recorded by Herbert Baldus tell us that "Anciently Orekajuvakái was just one and while he was still young his mother became angry with him because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the garden; she went to the garden, got a sickle and cut Orekajuvakái into two pieces. The piece from the waist up turned into people; and the other half became people too" (1950 : 218). Baldus indicates that there was another culture-hero myth among the Terena that referred to a malicious person who did not always act with the best of intentions, considerably different from the idea presented by Yurikoyuvakái. This second concerned the hero Pitanoé, who can be equivalent with Taipuyuké, of whom our informant from Cachoeirinha spoke. It appears that the myth that we recorded reconciles the two personalities of Orekoyuvakái and Taipuyuké (or Pitanoé), by making them originally a single person, who was only later divided into two, which gave birth to two distinct personalities which correspond to the two moieties Sukirikionó and Xumonó. The other versions collected by us and others, are really only variations of the theme we have presented. On the point of the superiority of one twin over the other, Altenfelder Silva supports the general hypothesis, saying that after Yurikojuvakái had been cut through the middle, "the top part grew to be another Yurikoyuvakái; the lower part became another person. But the first was the one who gave orders" (1949 : 349).

616

The impression gained from talking to the Terena is that the Sukirikionó are a little superior to the Xumonó, although this superiority is never reflected in ordinary social intercourse. It is probable that this difference of "ethos" has always been evident solely in the magico-religious ceremonies and in the secular games described above, without ever having influenced social norms. As we shall show, the role of the moieties in society was confined to the regulation of marriage, in conjunction with the strata.[9]

[9] The Portuguese term used here is *camada*, which is considered to be equivalent to the technical usage of "stratum".

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

3. Endogamy of the Moieties and of the Strata

The aboriginal Terena social system did not permit marriage outside of the immediate social stratum or moiety. A Naati, for example, could marry only with another Naati, and only if the other Naati belonged to the same moiety. Thus, if he were a Sukirikionó, he could marry only a Sukirikionó girl. This was also true among the Waheré-Txané, who represented the immediately inferior class. But, while these also were divided into two moieties, Xumonó and Sukirikionó, the Kauti —comprising the lowest stratum in the Terena system— present no such division. This stems from the fact that they belonged to tribal groups of different cultures and are here separated from the others by an *ethnic*, rather than a *social* line, as explained in Section 1. With both classes and moieties endogamous, there is no problem of a genealogical order, since the child naturally belongs in the group common to both parents (see Figure II). With the change that has come about in the Terena communities, however, marriages have been taking place between members of opposing moieties and strata. Under ths circumstances the children receibed the stratum and moiety of their father. This has been carried to the point at which the social group has become agamic and patrilinear inheritance has been institutionalized.

The persistence until the present of the moiety divisions in Terena society (although they are tending currently to disappear), can be attributed to their ceremonial functions; whereas the strata having no such formalized activity, whether solemn or sportive, have been forgotten by the individuals of the community, except by the very old people, and especially the Naati, as we shall see. Still, when a person was questioned about the stratum to which he belonged he would try to remember if his father was Naati or Waheré (we did not encounter descendants of the Kauti). This demonstrates the way in which descent had come to be reckoned in the paternal line except that in case of intertribal or interracial marriage in which the father was not a Terena, the offspring would follow the maternal line. This last occurred when the offspring maintained their residence in the village, and it became convenient for them to identify themselves, and be identified, as Terena.

If we take as our example the village of Cachoeirinha, which presents the least acculturated characteristics (R. C. Oliveira, 1958b : 2), we note that of a total of 208 couples, 78 (37.5 %) could not supply us with this information. With regard to stratum membership, the ratio would be even greater in the direction of those who did not know their own status. There are villages that present even higher ratios,

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616
611
565

which indicates the variation of intensity of the deculturative forces at work within the tribe.

565
582

It would be wrong, however, to conclude from this that the stratum system disappeared soonest as a regulative force in marriage. To the contrary, while the strata were rapidly forgotten by the people as a whole, they were not forgotten by the group which had an interest in

565
582
616

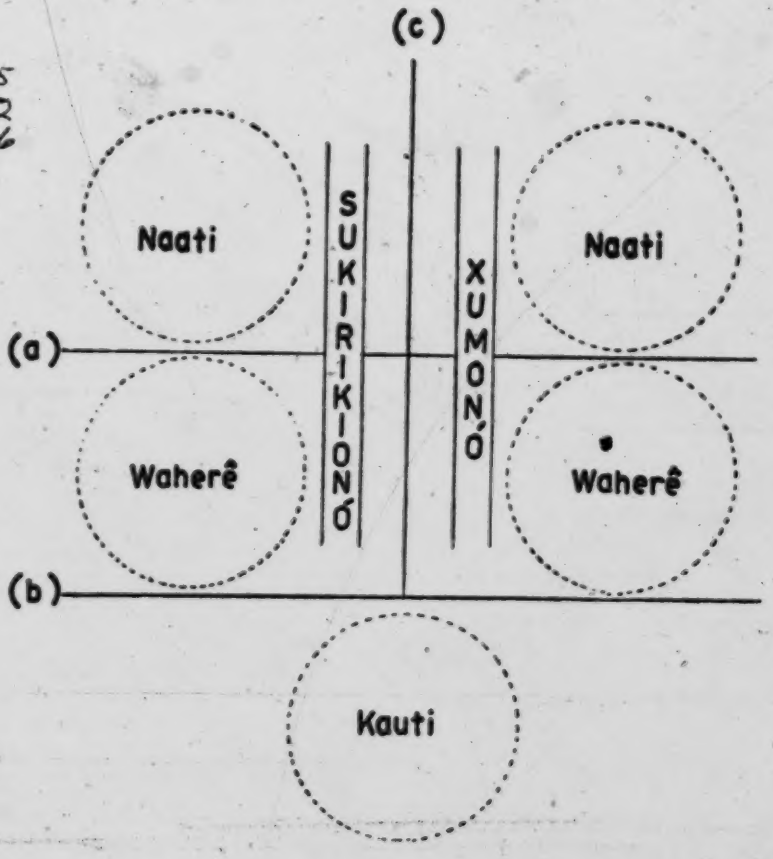


Figure II

This diagram illustrates the segmentation of Terena social structure, resultant from the endogamy of the moieties and the strata: the dividing lines (a), (b), and (c) compartmentalize the social structure into five areas in which marriage is possible, as indicated by the dotted circles.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

6. The exogamy of the Local Group

582 565 616 The number of suitable marriage partners had been so reduced within the Terena social structure by moiety and stratum endogamy and by the above demonstrated unity of the sibling group that the local Terena group had to look outside itself for spouses with whom marriage would be sanctioned by the community. This happened principally among the Naati, not only because they were the stratum most zealous of maintaining their supremacy and prestige, but also because they were the smallest group and, therefore, had a smaller pool of marriageable prospects than did the Waheré-Txané. The marriage of the Naati among the various local groups, on the other hand, straresulted in the strengthening of intergroup relations, contributing to a tribal unity which would have been difficult to obtain by any other means, given the conditions under which the Terena population lived at the time.

[115] [198] On numerous occasions we have heard our older informants, and especially the old "Captain" Timothy (who died in 1958) comment favorably on a time when it was common for people from different villages to marry. "In old times people visited their relatives in other villages more." "The people were more united." "Today we don't have so many relatives over there." It is obvious that other factors, economic and political, aided in bringing about the change lamented by the older informants. Still we are impressed with the idea that a people, scattered in various local groups and withouth a common chieftainship, or in other words, without political unity, could have attained such a degree of tribal solidarity principally through the exchange of women especially in the Naati stratum. In this stratum, which did not follow the matrilocal pattern in intercommunal [591] marriages the man brought the woman to his village and she became a member of his local group. Among the Waheré-Txané, local group exogamy, while it did occur, was much less frequent since there was a naturally larger pool of possible mates within the class (increased even more by the possibility of marriage of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati with a Naati-Seenó). There was also a resistance on the part of the Waheré-Txané young man to leave his community, relatives and friends.

182 571 Everything indicates that the unity among Terena local groups was achieved through the solidarity which existed among the Naati ingroup. The presence of this stratum in all the village groups, along with the exogamy of the local groups, can be said to be a function of tribal solidarity. This is confirmed by the crumbling of the social structure which took place after the dispersion of the Terena people, with the

3:Oliveira--1 E-5,9(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terêna, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals, a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress, wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders
142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present
191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their
[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/ study will lead us to a better understanding of the process whereby tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

/10 cont./

121 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging
177 into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de [122] Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative
177 possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which
619 traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the
177 greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups
101 that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers [649] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the [792] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative
121 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various
177 forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
121 the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work.
I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

G /35 cont./ It is plain that
175 in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a
182 marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative
619 independence as a group.

G On the other hand, we must also take into account the
175 existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the
184 Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to
181 historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in par-
648 ticular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to
175 above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to
184 their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he
181 says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless
G in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara
M
175
648
131
M
563

45. 1910, II:256.

adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on
G hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a
M
175
648
571

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same
M rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from
[563] this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild
[622] Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[282] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati
and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature,
and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[273]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 182 619 571 462 [114] /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for [222] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which [223] all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

796 182 619 571

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[301] [302]

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

796 90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
[162] communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

/74 cont./

162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

[128]
[125]

137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

/111 cont./

/2/ in accordance with Glaser (1958:34), according to whom "the pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically... /cited in English/." And Glaser concludes with the admonition that "by the standard sociological definitions of assimilation, a person is not fully assimilated if he is conscious of trying to be assimilated: in the latter case, we would consider him deseg regating" (p. 32). /Cited in English./

assimilation, like acculturation, /112/ can also mean a "condition" as opposed to a "process"; in this case, the context in which they appear will suffice to elucidate them as a dynamic category (process) or a static one (condition), as we see in these respective examples: "assimilation--or acculturation--has led the Terêna groups to a radical change in their behavior...," and "not yet assimilated--or sufficiently acculturated--, the Terêna remain a people with a tribal consciousness strong enough to differentiate them from the regional population and to prevent their classification as a national variant or subculture...."

We deem it fitting to underscore here this difference between the concepts of assimilation and acculturation--as "process" and as "condition"--in order to overcome an obvious ambiguity which incidentally has already been pointed out by Ralph Beals. (173)

173. 1953:627-628.

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796

Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

[619]

178 571 [172]

This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/118 cont./

178 structure over a two-fold, symmetrical one, could not survive
571 after the dispersal of the Terêna and the resulting disorganiza-
[60] tion of the local groups. We should also add to this the kin-
[582] ship system itself, which, thanks to the unity of the "sibling" group, made even much more difficult the survival of the tribal organization, insofar as it reduced considerably the marriage possibilities, already so limited by the strata. In the face of this, it can be said that such a structure is rigid, as opposed to the flexible type mentioned by the members of the Seminar on Acculturation when they refer to the possibility of a typological differentiation of the internal structures of cultural systems. (188)

188. Social Science Research Council, 1954:976-977.

177 The counterpart of the disappearance of the old social
571 structure was the adoption of an associative system, still vague, but which emerged from the neo-Brazilian communities that formed along the paths of the pioneering settlers. Monogamy, the nuclear family as a dwelling unit, greater freedom in the choice of a spouse, and the compadrío system, for example, were cultural complexes incorporated into the tribal culture
178 that transformed completely the traditional way of life. But
571 not even by this did the Terêna lose their "tribal consciousness,"
619 even though it had been traumatized by the breakdown of the old infra-structure and by its dislocation from the old value system, its religion, and its mythology. At least those Terêna who remained in their aldeas, or who reorganized into relatively autonomous communities (such as those of group (b) had land on which to live and to cultivate, and as a result could have a group life and thus keep alive /119/ the "tribal we" and postpone indefinitely their assimilation into Brazilian society.

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/124 cont./

369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

[128]

369 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to remain faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification, along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

[561]
[619]

/149/

*177 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for
369 both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point
585 that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic
[511] reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

162
175

162
619
369

/149 cont./

162
619
369

as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*[177]
[563]

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
[563] poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[571] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Terena, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labradór estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

G 175 101 [131] G 175 61 M 13 M 16 M 10 M

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

G 105 114 566 G M 105 621 648 63 G

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

M 648 105 G [562] [622]

[P. 2-A]

3: Oliveira SK7 Guana SK7

621

/For fissive tendencies displayed by various members of the religious (i.e., Catholic/Protestant) community, see category 798./

/47 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

555
563
565
616

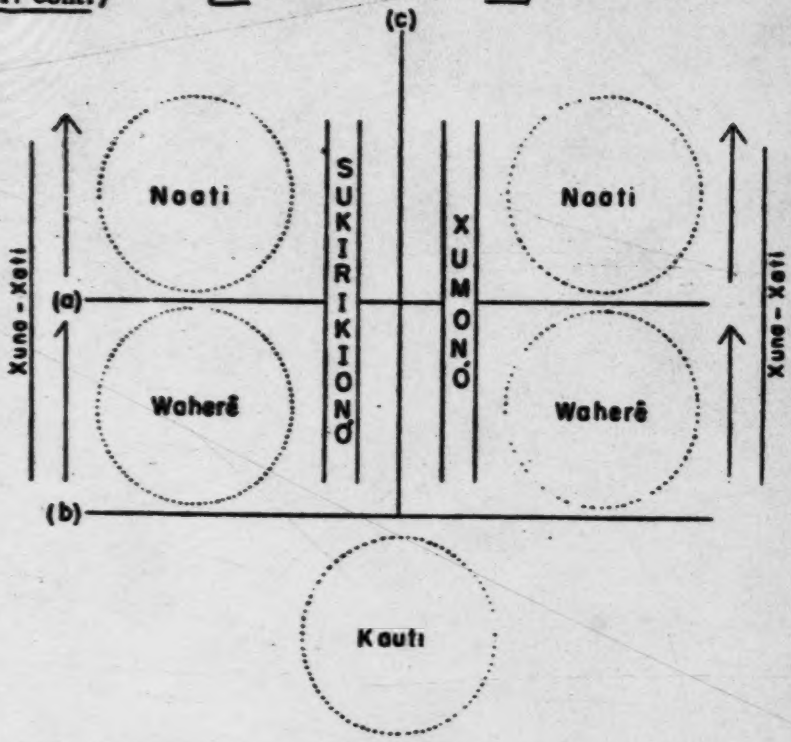


Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahú....* (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP?
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[62] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/71 cont./
175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
361
103
342
[114] J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

135. Ibid.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminiků, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Hâokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminiků; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
● [62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

136. 1949:281.

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
●621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Cachoeirinha]

/75 cont./

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

797 138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas.

798 The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
● 621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus,
[231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central
[417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as
[556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Cachoeirinha]

/77 cont./

361 name and with which a few
439 Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

434 especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni,
439 some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reser-
433 vations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we
128 have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry
433 out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken
[439] on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

62 Pássarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous
[361] areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total popu-
[162] lation of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for
[166] some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha
[162] with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98.
[361] At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

62/ and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[62] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[441] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

64 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648 439 366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
628 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 578 166 [592]

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a [622] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi- [672] pal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./
361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

● 621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikináu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
621 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço
162 de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

●621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
/62 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[134] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[368] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Lalima]

/82 cont./

361 group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the
(21) boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for
233 cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

361 As for the production areas of the community, it can be
311 said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder
233 is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is
241 characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in
464 spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of
[422] the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

491 Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the
[366] aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these
[439] roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--
489 varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is
[161] usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the
162 aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/82 cont./
Bananal and Ipegue

361 Bananal and Ipegue are two contiguous aldeas, close to the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay, from which they are [491] respectively four and eight kilometers distant. They are [496] situated in the Aquidauana município, and between them and Cachoeirinha it is no more than four leagues, which can be traveled on /83/ an old road, cut through the woods, or by the Noroeste do Brasil railroad, which connects the Duque Estrada stations with Taunay's.

162 621 The first accurate census data available compel us to deal with them as a unit, because they give the total population of the reservation--which is only one, comprising the two aldeas--, without differentiating between the local groups. Thus, in 1918, Bananal-Ipegue presented the following statistical picture: male population, under ten years, 137 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 133; from twenty-one to sixty years, 103; over sixty, 35 persons; female population, from zero to ten years, 100 individuals; from eleven to twenty years, 67; from twenty-one to sixty, 140; over 166 sixty, 35; giving a total of 750 individuals. By this time there was a constant influx of Indians to Bananal and Ipegue, coming from "colônias" set up on the fazendas of Miranda and 161 Aquidauana municípios. And in spite of the departure of a 162 considerable number of individuals for Cachoeirinha, around 621 1920, (146) in 1926 a population of 1,330 individuals was

161 166 621 [13] 146. Consulting the 1921 report of the Mato Grosso Inspetoria, we read: "The Indians keep coming in but they already feel that Bananal and Ipegue cannot hold them much longer; and they are shifting to

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [578]

Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 162 621 [184] registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and 161 166 621 184 578 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One concludes that the population decrease occurred only in Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic increase, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who 166 162 621 795 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 621 [177] [342] [36] /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
176 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[742] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea,
[166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The
[648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso.
[162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among
[166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further
[162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
●621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."
872
628
Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited
[348]
[875]
to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 they erected a spacious shed
628 and left there a teacher, at a
346 salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a
875 month, recruited from the
Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
● 621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--
neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu
survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia,"
Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements.
It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia,"
but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close
contact and intensive trade relations with the native com-
munity. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc
flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/,
and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the
statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community
plants for its own consumption the following species: rice,
/sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in
the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in
Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[344] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that
on the reservation there is no building that might be called
a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private
homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics.
As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts
to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture
change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[01] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175
621
648
423
[13]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

193 cont. /

175
621
648
423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.
621 It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was
[162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during
[166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range
[648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former
175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate,
361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 [464] [113]

if it were not for the fact that some families had left to work on fazendas. (154) But the population did not cease growing,

154. The Relatório da Inspetoria Regional de Mato Grosso, for the year 1937, says the following: "Before (1937) the number of inhabitants was greater, but some families left in search of work, in order to acquire such staples as food and clothing. The lack of agricultural implements contributed to the departure of these families." And it cannot be said that the departure of Indians from Buriti was a minor affair, when we see that already in 1926 there were in that community 450 persons living in 52 houses, according to the Relatorio da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for that year. We see that from 1923 to 1926, in three years, the population of the aldea grew by 30 individuals; and from 1926 to 1937, aside from the population dropping slightly, we see quite a big increase in the number of ranchos: from 52 to 91--

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

G /95 cont./ [Buriti]
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[361] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[621] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
[162]
Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

● 621 assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna com-
648 munities characterized above, it is seen that their components
177 continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive
[128] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of
[128] socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/99 cont./

121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety
[621] of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue,
621 Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

> 158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme
621 Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti,
177 Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[144] the communities to change. The older communities, such as
[146] those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/101 cont./

184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648
621

159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea. --It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/101 cont./

648
621

unperceived by the communities that were not fortunate enough to get a post which, for better or for worse, would supervise life in the reservation. Although this is not in accordance with the administrative norms of the S. P. I., it has not been possible to avoid this distortion to which a large part of the superintendents are subject. The most obvious case is that of União aldea, which, because it is not a reservation but a private spot acquired by the Indians themselves--, does not receive the slightest amount of help; and even, it can be said, is regarded quite unfavorably by the great majority of S. P. I. officials.

648
621
433

In aldeas where the S. P. I. is located, the impression is conveyed of very slight concern with the communal economy, i.e., that of the Indians themselves, which is neglected in favor--of what we shall call--the post economy. We shall not here go into the merits of this "policy," since we do not /102/ know to what extent it reflects the directives furnished by the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, or the regional one, the inspetoria, in Campo Grande. The truth is that there is very great concern over the production of the post, i.e., that resulting from labor financed by the S. P. I, whether it relates to farm plots, to cattle-raising, or to the extraction of wood or angico bark. This labor is ordinarily carried out by the

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

> 160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
● 621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the 184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could 511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities, 434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas 464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

/104 cont./

797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were
798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain aldeas, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the
621 non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect,
798

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, op. cit.

is the aldea of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these aldeas, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of
177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It
797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

● 621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[172]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

621
797
795
[165]
[28]

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621
795
511
[184]
[182]
[648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797 this account divided the community into two antagonistic
795 religious groups.

184 The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served
177 to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177 Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives
167 If we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/113 cont./
121 this social group from others." (180) This second formulation

180. Ibid.

of the concept of acculturation will permit us to use it in the dynamic analysis of the Terêna population settled in aldeas, whereas the concept of social mobility proves adequate to an analysis of the Terêna who reside in the cities. This does not mean that the latter are exempt from culture change; it merely /114/ means that they are no longer subject to the mechanisms that govern a particular type of culture change, which we call acculturation.

177 The acculturation process to which the Terêna popula-
621 tion is subjected (we refer to the population that is settled in aldeas, i.e., that has a communal life) has had different results as a consequence of the variations encountered among the communities as a whole. Let us take ethnic composition and antiquity--incidentally, variables noted at the beginning of the previous chapter--and we shall see how they have in-
184 fluenced the cultural configuration of the communities. The
177 aldeas of multiple ethnic composition, such as Lalima,
621 Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, tend to be much
[162] more open to innovations, whereas the others, although they cannot be regarded as closed, show greater resistance to those techniques and ideologies that come from the outside. (181)

[121]

181. We are using these concepts, although in an unorthodox manner, in the sense in which they appear in the already-mentioned 1953 document on acculturation. (Cf. 1954:975-976.)

[166] The analysis of antiquity, in turn, as a category that permits

/114 cont./

184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

> 183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

178 756 755

178 796 [177]

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/119 cont./

121 of course the possibility of direct contact, at least as a substi-
162 tute for participant observation, which has now become alto-
369 gether inadequate. To make such contact possible, the appropriate measure was to reduce the area, while taking care
[101] not to distort the reality to be studied. Thus, we focused the investigation on the cities of Campo Grande, Aquidauana, and Miranda, leaving aside Nioac and the small settlements (with one or two Terêna families) as well as the fazendas--in view of the long distances involved, of the small amount of time available, and of other minor difficulties. Concerning Nioac, the information we had indicated that the number of Terêna families living there was insignificant, although slightly higher than in Miranda, which in turn has not more than eight families, comprising altogether 54 individuals. (190) As for the fazendas,

[121]

190. We are considering only the Terêna who live in the city, not including the inhabitants of Passarinho and Moreira, suburban aldeas of Miranda.

we were acquainted with the situation of the Terêna living in /120/ some of them in the município of Miranda. This, at least, permitted us to visualize some problems, already mentioned in Chapter VI, when we dealt with the Terêna "colônia"
[125] near Duque Estrada. However, just to get an idea of how widely the Terêna are distributed through southern Mato Grosso, we made an estimate of their numbers, in one município alone--that of Aquidauana: living in the city there are 12 families, a total of 67 individuals (this datum is exact, for we carried out a thorough census); adding this to the probable number of individuals living in the farms, fazendas, and colônias, which add up to about 315 persons or 43 families, we have a total of

/121 cont./

369
162

As for this aspect, it can be said that, of the total urbanized population, 53.71 per cent are mestizos (a) and (b); at present in Cachoeirinha, the index of mestizos (a) and (b) is scarcely 16.31 per cent.

369
162
582

The /122/ importance of this will be examined in the next chapter, when we shall deal with interethnic unions as the preferential type of marriage in the cities.

369
167

The analysis of the origin of this urbanized population, as a whole, discloses that the fazendas are the greatest sources of individuals for the cities, with 23.55 per cent; in second place is the aldea of Bananal, with 13.63 per cent, and in third place, the aldea of Ipegue, with 10.33 per cent. The percentage of persons born in the cities themselves is 33.05 per cent, and the rest of the population originated from small settlements such as Agaxi or Taunay and from aldeas like Lalima and Brejão, whose individual totals are very low and represent insignificant indices. If we bear in mind the low percentage of individuals born in the urban zones (33.05 per cent) as compared with the 66.94 per cent of people who came from the rural zone or from the aldeas, we can conclude that this urbanized population is relatively new. And regarding the Terêna who emigrated from the aldeas, one notes that they tend to keep up their respective local groups, forming more or less cohesive nuclei in the cities where they live. In Aquidauana, for example, this separation is clear: aside from Aldeinha--which is suburban to the town--the Terêna live in two other places called respectively "Guanandi" and "Buraco Quente /hot hole/"; whereas in the former there live 11 persons who came from Ipegue and only one who came from Bananal, in the latter there live 10 persons from Bananal

167
369
621

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[165] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
297 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[821] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
297 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
271 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
● 621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphêytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas
[342] show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.

162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[445] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

Chane SF8
Guana SK7

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga [181]

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

"The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

Ga [621]

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecatemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

G 175 101 [131] G 175 161 M 13 M 16 M 10 M

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

M G 105 114 566 G M 105 621 648 63 G M

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

648 105 G [562] [622]

[P. 2-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discus- 517
sing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for 512
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

[P. 27-B]

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waherershane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. [567]
The daughters of the chiefs also went through a
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the war- 554
rior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all cere- [534]
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [237]
feathers.

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. 177 565 648 The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to [622] select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*.

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or 177 chief to represent each Terena settlement was also 622 instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. 648 The Terena claim that the man chosen 616 was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief [554] had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement.

It might be argued that in spite of the new politi- 178 cal orientation, the moieties could still have re- 182 tained their function in regulating marriage and 616 in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

[Chaco Period]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 881 622 565 This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's father and in the presence of all the members of the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied [292] the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages between their children while the children were still young. 584 The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, [567] was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585 ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's parents 574 invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóys eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585 mock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175 Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
648 subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
M Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
[651] been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
G kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
[582] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
G captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
[566] caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G M 175 648 [57] [622] [582]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

G M [101]

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layãna words.

G [191]

The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[173] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[178] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

/63 cont./

175 177 [297] neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the [622] [184] caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their [178] leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward [297] a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648
439
366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
621 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the
578 result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to
166
[97]

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a
[423] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi-
[872] pal leader, Patrício Lili or Wollily,-the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/86 cont./

Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
175 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
● 622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
297 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikinau (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [164] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terena to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
●[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
369 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

•622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
735 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
170 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootú; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulú; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," ōngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečiviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečiviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečiviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

602/41 cont./
622 When Ečiviagatí died about 1925, Nalikí, as his eldest son and the oldest of his brother's sons, became chief of Mureira. Nalikí was therefore already 80 years old then. He had two sons
622 and two daughters. The eldest son is married to a daughter of
591 the chief of Passarinho and lives with his father in Mureira (but
602 in his own hut). The second son is married to a daughter of the chief of Cachoeirinha and also lives with his father in Mureira. The oldest daughter was married to the eldest son of the chief of Lalima and died in childbirth. The second daughter also lives in Lalima; she is married to the second son of the chief there.

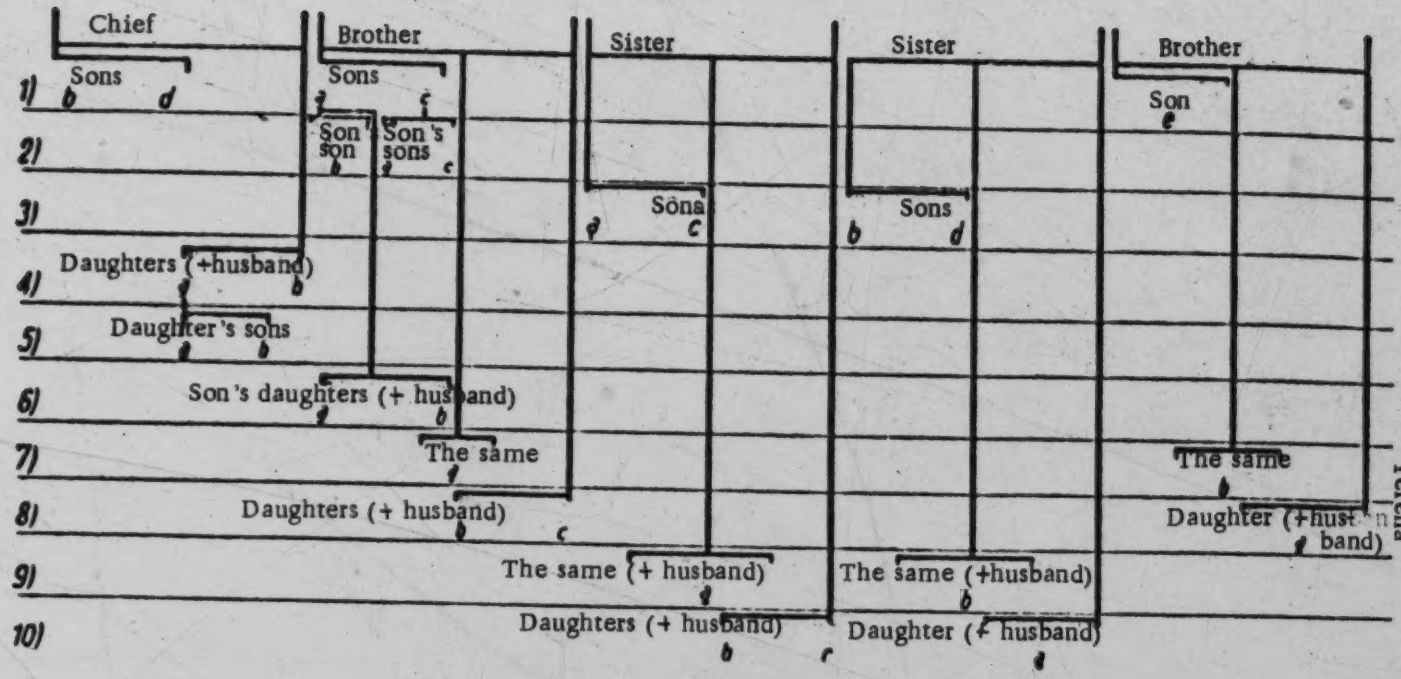
622 The order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is the following:
602 1. The oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
2. The oldest among the sons and brother's sons of No. 1 (that is, either the oldest among the chief's son's sons or the son's sons of one of his brothers).
3. The oldest among the chief s sister's sons.
4. The husband of the oldest daughter of the chief.
5. The oldest among the sons of the oldest daughter of the chief.
6. The husband of the oldest daughter of No. 1, that is, of the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
7. The next oldest brother of the chief.
8. The husband of the oldest among the chief's brother's daughters.
9. The husband of the oldest sister of the chief.
10. The husband of the oldest among the chief's sister s daughters.

/42/ According to what has been said, it seems that one may assume that if the chief has no descendants and siblings, the succession does not fall to the relatives of his wife, but to the oldest brother of his father and his descendants or, if such a one does not exist, to the husband of the oldest sister of his father and his descendants. I could not find out anything about this, however.

The following presentation, in which in any given case the oldest, and thus the legitimate individual to succeed, is always indicated, may serve as an example to clarify the order of succession:

4: Baldus--7 E-5 (1934) 1944 SK7 Guana SK7 Terena

622
602



/42 cont./

622 602 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 591 602 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 429 602 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons, son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 605 602 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

● 622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection. [622] [77]

/89 cont. /

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not 881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken- [352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned [302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several [534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every [402] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and [285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is 585 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the [581] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way 585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at 527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis- 768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they [304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons. 766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont./

766 [622] [428] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited— by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 [852] Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 527 [628] [302] latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 [805] Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 [162] [114] [103] [342] Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] [162] [621] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

/92 cont./

535 orchestra of drums and flutes. In front of the dancers are lo-
[622] cated two pairs of caciques, who witness the dance. They are accustomed to take part in the dance from the smallest Indian to the oldest; couples join up man with man and woman with woman, the men to the right and the women to the left of the music; when they arrive in front of the caciques, each pair is obliged to salute; the dance goes on in this way for three-
[114] quarters of an hour. I witnessed this dance in Agachy, when 48 couples took part, all of whom danced keeping time well with the music.

In the second dance the pairs of men form an arc in front of the music, but with their backs to it. The couples of women pass through the middle of the arc, and when they come out of it they split up, one to the right and one to the left, reuniting in front of the caciques. In this way the dance went on for half an hour, the men passing once more before the caciques
[114] for the defile. It was also in Agachy that I witnessed this dance.

[114] The third dance, which I saw right there, was similar to the first, but the dancers carried in their hands bunches of flowers and branches of wild plants, with which they saluted when they passed in front of the caciques.

[114] This fourth dance was witnessed by me in the aldea of Santa Ana. In front of the two pairs of caciques and four musicians with their drums and flutes, 22 couples formed up, men and women in equal parts. The dancers carried in their hands a piece of tacuara /a kind of bamboo/ more than one and one-half meters long. In files, the men to the /93/ right and the women to the left, and taking double steps to the rhythm of the music, they alternately struck the tacuaras against one another. This provided a pleasant sight; they did it so well and with such cleverness they seemed to be true artists. This dance lasted an hour and a half, without respite, leaving the dancers, on finishing, completely exhausted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle.* Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 682 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[628] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc.... If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sānchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

[POST Chaco Period]

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [771] [526]

[P. 37-B]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648
439
366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
628 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the
578 result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to
166
[592]

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a
[622] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi-
[872] pal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.

[795] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which

[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "domestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have

361
312

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the
geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy
reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one
in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal
have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem
of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal,
excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central
nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate
to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue
stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we
find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the
other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the
reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha
and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central
nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected
not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira,
Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The
major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal,
in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to
supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and
Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far
more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[185] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
● 628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."

872
628

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

[34]
[875]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875

they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[340] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

182
571
[648]
[828]
[628]

REFERENCES

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949—"Mudança Cultural dos Terena" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo, pp. 271/379.

BACH, J.
1916—"Datos sôbre los indios Terena de Miranda" in *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, LXXXII, Buenos Aires, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1937—"A sucessão hereditária do Chefe entre os Tereno" in *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, Coleção Brasiliana*, pp. 70-85.
1950—"Lendas dos índios Tereno" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo, pp. 217-232.

BALDUS, HERBERT e EMILIE WILLEMS
1939—*Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia*. Companhia Editora Nacional.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE
1949—*Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul*. Coleção Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editora Nacional, São Paulo (vol. II).

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1922—*De la Division du travail Social*, 4ᵉ édit., Paris, Alcan.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1936—*We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London.
1954—"Social Organization and Social Change", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 84, pp. 1-20.
1955—"Some Principles of Social Organization", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 85, pp. 1-18.

113

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon callpahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
[342] Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguacactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

G 175 101 [131] G 175 161 M 13 M 161 M 10 M

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

M G 105 114 566 G M 105 621 648 63 G

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

M 648 105 G [562] [622]

[P. 2-A]

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

/2/ almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.
/73

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work.
[12] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
631 ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[17] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

M
565
631

the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree, and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

G
[631]
[171]

G
M
565
563
171

We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss below.

G
M
[113]

60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

[text continues on p. 47]

[Traditional Culture]

177 /44 cont./ The special emphasis on
178 removing women from farm
462 work is explained, on the one
562 hand, by the important role
565 they played in Guaná culture,
171 which was organized basically
[591] around matrilocal extended
[596] families, despite the fact that
the Terêna today, are bilocal;
on the other hand, by the
attempt to parallel Guaykuru
women, who "throughout the
period of their marriage enjoy
the position of ladies....
It reverted to the husband's
care to provide the game and
other provisions to feed the
family." (Labrador, 1910;
II:26.)

178 /45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can
555 be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin
565 as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have
[72] become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of
[631] captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this
manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way
as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group
a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we
have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever
compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like
the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by
means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension
was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the
Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives,
who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e.,
the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad. 434 463 489 494

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 881 565 622 [292] [562] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

[p. 28-B]

G /146 cont./

*177 The segregated condition to which the aldea population
178 is subjected stimulates the emergence of psycho-social
648 mechanisms that work counter to assimilation: it strengthens the "tribal we," decreases the possibilities of interethnic contact, and marks the position of the Indian socially as a ward. Let us examine this last aspect of segregation, since the first two--the strengthening of tribal consciousness and the creation of obstacles to interethnic contact--were already dealt with in
G 666 previous chapters. The most flagrant discrimination against
648 the Indian that we had the opportunity to witness bore the
B approval of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios at the time of
657 the 1955 elections. In that year, at the end of September, thus on the eve of the elections, the Inspetoria Regional (IR-5) with headquarters in Campo Grande and responsible for the supervision and articulation of the native posts /147/ of southern Mato Grosso, along with the central administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decided to withdraw the Indians' voting certificates on the grounds that regional politicking would be prejudicial to the Indians' interests and to their administration. It considered--with some reason--that, if the Indians were to vote, the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially the superintendents, would eventually become electoral leaders, as had already happened in some aldeas; the result of this would be a future wrangling over the posts of native-post superintendents, since they would come to represent political power, electoral importance. Very well. Such were the reasons that led the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios--through its inspetoria--to take an attitude that clashed with the basic principles of a native policy oriented toward guaranteeing to the Indian the securing of rights he would prove
G ready to enjoy. Once literate, and in most cases, a reservist,
[641] the Indian elector automatically ceased to be a ward (despite the sui generis nature of this wardship)--and the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, interpreting in a positive way the protectionist policy, would have no other recourse than to insure

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootú; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulú; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," ōngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been 127
translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early 128
phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, 101
the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking 175
Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco 648
from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the [181]
Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of 101
the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the 175
account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they [131]
were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

[P.1-B]

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

G 175 101 [131] G 175 61 M 13 M 16 M 10 M

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

M G 105 114 566 G M 105 621 648 63 G

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

M 648 105 G [562] [622]

[P. 2-A]

Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the immediate relatives and following of the Guaná woman and could be exercised only by himself and his close relatives, the purely political aspects of the relationship are diminished. The suggestion made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to certain Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kinship bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held a superior position because of the prestige arising from their military power. The Guaná, as a whole, however, maintained their political and economic autonomy.

G M 105 648 M [554]

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis on warfare had already led to the development of rank based on war honors and the possession of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a distinction was made between those who received this position through birth and those who received it through favor. Between these two chiefly grades and the slaves were the great body of hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing particularly strange in the fact that the warlike Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a functional relationship between the Mbayá desire to capture women and children and the Mbayá practice of infanticide.

M 554 565 [567] [622] [727] M 847 727 567

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo today explain these practices by saying that a mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse while nursing her child and rather than forego sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her husband a woman avoids having children. The Caduveo go further and explain that they had, in the past, to capture women and children in order to maintain their numbers. One would expect that powerful sanctions would be necessary to enforce compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo make no explicit mention of the consequences resulting from the breaking of this rule. It may be that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by the economic circumstances which, among a nomadic hunting people, make numerous small children a burden upon their parents. The distinctions of rank, the possession of war captives as slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be-

M 834 [847]

G M 174 648

[P. 2-B]

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. G M 174 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing. M 177 648 231 554 M [727] [567]

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders. G 231 177 554 648

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began M 648 175

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory. M 648 175

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government. M' [101] M [131] M [162]

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . . G 175 131 G [241] G [161] G [648]

[P. 3-B]

In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469). 175 648

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding. [131]

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return. 175 361 [48]

The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo. 175 648

[P. 4-A]

As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in. G M 105 174

In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose. M 178 105 M [648]

On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point G 105 M G [648] G [161]

[P. 4-B]

Terena
Mbaya SK11 M G 185 648 [511]

Compared from the point of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo.

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

M 142 M [123] M [144]

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Lab-

[P. 5-A]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yúrikoyuwakái* taught the people to practice agriculture: 174 241 [197] 174 241 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuwakái* gave the ax, *poodoti;* the digging stick, *ilomo'i;* the knife, *pirítos;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *pulú'oi;* the bow, *shebió;* arrows, *shumó;* and the spear, *suikó.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopóo.* *Yúrikoyuwakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days. 174 241 [127]

The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence 174 241 433 [136] [137] 174 241 [132] [648] [177]

[P. 6-A]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648 farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177 in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits, customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [797] missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts affected the life of the Terena more intimately and directly. The missionaries taught the people to wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments, and amusements became integral parts of Terena economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177 was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436 money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177 ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464 find the Terena in increasing numbers going to work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian world. The Indians became acquainted with the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the strange new world. In addition to the demand 177 for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433 of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439 ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor and trade became essential elements in Terena economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241 ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated about 4 km. north of the railroad station of Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing. 361 133 [134] [137] [132]

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths. 361 [363] [487]

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture. 312 313 311

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the manager, the school, the hospital, and the official visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied. 361 [648] [368]

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and shape, as in the material from which they are con- 342

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*. 177 565 648 [622]

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement. 177 622 648 616 [554]

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties 178 182 616

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *ahuna'asheti*, *wáhereshane*, and *kouti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [797] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

[Post Chaco Period]

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability. 101 177 182

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially. 648 [673] [681] [682]

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to 177 182 191

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena 177
remains the language of the village. Among 182
themselves the Terena, young and old, use their 191
own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained.

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which 177
have led to the integration of the Terena as a 182
group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indian- 648
ism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service.

As the manager is the highest authority and 177
social leader in the village, it follows that status 554
among the Terena is measured in relation to the 648
patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk
their duties to their families and the Post, they are
required to work and receive not money but credit
for food and clothing at a certain store in the
nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that
the manager has close friends and also enemies.
The present manager of Bananal claims that he
has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him
from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian
Service regulations. How much of this is really
due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent
custom in Mato Grosso of important men having
bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can
say that social status or the lack of status is closely
connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission sta- 797
tion. The activities of the missionaries go far
beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doc-
trine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries
supervise the moral behavior of their followers.
Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregulari-
ties are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules
results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical,
and educational assistance. The son of the present
chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in
the village was asked by the missionaries to marry
the girl. For one reason or another the chief's
son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries
were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684]
the village. This caused considerable disturbance
among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the
Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried
mother as do the American Protestant mission-
aries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both
the chief and his son had withdrawn from the set-
tlement and were living in a nearby town, at least
temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648]
sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service
closed the Protestant school for some months.
This event reveals the power and importance of the
Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the
village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life
is customarily achieved through economic and
medical rewards, and it does seem true that the
Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses
and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent 105
settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of 177
organization resembling that of the Mbayá. [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class
organization was the first to disappear. The ap- 105
pointment of captains or village chiefs first weak- 177
ened and finally abolished the positions of the 182
moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were
forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the [616]
fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulat-
ing marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew
weaker, an individual being able to marry his
opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite
moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, there- 105
fore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 [162]
Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the [648]
local groups, or villages, are established on defined
areas of Government land. Contact between the
members of the different villages is maintained [628]
through intermarriage, visiting between relatives
and friends, football matches between the principal
villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the fol- [594]
lowing structural elements: The basic unit is the
individual family, which carries on the primary
economic activities associated with the rearing and
training of the young. The extended family is [596]
no longer a defined house group although bilateral
kinship ties are strong, very much after the Bra-
zilian pattern. Young married men live either [591]
with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same
house, but in most cases they sooner or later build
their own houses on the same lot. Politically the [648]
village is organized around the Post with the
Brazilian manager exercising authority through [361]
his police force and the Terena village chief, or
headman. In the principal villages the people
are organized into two religious groups, Catholics [971]
and Protestants, centering around missionary ac-
tivities. In recreational activities the larger
villages are organized into football teams and, in [526]
Bananal, into a football club which organizes Bra-
zilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviohe*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

[P. 41-B]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ksʼpahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims [787]
he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789]
with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776]
spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273]
did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

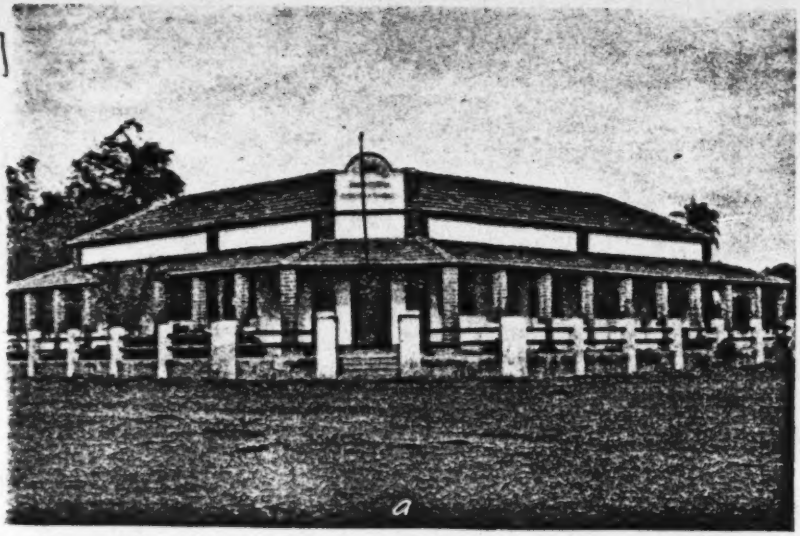
Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable 797
impression, for the Terena speak about him even
today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" es- [648]
tablished the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought
the Terena together and made Catholic missionary
activity among them more effective. Around 1920
the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn
their mission. By 1925 American Protestant mis-
sionaries, belonging to the South American Indian
Mission, had established a mission and school at
Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse
are still active. In 1930 an American branch of
the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established
at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make pe-
riodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the Amer- 797
ican Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the 776
Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day 796
celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint 177
among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a
martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an
arrow in his side. The arrow may have something
to do with the selection of this saint to serve In-
dian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint
Sebastian provides protection against hunger,
sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint
Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner
mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint.
This banner is then presented to the village of
Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are pre-
dominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their
procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the
Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on
Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration
takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner 796
walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, 177
two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and
the faithful. The procession stops in front of
each house and the people sing. The banner bearer
then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner
offers shelter and gives alms to every member in
the procession. Wherever the procession happens
to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some
of the money received is spent on food. During the
night dancing is periodically interrupted by pray-
ers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues
in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where
more dancing and praying take place.

346
[648]



[997]

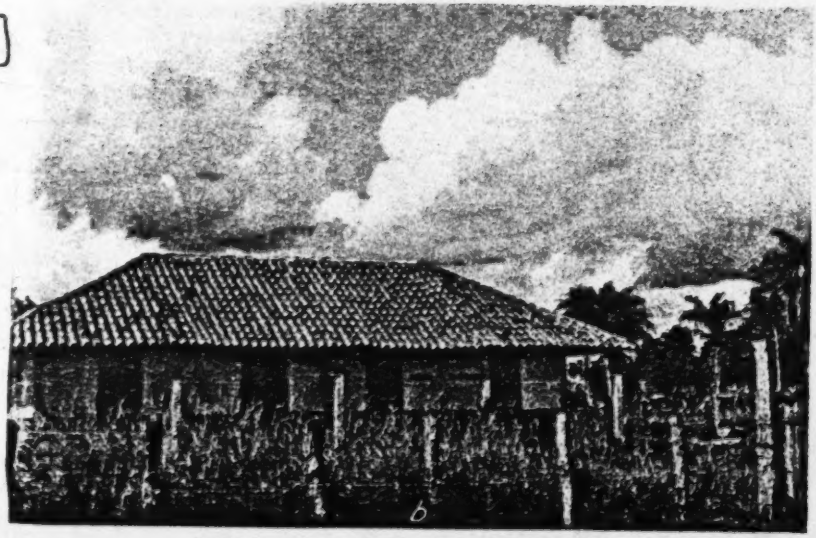


PLATE 2.—Terena schools. a, Government school. b, Protestant mission school.

[P. 75]

[End Plate 3]

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers [649] [797] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative 121 177 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./

121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G /19 cont./
C
101
175

the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G
195
[361]
[648]
[162]

C
161
[361]

G.
Ki
M
161

Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

G
Gi
M
161

/20 cont./

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
[463]

G
[172]

The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
464
648
[101]

Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

G
114
177

/22 cont./

175 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, insso far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [64P] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [297] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

/26 cont./

101 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not
174 consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guaná subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikináu, and Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás," which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the Guaná subgroups as a whole. (16) A /

101

16. The distinction made by Sanches Labrador between the tribal designations and the names attributed to the Aruák groups by the Guaikurú, permits us to set up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

101
648 This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--owing to the enormous Guaikurú influence throughout the area--the "Choarána" seem to have been known in the 18th century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).

101
[648] Already in the following century, the Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the remaining "Choarana" seem to have been called also by the generic name "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and "Chualas," which are added to the

/27 cont./

114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
125 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who

[113]

21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

[167]

by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikináu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikináu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

/28 cont./

the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau(24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

/29 cont./

121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

The first information available on the Guaná(26) show

175
241

26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses."(27) Already by this
648

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors."(28)

28. Ibidem.

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
● 148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

114
121
128
[171]

29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

/30 cont./

114
121
128

would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

175
• 640 The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175 Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
648 subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
M Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
[651] been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
G kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
[582] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
G captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
[566] caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G /31 cont./
M 175 their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--
648 or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko.
[70] "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
M 565 have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights
648 over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques
175 and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
G and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our
M 175 brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the
648
431

34. Idem:267.

G offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their
[288] servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake
of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a
cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
M the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not
[565] offered such presents, even though they are provided with food
[574] during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends
and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in
175 the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand
648 the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the
17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
G their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed
[439] knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could
supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max
174 Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák, (37)
648

[text continues on p. 33]

A /32 cont./
174
648

37. "Worthy of note in the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, through colonization is the fact that it has nothing to do with political power, being based on a purely economic-administrative foundation.... We thus find an automatic explanation, in this type of colonization, for the extraordinary phenomenon that political power is not found in the hands of the Aruáque men in various South American regions, in spite of the obvious predominance of their culture and their economic-administrative system." And in a footnote (no. 165) the author adds: "...this also occurs among the Guanás, who formerly lived in Mbayá territory, so that they appeared partly as allies, partly as vassals and people under the protection of the Mbayás."

G
175
648

A
174
648

--"In such cases," warns Max Schmidt, "we must not conclude at the outset that we are dealing with a later subjugation of Aruáque tribes by other groups, as so many tend to do. Only where such a domination by means of force is proved by definite historical facts must it be taken into account. In all other cases, to judge by the spirit

/32 cont./

A 174 648

of the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, it is more logical to admit that political power never lay in their hands." (Cf. 1917, Ch. 4.)

A 174 648

according to which these tribes, when they establish relations with the populations of neighboring tribal groups, manage these relations in such a way as to lead to a condition of economic dependency.

G M 175 648

Let it be emphasized, therefore, that the information left us by 18th-century chroniclers are very important because they reveal, in our opinion, actual contact situations between the Guaikurú and the Guaná. They prove a Mbayá-Guaikurú hegemony that already existed in pre-Colombian times, probably immediately following the settlement of those Aruák groups in the Chaco. If there already existed a certain military superiority on the part of the Guaikurú over the Guaná and other Chaco groups, this became more pronounced when those Indians adopted the horse and changed it into a weapon of war, already in the times of the Spanish conquest. Once this superiority had been established and made concrete, it does not seem correct to state that it must have acquired identical characteristics in relation to all Chaco groups, indiscriminately. With the exception of the other Guaikurú groups, such as the Payaguá, or groups such as the Mokovi, Abipon, and Toba, it was the Txikíto, the Guaxi /Guachi/, the Guató, and especially the Txamakóko, the most frequently attacked tribes, which, when vanquished, saw their /33/ members made into captives.(38) Meanwhile, the Guaná groups were

M 175 648 [77] [492]

M [0]

G [175] [648]

38. We use this term in its most general sense, keeping all the variations that might exist in the relations of dependency of captured

/33 cont./

M
175
648

Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

G
M
175
648
[162]

treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

M
G
114
175
648

39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

M
G
175
648

/33 cont./

M
G
175
648

some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

G
M
175
648

Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

M
G
[65]
[43]

/33 cont./

G
M
175
648
[651]
[431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G
M
175
648
574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M
[562]
[622]

G
M
175
648
361

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

/34 cont./

fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)." (42) The

42. 1845:209.

chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

G M 175 648 131 M 563 adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

G M 175 648 571 case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO)

M [563] [622]

45. 1910, II:256.

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

G M 175 648 [57] 622 [582]

/35 cont./

Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

G M [101]

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layãna words.

G [191]

The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

M 175 648 563 197 G 175 177 M G [17] This shows the intensity of the process of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [181] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50)And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

G M 175 648 M 221 563 [381]

/371/

The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy throughout the Paraguay basin.

G M 175 648 571

We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná subjection: "According to the best informants I could get," he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

G M 175 648 571

/37 cont./

very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

G M [172]

53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

G M 175 648 571

/38 cont./

and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G 121 128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G [173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

This ethnic

177 178 565 stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns 177 were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú 178 not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters 565 and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agri- 461 cultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the 178 chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems 565 to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of 462 conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more [171] archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

171 462 177 67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

171
462
177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462
177

The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the
462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both
[177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terena groups are passing and of their inte-
177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the
178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in
● 648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably
462
565

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 178 648 462 565

during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykurú; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

[175] [128]

70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP7
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[278] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/57/

G
H
175
648
[167]

IV. History of Interethnic Relations

At the end of the 18th century, when the Guaná groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

H
175

97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

G
H
175
648

The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

H
175

98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacaria and Xeres. There, in those campos,

H
175

/57 cont./

the members of one bandeira headed by Salvador Moreira, founded an encampment and set up farming for sustenance. Around 1660, Braz Moreira, brother of that bandeira chief, rebelled, along with some men from Sorocaba, and punishment was called for. A deposition dated July 28 of that year was drawn against the rebel for insubordination, at the encampment itself. The incident, documented by the scribe Antônio Alvares Maciel, shows, for the historic record, the fact of the effective possession of the Vacaria glebes by the bandeirantes (the italics are ours). In the foothill region of Mbotetei (Miranda), Pascoal Moreira and André Zuniga, in the course of three lustrums, between 1678 and 1695, had held their own in their stockaded campos, with their fleet of canoes engaged in the traffic of /Indian/ captives. The Portuguese 'uti-possidetis' was being secured on these glebes." (Op. cit., p. 49.)

G
H
175
648

Paraguay basin, on the other hand they did serious injury to the indigenous populations. In the struggle that ensued between the "Paulistas" and the Jesuits /58/ and Spaniards for the expansion of their empires, the Indian got the worst of it: drawn

G H 175 648 /58 cont./

into every camp, often fighting fellow Indians, he was the most despoiled, of his goods, his lands, his people. The pastoral wave, however, came to attend to more productive occupation, although it also represented a constant threat to the tribal groups that stood in its way.

H 175 167 Let it be clear that we are speaking of a specific pastoral wave, national in character, and representing the natural expansion of the neo-Brazilian society. There is no doubt that M 175 648 233 721 the area formed by the tributaries of the left bank of the Paraguay (even where it is today Brazilian territory) was partially occupied by livestock, chiefly "baguá" livestock, the same variety of cows and horses the first heads of which were brought by D. Alvar Nunes Cabeça de Vaca in 1543; and the inroads to which they were subjected by sorties of the Guaikurú provoked the Spaniards, who were virtual owners of those herds, (99) to make minced meat of them.

99. Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra tells us the scope of the slaughter carried out by the Spaniards among the Guaikurú. The chronicler tells us that from 1793 up to 1803, the date when he was writing, the Guaikurú created havoc in proportion to the Spaniards' advance with their fazendas, pushing them back or even destroying them and coming into possession of 20,000 horses, M [527] some cows, etc. The Spaniards then organized two slaughtering expeditions in 1796, killing the famous Guaikurú "captain," Queimá, ten other "captains," and 300 Indians; in 1797, another even larger /expedition/

G H 175 167 H 233 [361]

/59 cont./

conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient

G [137] [136]

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

G H 175 167 648

It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

H 175 167

103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

/60 cont./

H
175
167

been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces.--The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

G
H
175
167
148

close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

HP
[175]
[167]

R H HP 175 167 648

/60 cont./

offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

HP 175 167

104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

G H [177] HP [648]

G H HP 175 167 648

it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna,

G H HP 175 167 648 A [173]

/61 cont./

a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

G H 175 648 H 567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

G H 175 167 496 H [653]

The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

/64 cont./

175
177
797

had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[10] munities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64)
[361] on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very
648 scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/65 cont./

175 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date
648 back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and
184 show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikinâu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While
[427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on
[439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)
[444] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikinâu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

/65 cont./

175
162
361

120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

241
439

175
648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

/66 cont./

175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of
which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[596] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./
121

Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

G
B
170
648

Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

B
[653]

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

G
[361]

G
[162]

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikináu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

G /67 cont./
B taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even
175 after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the
648 Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members
B of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service.
657 While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the
G Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904,
[361] and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

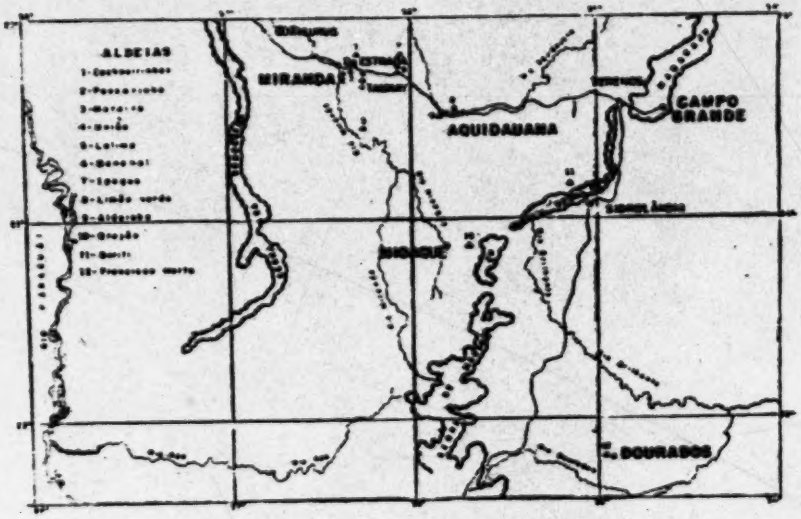
H
175
648
K
175
177

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

H
[212]
[292]

/72 cont./

000



Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361/166 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no matter in how precarious a fashion. Some of these places were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

361/178 648 [657]

[Text continues on p. 104]

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit, moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município: Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
[162] communities, which will be the subject of ecological characterization in the present chapter, we might point out two other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter, Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
162 censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we
161 know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until
175 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can
648 only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....
175 Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda
648 Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea,
166 taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju
[466] range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the
621 boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the
[648] definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-
[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands
[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

178 cont. / [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[162] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[191] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

[104]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

• 648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./ reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells, of which there are not more than three for both villages; and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the community. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
162
361

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikinãu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
621 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço
162 de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/86 cont./

Limão Verde and Aldeinha

36/ Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
● 648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
175 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
● 648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the non-native members of the community. We would venture to say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

101 829 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

464 648 [241] [462]

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the
175 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
361 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
621 "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
[162] Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

[113]

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea,
[166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The
[648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso.
[162] Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among
[166] whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further
[162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into
621 "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875

they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

● 648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[346] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[01] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

175
621
648
723
[13]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 621 648 423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 621 [162] [166] [648] 175 361

probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate, up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

[Buriti]

G /95 cont./
464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
G same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[361] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[621] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.
[162]

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
162 begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
G Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
175 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
166 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
621 stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
648 Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont./

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the matê industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

/121/ economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

/62/ assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna com-
/648/ munities characterized above, it is seen that their components
/177/ continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive
[128] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

/121/ The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of
[128] socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/101 cont./

184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna subcultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

648
621

159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea.--It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/101 cont./

648
621

unperceived by the communities that were not fortunate enough to get a post which, for better or for worse, would supervise life in the reservation. Although this is not in accordance with the administrative norms of the S. P. I., it has not been possible to avoid this distortion to which a large part of the superintendents are subject. The most obvious case is that of União aldea, which, because it is not a reservation but a private spot acquired by the Indians themselves--, does not receive the slightest amount of help; and even, it can be said, is regarded quite unfavorably by the great majority of S. P. I. officials.

648
621
433

In aldeas where the S. P. I. is located, the impression is conveyed of very slight concern with the communal economy, i.e., that of the Indians themselves, which is neglected in favor--of what we shall call--the post economy. We shall not here go into the merits of this "policy," since we do not /102/ know to what extent it reflects the directives furnished by the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, or the regional one, the inspetoria, in Campo Grande. The truth is that there is very great concern over the production of the post, i.e., that resulting from labor financed by the S. P. I, whether it relates to farm plots, to cattle-raising, or to the extraction of wood or angico bark. This labor is ordinarily carried out by the

648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

[461]

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the [434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic [241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they [464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans [511] [feijão miudo], and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by [463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out- [314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

/105 cont./

797 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
● 648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldea routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.
797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!
621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/109 cont./

184 621 797 795 [165] [128]

Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621 795 511 [184] [182] [648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/114 cont./
184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
621
166

> 182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

> 183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[648] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
● [648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

/133 cont./

*177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage
563 and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the
558 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
562 indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
563 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

[648]

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [348]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife
582 there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in
563 addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city
369 (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to
562 cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order
[371] to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 The widening of the family network by means of the
608 compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommo-
557 dation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy
[175] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the
[185] time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/136 cont./

*177
797

Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way
797 decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or
*177 national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the
● 648 Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/
[721] as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas,
[P29] invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

/137 cont./
175 *177 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local
648 "colonels," who invaded and robbed their aldeas.

*177 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of
666 democratic life in the country, the political parties began to
648 seek out the Terêna aldeas with the aim of gaining electors among those who might perchance know how to sign their names. To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical relations with the "civilizado," at least while the election propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39 electors (including nine women) in one of the aldeas alone, namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União, taken together, the number of electors could not have reached
123 50. In the other aldeas, unfortunately, we were unable to find
*177 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that
666 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan
648 activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha, a community where we remained for a long time, from making such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the com-
*177 munity for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the
666 Terêna aldeas (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political
648 parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often /138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
369 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
66 *177 ● 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*177 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 464 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. [178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [147] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/143 cont./

some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[267] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
● 648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S. P. I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

G /146 cont./

*177 178 ●648 The segregated condition to which the aldea population is subjected stimulates the emergence of psycho-social mechanisms that work counter to assimilation: it strengthens the "tribal we," decreases the possibilities of interethnic contact, and marks the position of the Indian socially as a ward. Let us examine this last aspect of segregation, since the first two--the strengthening of tribal consciousness and the creation of obstacles to interethnic contact--were already dealt with in previous chapters. The most flagrant discrimination against the Indian that we had the opportunity to witness bore the approval of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios at the time of the 1955 elections. In that year, at the end of September, thus on the eve of the elections, the Inspetoria Regional (IR-5) with headquarters in Campo Grande and responsible for the supervision and articulation of the native posts /147/ of southern Mato Grosso, along with the central administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decided to withdraw the Indians' voting certificates on the grounds that regional politicking would be prejudicial to the Indians' interests and to their administration. It considered--with some reason--that, if the Indians were to vote, the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially the superintendents, would eventually become electoral leaders, as had already happened in some aldeas; the result of this would be a future wrangling over the posts of native-post superintendents, since they would come to represent political power, electoral importance. Very well. Such were the reasons that led the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios--through its inspetoria--to take an attitude that clashed with the basic principles of a native policy oriented toward guaranteeing to the Indian the securing of rights he would prove ready to enjoy. Once literate, and in most cases, a reservist, the Indian elector automatically ceased to be a ward (despite the sui generis nature of this wardship)--and the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, interpreting in a positive way the protectionist policy, would have no other recourse than to insure

G 666 648 B 657

G [641]

G /147 cont./
686 the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave
688 aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude
B 687 and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient....
G [829] But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Purutuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

G [369]

209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601]

1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootú; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulú; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," ōngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[P2] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
● 648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

000

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by ROBERTO CARDOSO DE OLIVEIRA
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[31] [01] [161] [648] [177]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[14] [122]

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[128]

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*

[114]

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

182
571
[648]
[828]
[628]

REFERENCES

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949—"Mudança Cultural dos Terena" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo, pp. 271/379.

BACH, J.
1916—"Datos sôbre los indios Terena de Miranda" in *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, LXXXII, Buenos Aires, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1937—"A sucessão hereditária do Chefe entre os Tereno" in *Ensaios de Ehtnologia Brasileira, Coleção Brasiliana*, pp. 70-85.
1950—"Lendas dos índios Tereno" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo, pp. 217-232.

BALDUS, HERBERT e EMILIE WILLEMS
1939—*Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia*. Companhia Editora Nacional.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE
1949—*Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul*. Coleção Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editora Nacional, São Paulo (vol. II).

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1922—*De la Division du travail Social*, 4ª édit., Paris, Alcan.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1936—*We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London.
1954—"Social Organization and Social Change", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 84, pp. 1-20.
1955—"Some Principles of Social Organization", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 85, pp. 1-18.

113

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
●648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[329] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[844] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

Ga [621] "The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

/324 cont./

Ce Ga 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In C Ce 175 648 567 727 the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 797 "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in C [797] the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could C Ce 175 162 797 be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapiti Chiriguano and Chané who were C Ce 175 648 797 living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text Continues on P. 51]

/33 cont./

M
G
175
648

some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

G
M
175
648

Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

M
G
[65]
[43]

/33 cont./

G
M
175
648
[651]
[431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G
M
175
648
574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M
[562]
[622]

G
M
175
648
361

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
518
181

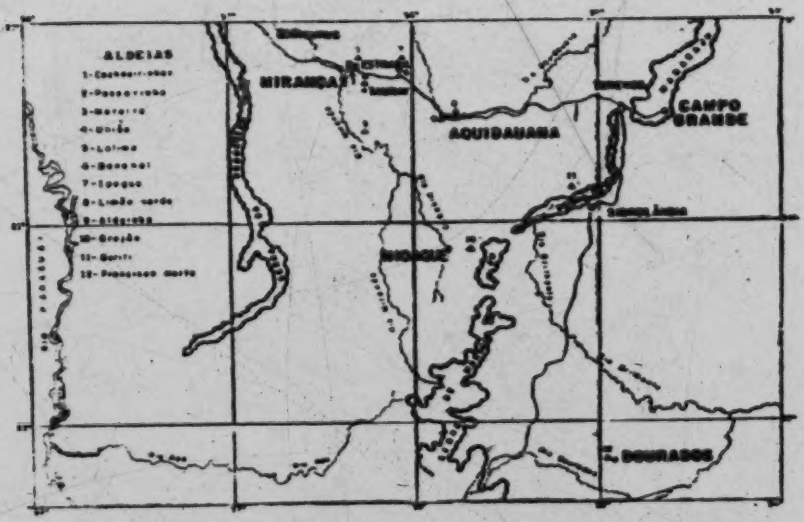
[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/72 cont./

000



Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the
166 time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no
361 matter in how precarious a fashion. Some of these places
178 were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção
648 aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the
[657] remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

[Text continues on p. 104]

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
66 *177 648 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as playing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they belong. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the political parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*277 557 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as the source of new experiences and advantages to the young Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above, in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor [464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been mentioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from various standpoints.

*177 464 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied. [178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased, but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work, herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor [467] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they [147] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[172]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 621 797 795 [165] [128] Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621 795 511 [184] [182] [648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/137 cont./

175 * 177 648 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local "colonels," who invaded and robbed their aldeas.

* 177 ● 666 648 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of democratic life in the country, the political parties began to seek out the Terêna aldeas with the aim of gaining electors among those who might perchance know how to sign their names. To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical relations with the "civilizado," at least while the election propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39 electors (including nine women) in one of the aldeas alone, namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União, taken together, the number of electors could not have reached 123 50. In the other aldeas, unfortunately, we were unable to find * 177 666 648 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha, a community where we remained for a long time, from making such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the com- * 177 666 648 munity for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the Terêna aldeas (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often /138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
●666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
367 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/138 cont./

*177 666 369 829 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way) and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened" [554] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[159]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

G /146 cont./

*177 The segregated condition to which the aldea population
178 is subjected stimulates the emergence of psycho-social
648 mechanisms that work counter to assimilation: it strengthens the "tribal we," decreases the possibilities of interethnic contact, and marks the position of the Indian socially as a ward. Let us examine this last aspect of segregation, since the first two--the strengthening of tribal consciousness and the creation of obstacles to interethnic contact--were already dealt with in
G 666 previous chapters. The most flagrant discrimination against
648 the Indian that we had the opportunity to witness bore the
B 657 approval of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios at the time of the 1955 elections. In that year, at the end of September, thus on the eve of the elections, the Inspetoria Regional (IR-5) with headquarters in Campo Grande and responsible for the supervision and articulation of the native posts /147/ of southern Mato Grosso, along with the central administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decided to withdraw the Indians' voting certificates on the grounds that regional politicking would be prejudicial to the Indians' interests and to their administration. It considered--with some reason--that, if the Indians were to vote, the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially the superintendents, would eventually become electoral leaders, as had already happened in some aldeas; the result of this would be a future wrangling over the posts of native-post superintendents, since they would come to represent political power, electoral importance. Very well. Such were the reasons that led the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios--through its inspetoria--to take an attitude that clashed with the basic principles of a native policy oriented toward guaranteeing to the Indian the securing of rights he would prove
G ready to enjoy. Once literate, and in most cases, a reservist,
[641] the Indian elector automatically ceased to be a ward (despite the sui generis nature of this wardship)--and the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, interpreting in a positive way the protectionist policy, would have no other recourse than to insure

G /147 cont./
the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient....
G [829] But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Purutuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

G [369]

209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

[Post Chaco Period]

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability. 101 177 182

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

648 [673] [681] [682]

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

177 182 191

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[Post Chaco Period]

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability. 101 177 182

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially. 648 [673] [681] [682] 6

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to 177 182 191

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 682 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[Post Chaco Period]

101
177
182
648

and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

[673]
[681]
[682]

The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

177
182
191

[P. 35-B]

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life. 105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy. 626 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands 682 684

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onjo* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[Post Chaco Period]

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission sta- 797
tion. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684] ●
the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648]
sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 177 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[p. 30-A]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 177 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[691] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*waherershane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 881
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. [562]
The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [554]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the war- 554
rior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all cere- [534]
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [237]
feathers.

[p. 28-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

114
565

class expresses the concept of a group with a definite place in the process of production; nothing indicates that the Naati did not participate along with the Wahere-Txané and the Kauti themselves in agricultural labor; on the contrary, everything favors this hypothesis.

114 Xuna-Xati, in our opinion, corresponds to the
565 warrior hero, the one who managed to kill an enemy in battle
555 and is thus honored by the tribe with this title which, literally
701 translated, would mean killer. Therefore, warriors could be all those who participated in the battles and forays of the group,
[567] whether they were Naati or Wahere-Txané. Consequently, members of one or the other group could become Xuna-Xati, including the Kauti, even though this was not very common, since it was rare for the latter to participate in battles. (65)

65. This is a subject that is not very clear, although the Terêna we talked to state that the participation of the Kauti in battles was minimal. The chroniclers consulted are not
[171] explicit on this. It appears certain, however, that the Terêna--contrary to what occurred among the Mbayá-Guaikurú--were not as successful, or perhaps did not even attempt to incite their captives to warfare or even encourage them to become incorporated into the dominant group.

/131 cont./

369 *177 511 181 life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

369 *177

*177 ● 701 464 554 2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

*177 701 181 [171] From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
● 701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 the fallen man, and blew a horn. This both announced his triumph
555 and claimed for himself the title of Xuna-Xati. "War Chiefs" were
[701] recruited from the social group formed by the Xuna-Xati, i. e., from this group of "decorated" warriors, without regard for *social* or *ethnic* gackground. It was, however, infrequent for a Kauti who was also a Xuna-Xati to be named a "War Chief", according to our informants. He would have had to be exceptional indeed to compete with the powerful group of Xuna-Xati who were Terena by birth. It appears that this "chieftainship" was retained by the Naati/Xuna-Xati or by the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, which demonstrates that the *ethnic* line was harder to cross than was the *social* line, in Terena society (cf. Figure III).

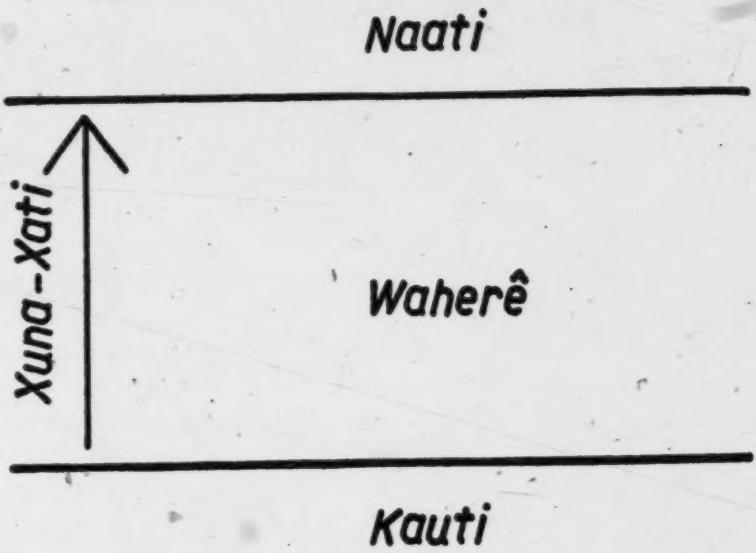


Figure III

582 The role played by the institution of the Xuna-Xati in the matri-
565 monial sphere was extremely important. It succeeded in breaking
557 stratum endogamy which, in structural terms, seemed absolute. The Kauti/Xuna-Xati came to have the right to marry Waheré women (Waheré-Seenó), just as the Waheré/Xuna-Xati could marry a Naati woman (Naati-Seenó). Thus a man of an inferior stratum could seek a wife from the next superior stratum. Although there was apparently nothing

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

G /67 cont./
B taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even
175 after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the
648 Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members
B of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service.
657 While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the
G Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904,
[361] and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

H
175
648
K
175
177

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

H
[212]
[292]

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

M 175 648 563 197 G 175 177 M G [17] This shows the intensity of the process of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [181] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] *Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná* communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 [104] But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [554] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

[Traditional Culture]

177 178 462 562 565 171 [591] [596]

/44 cont./ The special emphasis on removing women from farm work is explained, on the one hand, by the important role they played in Guaná culture, which was organized basically around matrilocal extended families, despite the fact that the Terêna today, are bilocal; on the other hand, by the attempt to parallel Guaykuru women, who "throughout the period of their marriage enjoy the position of ladies.... It reverted to the husband's care to provide the game and other provisions to feed the family." (Labrador, 1910; II:26.)

178 555 565 [721] [631]

/45/ The dynamization of Guaná social structure can be attributed to vertical mobility, which, if it did not begin as a result of relations with the Mbayá-Guaykurú, must have become intensified after the Guaná stepped up the taking of captives in an attempt to keep up with their allies. In this manner the Guaná, as they became stratified in such a way as to guarantee to the chieftainship and leadership of the group a single stratum, that of the Naati, which consisted, as we have seen, of the relatives of the caciques, set up a clever compensation mechanism. This stratum, endogamous like the others, became accessible to heroes, who rose to it by means of their deeds. Such a possibility of social ascension was not /Figure 1 appears here/ limited, however, to the Waherê-Txané; it was also granted to the Kauti, or captives, who adapted to the same mechanism of status change, i.e., the elevation of the individual to the next higher stratum.

/66 cont./

175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
648
184
721

121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

[361]
[162]

123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

/136 cont./

*177
797

Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way
797 decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or
*177 national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the
648 Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/
[721] as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas,
[829] invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 881 565 622 [292] [562] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

which was fitted into a notch in another stick lying on the ground. Dry fibers were used to catch the sparks. When the fibrous material began to smoulder the firemaker would blow on it gently until a flame appeared. Dry grass and wood then were added. As this task was an arduous one, fires seldom were permitted to go out in the village. 372

RAIDING

Some economic importance must be imputed to the raids which the Terena made upon their neighbors. They mention raiding the Ilai, but who the Ilai were is not clear. It is possible that the word "Ilai" is a Terena word for the Chamacoco, for the Chamacoco were being repeatedly raided by their eastern neighbors, particularly the Mbayá. The Terena tell of capturing horses, sheep, and cattle and, above all, slaves. The practice was to put men and women to death, keeping only the young boys and girls. After these young slave children grew up they were part of the tribe and it was difficult for them to escape and return to their own people about whom they now knew very little. Slaves were made to cultivate the soil, hunt, fetch wood and water, build houses, tend livestock, and to take part in warfare and even assist in ceremonials. Besides their economic importance, slaves, of course, enhanced the social prestige of their owners. 721 567 727 [554]

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

The Terena can now give only very sketchy information about their past property rights and inheritance. Whether they ever had a common tribal territory is not clear. What appears most likely is that the members of each village laid claim to the cultivable lands surrounding the village and to certain hunting and fishing grounds. Each family group had its own house and fields under the trusteeship of the family head which passed to the man's younger brother or son after his death. Individuals owned their own clothing, tools, weapons, and ornaments. Livestock and slaves were the property of the warrior who captured them, but their use and services were available to the members of the household in which the warrior lived. The Terena state that the produce of the field and the chase, although owned by individual households, would be shared if anyone was 421

3: Oliveira

SK7 Guana SK7

● 727
563

/For the role and function of the hauti or war captives in Guana society, see category 565./

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 The first type of stratification established in the old
563 Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of
● 727 this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even
[171] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

/21

66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us [120] with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive [illegible]. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had [illegible]nomic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (po[illegible]ical, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

This shows the intensity of the process

M 175 648 583 197 G 175 177 M G [171] of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [181] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing G M 175 728 those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50)And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

/85 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue,
[628] for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go
[496] through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea
[133] and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary
[132] between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the
[312] dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water.
[231] Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

[184] The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a
[348] more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic
[491] church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half
[241] score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

621 Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to
439 the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana,
[441] while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had
[443] the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [753] ●
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [761]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

[P. 43 -A]

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance. 756 756 787 [776] [775]

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body. 753 756

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him." 756 755

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance. 756 756 787 [776] [775]

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body. 753 756

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him." 756 755

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[P. 44 - A]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. *"Giahí kaponó neishá vomorí"* (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he [787] sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. [789] On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776] spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273] did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

756
755
342

796
177

PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Pienaan dancing around chief man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated house

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[782] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[789] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati
and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature,
and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[573]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple

178 756 755

ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical

178 796 [177]

practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[528] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[755] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[177]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796

Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

[619]

178 571 [177]

This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harm- [262]
ful to the hunter. [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was em- [789]
ployed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

family, as he was supposed to be able to successfully defend himself and the honor of his family. 684 [682]

If an unmarried girl acted immorally and was caught by her father, she was tied and dragged around the village for everyone to see. If she persisted in misbehaving she would be exiled by her relatives.

Incest does not seem to have been a capital crime. If sons and daughters committed incest they were beaten by their parents.

Theft was not common but if it occurred the two extended families usually settled the matter by returning the stolen goods or by compensation in the form of property. 685

If it was generally believed that a sorcerer had made one ill or had killed a relative by means of black magic, the sorcerer would be killed. The killing of the sorcerer had to be performed outside the village because if anyone killed a shaman in the village it was considered murder. Under these circumstances a man would wait until the sorcerer went hunting or went to cultivate his garden outside the village. If he succeeded in killing him the matter would end there. On the other hand, people feared shamans, for their relatives or other shamans would try to revenge the death. 683 756

The Terena stress the fact that there was little crime in the villages in the old days, the social unity of the village being strengthened by constant external danger and the moral authority of the war chief and the two moiety chiefs. The treatment of murder shows that the villagers did not leave punishment entirely to the extended families, but attempted to avoid feuds through the enforcement of the village law of death in battle. 674 182

The bonds which held the members of the village together and which gave cohesion to the classes were those of kinship. There were no clans. The moieties functioned primarily as ceremonial units. For general economic and political security an individual depended upon his kinsmen, both on his father's and mother's side. 602 [614] [616]

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

In the grandparents' generation there are two terms which are extended to siblings of grandparents, both maternal and paternal, and to their spouses. These two terms are *onju* for grandfather, and *onje* for grandmother. 601

[P. 30-A]

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belong-
ings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet fac-
ing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not per-
mitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. 797 872 [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. 648 872 797 [875]

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. 797 872 [181]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yirikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted 776 [776] [774] [789] 775 [756]

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their china. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipotí* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [953]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [961]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance.

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body.

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him."

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[P. 44 - A]

[Chaco Period]

During 756

the following night the novice was expected to have 794
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 787
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmaneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the grave- [775]
yard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[P. 44-B]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear. 756 796 789

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season. 796 756 [292]

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world. 756 554

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him. 756 [197] [797] 756 775 [789]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. *"Giahí kaponó neiehá vomorí"* (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he [787] sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* [789] are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 795
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776] spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273] did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

[Post Chaco Period]

Shamanism is still an important part of Terena belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An interesting feature of present shamanism and one which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of missionary activity among the tribe from the date of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant missionaries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

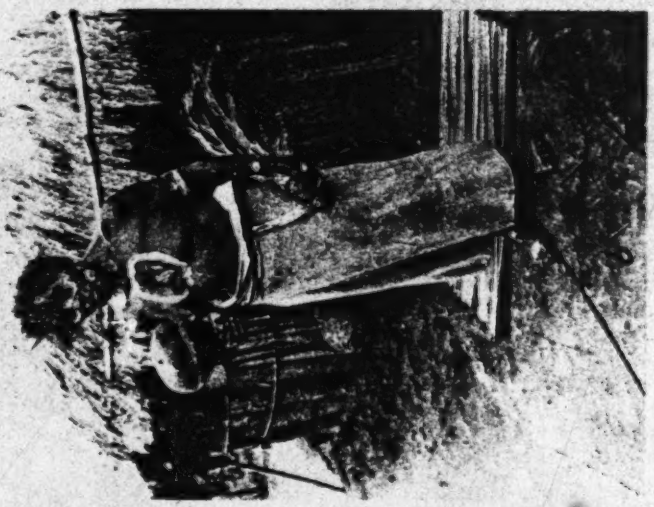
Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonuméti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

756
292
302
534
293



535
301
292

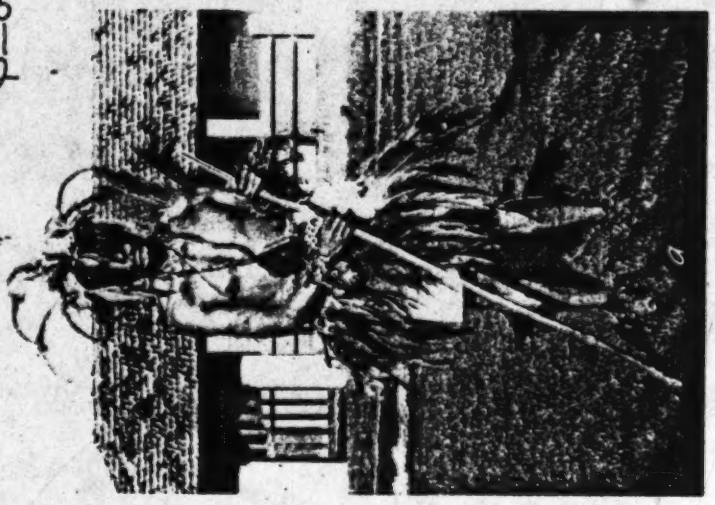


PLATE 8.—Terena women and children. 6, "Bate-pau" dance dressed in ritual feathers. 8, Shaman with half-moon (reddish) and 8-pole (blue-feather halo).

[End Plate 8]

[P.80]

756
755
342

796
177

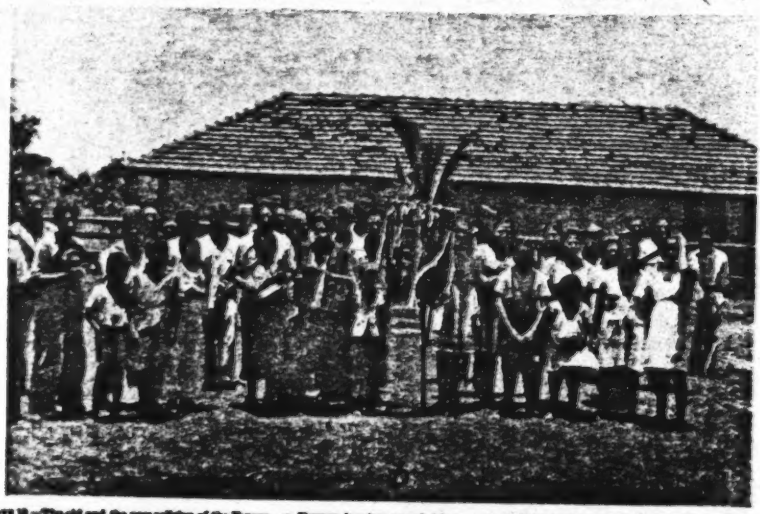


PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shamans dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated banner

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[292] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[273]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

/69 cont./

G
B
466
426

> master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

G
466
173
128
[115]
[754]

Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

B
624
625

"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131)

131. Idem:83-84.

S:Oliveira--103b E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Layâna

/72a/
142
292
301
302
756

Gonçalo, a Layâna survivor and the most highly regarded Koixomuneti in Cachoeirinha. (1955)

3:Oliveira--103c E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Guyana

/72b/

292
301
534
756

Gonçalo at "work." (1955)

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple

178 756 755

ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical

178 796 [177]

practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[755] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the [619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [172] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

3:Oliveira--196a E-5,4(1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/136a/

142
292
301
302
● 756
*177

Young Terêna, Koixomuneti apprentice, wearing around his neck an image of the "Sacred Heart." (Cachoeirinha, 1955)

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [762] [763] [774] [787]

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belong-
ings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet fac-
ing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not per-
mitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *seipoti* and *seiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [753]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [761]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly. 177 585 [591]

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything were missing the ghost would return to claim his property. 761 764 [775]

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village. 764 [756]

After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead. 768 [551]

The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had 765 [587]

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

● 764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belong-
ings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet fac-
ing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not per-
mitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[202] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
595 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
595 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

● 765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont. /

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and
585 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[582] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
● 766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/89 cont./
766 [622] [428] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 [852] Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 527 [628] [302] latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 [805] Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 [162] [114] [103] [342] Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] [162] [621] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

[Post-Chaco Period]

which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches. 177 241 648

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians. 166 648 [768] [423] [177] [464] [465]

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women. 177 311 423 648 425 648 563

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction 648

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party 177
in which both relatives and friends participate. 585
After being married the young couple go to live
with the bride's parents, although this rule is no [591]
longer adhered to strictly.

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered 761
at the house of the dead. Young people were not 764
permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it
was believed this could bring death to the young.
Around the corpse the people placed all his belong-
ings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If
anything were missing the ghost would return to [775]
claim his property.

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was 764
wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the
cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse
was placed in a grave on his back with the feet fac-
ing the west. This was done in order that the
ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the
Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman
would walk in front of the procession and as he [756]
reached the graveyard he would tell the other
ghosts about whom they were going to receive.
After the body was buried the shaman would be
the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to
prevent the ghost from returning to the village.

After returning to the village, the relatives often 768
burnt the house in which a deceased adult had
lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by
changing the doorway of the house. The name of
the dead person could not be uttered for several [551]
months. Members of the dead person's family
would change their names. All this was done in
order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from
returning to the living relatives. It was believed
that if the ghost came back it would take a living
relative back to the land of the dead.

The close female relatives of a dead man would 765
remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign
of mourning. For a month after death they would
wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their
houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was
supposed to show even more explicit signs of
mourning. The widow, for instance, was not per-
mitted to work or to bathe for many days. In
addition, there were regulations which restricted
freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was [587]
permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
725 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikũ, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[785] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

/66 cont./

Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretching from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply engraved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

[Post Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. 101 829 [177]

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos." 101 177 829

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization 101 177 182

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent 105
settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of 177
organization resembling that of the Mbayá. [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The ap- 105
pointment of captains or village chiefs first weak- 177
ened and finally abolished the positions of the 182
moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the [616]
fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, there- 105
fore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 [162]
Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the [648]
local groups, or villages, are established on defined
areas of Government land. Contact between the [628]
members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the fol- [594]
lowing structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is [596]
no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either [591]
with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the [648]
village is organized around the Post with the [361]
Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people [971]
are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger [526]
villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. 797 872 [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. 648 872 797 [875]

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. 797 872 [181]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukovioke*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted 775 [776] [774] [789] 775 [756]

[P. 41 - B]

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 795
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [953]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [961]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [956]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

[Post Chaco Period]

Shamanism is still an important part of Terena 771
belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their 756
famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An [177]
interesting feature of present shamanism and one which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of 771
missionary activity among the tribe from the date 177
of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, personal histories show that many old Terena were 797
baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant mission- 797
aries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 177 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP2
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

● 771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[276] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But
771 much greater--still according to the same source--was the re-
821 spect they showed for the "small constellation which they
[296] called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points
of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities,
or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that
[17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this
regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial
bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are con-
sidered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a
[287] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux,
1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the
Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites
and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

296 J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these
[114]
[821]

85. "The only religious
festival they celebrate is the
one that corresponds to our
Holy Week and to the passage
of the seven stars; this
festival lasts for seven days.
In all the aldeas, in front

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

796 90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

795
771

165. Altenfelder da Silva, in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[172]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

798 829 [273] thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do [212] not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" [792] have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

● 771/128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the [619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [177] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[165] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
292 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[821] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
292 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
291 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[285] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

*177 797 771 795 [P22] Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian" too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic" Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus [186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority, but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group consciousness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of the group toward change (far greater than the present conservative mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the *soi-disant* Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to *177 797 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
●771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[P2] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

● 771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living. 775

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows: 776 773 776 773 539

In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Lívéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Lívéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

Yúrikoyuvakái was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.

The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hiveó*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm. 539 773 776

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *pulá'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopáe*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life. 773 776

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story: [821] 539 773 776

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itúaku*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776.
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu, and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [953]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [961]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

171 462 177

division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

The division of labor

462 177 among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the 462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both [177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terêna groups are passing and of their inte- 177 gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the 178 existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in 648 the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably 462 565

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[296] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[782] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[789] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128] [573]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

90. "The cerimonial life
796 of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was par-
ticularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both 773 children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version [115]

93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each [616] went his way." It seems that we are in front of a myth that reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

/54 cont./

773 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties.
616 Compare the figures of Taipuvuké and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoé, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terêna food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe." (95)

95. 1950:224.

There is no doubt that Pitanoé and Taipuyukê are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyukê (or Pitanoé) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there
[184] arose another. But the first was the master." (96) As is seen,

96. 1949:349.

despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

/55 cont./

773 616 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionõ were regarded as [177] slightly superior to the Xumonõ. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 114 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field. 128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.

/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

616
796
565

Naati

("class" line)

Waherê

(ethnic line)

Kauti

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

616
773

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

616 stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut
●773 Yurikoyuvakái in two, both halves later growing into the twins" (1949 : 42). This version does not suggest the superiority of one twin over the other. In a version which we recorded of this same story, there is the suggestion, however, of the predominance of one moiety over the other—to the extent that the moieties may be considered to correspond to the twins. According to one old Terena: "Yurikoyuvakái had a brother Tapuyuké, somewhat shorter than he was. Ane day they started to cut the clouds so as to kill everything, because they did not want us to survive. But the more they cut the more the clouds grew. Then the two stopped cutting because they were tired. And each one went his own way." The versions recorded by Herbert Baldus tell us that "Anciently Orekajuvakái was just one and while he was still young his mother became angry with him because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the garden; she went to the garden, got a sickle and cut Orekajuvakái into two pieces. The piece from the waist up turned into people; and the other half became people too" (1950 : 218). Baldus indicates that there was another culture-hero myth among the Terena that referred to a malicious person who did not always act with the best of intentions, considerably different from the idea presented by Yurikoyuvakái. This second concerned the hero Pitanoé, who can be equivalent with Taipuyuké, of whom our informant from Cachoeirinha spoke. It appears that the myth that we recorded reconciles the two personalities of Orekoyuvakái and Taipuyuké (or Pitanoé), by making them originally a single person, who was only later divided into two, which gave birth to two distinct personalities which correspond to the two moieties Sukirikionó and Xumonó. The other versions collected by us and others, are really only variations of the theme we have presented. On the point of the superiority of one twin over the other, Altenfelder Silva supports the general hypothesis, saying that after Yurikojuvakái had been cut through the middle, "the top part grew to be another Yurikoyuvakái; the lower part became another person. But the first was the one who gave orders" (1949 : 349).

616 The impression gained from talking to the Terena is that the Sukirikionó are a little superior to the Xumonó, although this superiority is never reflected in ordinary social intercourse. It is probable that this difference of "ethos" has always been evident solely in the magico-religious ceremonies and in the secular games described above, without ever having influenced social norms. As we shall show, the role of the moieties in society was confined to the regulation of marriage, in conjunction with the strata.[9]

[9] The Portuguese term used here is *camada*, which is considered to be equivalent to the technical usage of "stratum".

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

582
[587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly
835 a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena
773 myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

601

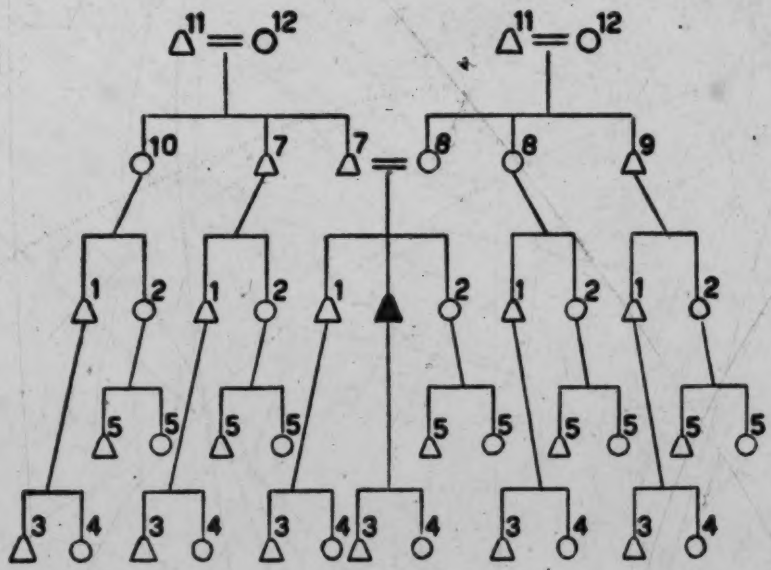


Figure V

(1) Angi, (2) Mongetxá, (3) Djo-á, (4) Inxiné, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Keno, (9) Kungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Onzu, (12) Onze. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of
[114] reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Keno and Mongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Keno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

835 man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words
773 of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their
[587] case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[P. 44 - A]

[Chaco Period]

During 756
the following night the novice was expected to have 774
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 787
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the grave- [795]
yard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[Chaco Period]

A church wedding is usually followed by a party in which both relatives and friends participate. After being married the young couple go to live with the bride's parents, although this rule is no longer adhered to strictly. 177 585 [591]

BURIAL

When an adult person died, old people gathered at the house of the dead. Young people were not permitted to view or come near the corpse, as it was believed this could bring death to the young. Around the corpse the people placed all his belongings, clothes, tools, weapons, and ornaments. If anything were missing the ghost would return to claim his property. 761 764 [775]

After lamentations at the house, the corpse was wrapped in his or her clothes and carried to the cemetery some distance from the village; the corpse was placed in a grave on his back with the feet facing the west. This was done in order that the ghost, when freed from the body, could go to the Chaco. On the way to the graveyard a shaman would walk in front of the procession and as he reached the graveyard he would tell the other ghosts about whom they were going to receive. After the body was buried the shaman would be the last to leave the cemetery, his duty being to prevent the ghost from returning to the village. 764 [756]

After returning to the village, the relatives often burnt the house in which a deceased adult had lived. Sometimes, however, they were satisfied by changing the doorway of the house. The name of the dead person could not be uttered for several months. Members of the dead person's family would change their names. All this was done in order to confuse the ghost and to prevent it from returning to the living relatives. It was believed that if the ghost came back it would take a living relative back to the land of the dead. 768 [551]

The close female relatives of a dead man would remove their clothing and cut their hair as a sign of mourning. For a month after death they would wail at sunrise and sunset, sitting naked in their houses. The wife or mother of a dead man was supposed to show even more explicit signs of mourning. The widow, for instance, was not permitted to work or to bathe for many days. In addition, there were regulations which restricted freedom of widows and widowers. A widower was permitted to marry only a widow. If a man had 765 [587]

[POST CHACO PERIOD]
[CHACO PERIOD]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. 797 872 [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. 648 872 797 [875]

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. 797 872 [181]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted 771 [776] [774] [789] 775 [756]

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living. 775

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows: 776 773 776 773 539

In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Lévéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Lévéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

Yúrikoyuvakái was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.

The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [753]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [761]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

6

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

[P. 43 -A]

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance. 756 756 787 [776] [775]

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body. 753 756

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him." 756 755

During 756
the following night the novice was expected to have 774
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 787
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itéaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), [775]
would then stand up and turning toward the graveyard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took 756
the form of a snake, later making it disappear 796
into his mouth; or he would take a small plant 789
from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part 796
of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans with- 756
drew to appear again dressed in red mantles called [292]
haráramototi. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a 756
position of extraordinary prestige. This high 554
status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with 756
a Christian community for over a century and [177]
Protestant missionaries have been active in Ba- [797]
nanal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú 756
for instance, explained that he learned his shaman- 775
ism from his father who was also a shaman. He [789]
said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

[P.45-A]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken. 756 775 [787] [789]

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits. 756 775 755

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night. 756 [789] [776]

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who are said to cure people by blessing them in the Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans. 777 755 756

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations. 648 756 [273]

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[172]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." [619] In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [177] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

[P.41-B]

to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living. 775

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows: 776 773 776 773 539

In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

Yúrikoyuvakái was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.

The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

[Chaco Period]

had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the 539
twins gave them a language and put them into a place 773
where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and
shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to 776
go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hivoé*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm.

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *pulá'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *ssiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopáe*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical 773
charter for the Terena way of life. The import- 776
ance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life.

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíqiuné*. It is curious to [821]
note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real 539
danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, 773
ivoyóneti, we have the following story: 776

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itóako*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

[P. 42-B]

[Chaco Period]

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. 539
He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice 776
became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped 773
singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *seipoti* and *seiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the 771
affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, *and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused 775
by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other [753]
hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, [761]
and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even [756]
more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the 756
world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance. 756 756 787 [776] [775]

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body. 753 756

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him." 756 755

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáako* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he [787] sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789] with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776] spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273] did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today. 797

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages. [C48]

In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pesta. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place. 797 776 796 177

During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place. 796 177

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely
SP2
178
[114]

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

[12] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[576] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[292] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[273]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[586] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance. 756 756 787 [776] [775]

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *ki'pahé*. The *ki'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body. 753 756

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him." 756 755

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[P. 44 - A]

[Chaco Period]

During 756
the following night the novice was expected to have 774
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 787
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the grave- [775]
yard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims [787] he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789] with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776] spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273] did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

[P. 45-B]

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/ date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective [614] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó [526] Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious [756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[755] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[177]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[445] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
● 787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

rounded by a number of hunters and when the 224
jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught [223]
by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to [1756]
know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harmful to the hunter. [262] [263]

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. 252
The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams 241
because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was employed to keep away insects and other parasites. [1789]

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, [133]
> which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, [312]
> when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and
> even drinking water cannot be found except near the
> Paraguay River or some other river which comes from
> the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, [361]
> the people move to places where water is plentiful and
> subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their
> settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood [177]
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. 797 872 [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. 648 892 797 [875]

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. 797 872 [181]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hikíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted 776 [774] [789] 775 [756]

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[P. 44 - A]

[Chaco Period]

During 756
the following night the novice was expected to have 774
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 787
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishúmuneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the grave- [775]
yard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[P. 44-B]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took 756
the form of a snake, later making it disappear 796
into his mouth; or he would take a small plant 789
from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part 796
of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans with- 756
drew to appear again dressed in red mantles called [292]
haráramototi. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a 756
position of extraordinary prestige. This high 554
status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with 756
a Christian community for over a century and [177]
Protestant missionaries have been active in Ba- [797]
nanal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú 756
for instance, explained that he learned his shaman- 775
ism from his father who was also a shaman. He [789]
said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

[P.45-A]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *ki'pahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he [787] sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. [789] On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776] spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273] did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

But

771 821 [796] much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that [17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a [289] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 [114] [821] J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[782] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[789] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[773]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

[Post Chaco Period]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on 159
roads and with the money earned he bought more [231]
livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with
the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He
claims that he does not make enough money from [511]
his livestock to live and has to work for the Post
on occasion.

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his 159
father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. 563
He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a [342]
stake-walled one-room house, one side opening
onto a shed where he has his work bench.

Feliciano learned to read and write when he [212]
was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very [794]
well with the Protestants. He was trained to be
a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and [463]
leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and
repairs harness for people in the village and for [282]
people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 159
years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He
learned to read and write at the Protestant mis- [212]
sion school. He reads the Bible and sometimes [797]
newspapers.

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [352] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 [197]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead. [551]

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume. [342]

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [795] [797] [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikilí*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15 [551] [795] [212] [191]

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [159] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. [342] On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch which he sells to the Indians in the village and to [438] the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena Indian. [166] When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [551] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [795] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted. 178 182 616

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'ashcti*, *wahereshane*, and *kouti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 177 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

361 The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[134] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
361 the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[348] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

/83 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

161 166 621 [795] [578] Cachoeirinha. Sr. R. W. tells us that this influx is also due to the inroads of Protestantism, which incidentally is limited to Bananal alone"--and we might add: due to the internal conflicts emerging from that situation.

161 registered at the Taunay Native Reservation or Post (including
162 Bananal and Ipegue); in 1941, there were 1,800 persons; in
621 1946, /the population/ declined to 1,379, and finally, in
[184] 1955, there was another decline to 1,060 individuals. It is interesting that this population decrease did not occur in a homogeneous manner, if Bananal and Ipegue are considered separately: whereas in 1946 Bananal had 995 inhabitants and
161 Ipegue 384, in 1955 Bananal had 617 and Ipegue 443. One
166 concludes that the population decrease occurred only in
621 Bananal and that Ipegue underwent a slight demographic in-
184 crease, which seems to point to the politico-religious conflicts
578 in Bananal as the causes of the exodus. Many Indians who
166 identified themselves as "Catholics," moved to Ipegue or to
162 Cachoeirinha, communities which up to today have not been
621 effectively reached by Protestant proselytism; and, on the
795 other hand, many "Believers" moved to União and Moreira and marked them as Protestant communities, as indicated in earlier pages.

361 /84/ Bananal is undoubtedly the most important Terêna
621 aldea and the most "urbanized," including houses, some of
[177] brick and the majority of adobe, but duly whitewashed and laid
[342] out with perfect symmetry, forming streets and blocks in
[36] good town fashion. In this area we have the Taunay Native Post, the school building, the Catholic church, the Protestant church, the "bolicho" of a Terêna, and the post guest house, as well as 84 Terêna dwellings.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea, on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I. A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[798] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[247] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[482] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

/105 cont./

797 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldea routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.
797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!
621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

771
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[172]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Boróro or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exereised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided
621
797
795
[165]
[128]

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621
795
511
[184]
[182]
[648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797
795

this account divided the community into two antagonistic religious groups.

184
177

The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177
117

Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/122 cont./

167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[165] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/123 cont./ To declare oneself a "Catholic" is
785 already a habit for the Terêna. And among all the Terêna I
771 have known, whether in the cities or in the aldeas, only one was connected with a Catholic association ("Liga Católica de Aquidauana"), his daughter belonging to the "União das Filhas de Maria" and his son-in-law being a "Congregado Mariano." But those who call themselves "Believers" tend to be connected with their church in larger number, owing to its greater demands, it being ever more exacting and taking up far more of the time of its members for the frequent services it promotes.

369 But how does this urbanized population earn its keep?
463 In their majority, i.e., 75 per cent in Campo Grande and in Miranda, and 90 per cent in Aquidauana, these Indians are connected with jobs of an urban nature, among which we might point out hotel employee (male cook, dishwasher, cleaning man), construction worker (stone mason, painter, and assistants), and domestic workers (female cook, laundress, dishwasher). There are also barbers, shoemakers, employees of the Noroeste do Brasil /railroad/, as well as cases of hand laborers for the prefecture (day laborers), street sweepers, office assistants, bakers, doormen in movie houses and school houses, to cite only some of the occupational categories they fill. In terms of rural occupations, we have agricultural day labor, which represents the work most sought out by those who did not manage to get a "job in the city" even though they live there.
[465] Usually they work on fazendas or farms close to the city, earning salaries below /124/ average as compared with their compatriots connected with urban activities.

369 Such is, in synthesis, the situation of the Terêna who
619 live in cities. Even though they lead a life quite different from that of their aldea brethren, (195) the urbanized Terêna

195. The only group that bears some similarity to these urbanized Terêna is that of Aldeinha, owing to

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
[175] of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
[857] the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
[551] adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
[178] At present, with the probable exception of the population that
[369] still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent
occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio
system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
[184] structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
[795] fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
[171] have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
292 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[621] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
297 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
771 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
797 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
771 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
795 Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
[829] Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
[186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority, but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group consciousness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of the group toward change (far greater than the present conservative mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the *soi-disant* Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
797 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons 281
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [562]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate [554]
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the war- 554
rior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all cere- [534]
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [237]
feathers.

[p. 28-B]

During 756
the following night the novice was expected to have 774
a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or 787
plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itéaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koishámaneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public perform- 756
ance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This 796
festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into [787]
a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build [346]
a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), [775]
would then stand up and turning toward the graveyard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, 756
he would perform certain miracles before his 796
house to impress the villagers who were gathered 789
around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear. 756 796 789

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season. 796 756 [292]

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world. 756 554

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him. 756 [197] [797] 756 775 [789]

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable 797
impression, for the Terena speak about him even
today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" es- [648]
tablished the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought
the Terena together and made Catholic missionary
activity among them more effective. Around 1920
the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn
their mission. By 1925 American Protestant mis-
sionaries, belonging to the South American Indian
Mission, had established a mission and school at
Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse
are still active. In 1930 an American branch of
the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established
at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make pe-
riodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the Amer- 797
ican Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the 776
Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day 796
celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint 177
among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a
martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an
arrow in his side. The arrow may have something
to do with the selection of this saint to serve In-
dian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint
Sebastian provides protection against hunger,
sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint
Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner
mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint.
This banner is then presented to the village of
Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are pre-
dominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their
procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the
Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on
Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration
takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner 796
walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, 177
two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and
the faithful. The procession stops in front of
each house and the people sing. The banner bearer
then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner
offers shelter and gives alms to every member in
the procession. Wherever the procession happens
to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some
of the money received is spent on food. During the
night dancing is periodically interrupted by pray-
ers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues
in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where
more dancing and praying take place.

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 177 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

756
755
342

796
177

PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shamans dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated horses

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus,
616 not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
[173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikinãu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[173] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[178] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
571

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 431 565 558

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Wahere-Txané.

616 796 526

Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonó

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616
796
526
565
178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of
535 Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining
[526] only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by
[178] the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race
[114] of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and
[534] witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

771 821 [796] But much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that [17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a [789] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 [114] [821] J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

796 [346] /51 cont./ In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalú-rco) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate. Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

[431]

796 [114] festivities were carried out among the Terêna whom he visited at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[282] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
[255] who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati
and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature,
and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

[128]
[573]

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
619
571

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 /52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
182 largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and
619 efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence
571 whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near
462 Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those
[714] festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group
of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for
[222] a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which
[223] all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage,
the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell
to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be
seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for
796 the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings
182
619
571

89. The chronicler goes on:
[301] "Some sew glass beads on
[302] pieces of striped cotton cloth,
others cut and lay out the red
feathers with which they make
ornaments for the head; yet
others sketch on their husbands'
bodies delicate paintings, when
they do not do this themselves."
(1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal
relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained
among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only
moment when the local groups manage to gather together all
(or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today
coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather
the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
773

796 90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably
171 of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/66 cont./

Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretching from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply engraved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
● 796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

178 184 621

It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

178 756 755

178 796 [177]

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[612] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

[177]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the [619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [177] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[228] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

616 796

565

Naati

("class" line)

Waherê

(ethnic line)

Kauti

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

616 793

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[821] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an-
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the [797]
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addi-
tion, they taught them such handicrafts as black-
smithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close associa-
tion with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the rail-
road. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stim-
ulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agricul- 241
ture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood.
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

166
road company. If these workers are near, they 434
visit the Post on week ends and holidays. Usually 464
all these workers come back to the village when
they become ill or too old to work. One com-
plaint the Protestant missionaries make is that a [197]
man will leave the village for 6 months, become
ill, and then return to the village to be treated.
The missionaries claim that the Indians do not
take care of themselves when away from the Post,
that they spend their money on cane rum instead
of buying warm clothing and sufficient food. The
general pattern consists in a young man spending
several years away from the village, then return-
ing, marrying, and settling in the village. After
settling down he goes out to seek employment only
occasionally. Since 1942, wages have risen stead- 465
ily in Brazil owing to inflation, so it is difficult
to determine a standard wage at present. Before
the war, wages paid for farm and ranch hands
ranged from 5 to 10 cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.25
to $0.50). Today, wages range from 15 to 30
cruzeiros a day (U. S. $0.75 to $1.50), but this
money buys no more than before the war. From
what has been said it can be seen that wages form [434]
an important source of Terena income.

(2) The manager of the Post always employs 434
a number of Terena to work in the fields belonging 464
to the Post, to take care of the Post livestock, and
to build and repair the buildings belonging to the
Post proper. The number of these workers varies;
in January 1947 six men were thus employed. [465]
They received 14 cruzeiros a day. The employ-
ment of Indians by the Post has other purposes
besides the maintenance of the Post. An effort is
made to provide work for needy families even
when the Post does not actually require their serv- 177
ices. Another reason for employing Indians is 434
to train them in building and in such crafts as 464
carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. The wel-
fare function of this kind of wage work is revealed
by the fact that when a man with a large family
is a drunkard the Post manager does not pay him [452]
in money but arranges credit for him at a store
in Taunay or provides him with foodstuffs from 434
supplies belonging to the Post. 463

(3) Three men were found to be making their 489
living by carting, that is, transporting goods be- 494

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad. 434 463 489 494

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses. 463 634 [322]

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day. [333] [465]

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby. [241]

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services. [282] [797]

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay. [285]

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time. [241]

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six 434

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

	Cr.
Clothing for 3 children for year:	
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2,059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. [121] 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 [551] [177] [797] [871]

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. [342] [352]

[P.17-A]

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster. 159 [592] [513] [354] [415] [231]

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism. 159 177 195 [197]

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him. 159

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months. [591]

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given. [465] [526]

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work. 159

FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. [551] His great-grandfather was Tovolé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. [342] His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, carú, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. [795] He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. [797] He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese. [212]

He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pikiki*) is 47 years old. [551] He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. [795] He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. [212] He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guaraní. [191] He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159
one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [352] His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [353] the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from [405] the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241] outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [443] which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys [438] rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891] simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997] he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with [592] a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [352] and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. [513] In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405] and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416] great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231] 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241] His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494] and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away [212] from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant [997] missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191] little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

[Post Chaco Period]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion. 159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal. 159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench. [342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him. [212] [194] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers. 159 [212] [197]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

[Bananal village]

Such articles as axes, machetes, sickles, hoes, and weaving frames and material for weaving baskets and hammocks are usually found in the corner of the back room. Mats made from "piri" are found in some of the houses (such as were used in the Chaco days). 353 412 [285]

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

At this point it is necessary to mention only the common everyday wearing apparel and the personal appearance of the Terena, as ceremonial dress will be described in the section on dances. In the village of Bananal all Indians wear European dress. The cotton cloth woven by the Terena forms only a small part of the material used for making their present-day clothing, as the Indians now buy the cheap cotton material offered for sale in the stores of Taunay, Miranda, and Aquidauana. After 30 years of mission training, it appears that all women can sew and eight sewing machines were observed in the village. 291 [177] [286] [439] [797] [294]

The general custom is for everyone to go barefoot. Only during "festas" are shoes worn by the more wealthy men and women, and even then people over 60 years old wear sandals made from hides or from old rubber tires. Shoes, like hats, are definitely in the category of luxuries. [292]

For everyday wear, men use a shirt and a pair of trousers made from light-colored cotton material, usually with a faint stripe or check. No undershirt is used, but shorts are worn. Sport shirts worn over the shirt and outside the trousers are popular with young men. Some of the Terena men go about dressed in old Brazilian army uniforms which they received while serving in the army or which they have bought from others. During dances some of the young men wear suits made from cheap, tan-colored, cotton material. The young men also take great pride in being able to wear the baggy breeches and broadbrimmed felt hat of the "gaucho," or Brazilian cowboy.

Men have their hair cut in the modern style, and it is a common sight on Sunday mornings to see them cutting each other's hair in front of the houses. Although they wash their hair often, it is seldom combed. Men are usually clean-shaven, although a few wear mustaches; straggly beards are seen only on the very old men. 302

Women wear slips and dresses made from cheap cotton print of various colors. They do not wear coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 291

[P. 23-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 195
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are keenly aware of these new social activities and their competitive nature, and most of their leisure time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves 565
were captured as children it is not likely that they returned to their original homes. On the other hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having slave blood, something which is still customary among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that they married slaves. If this were strictly true the only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a social group lost its identity along with the general disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888 undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [197]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena 565
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around 1910, the old class distinctions were more or less effaced. A new generation had grown up in the meantime which had not participated in the old pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo. Another contributing factor may be the fact that the Terena developed a class structure later than the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a part of their social organization as it did among the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *waherehane*, and *kouti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was intimately associated with raiding the livestock and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure. 178 182 565

The unity of the extended family and the kindred was weakened in much the same way. The economic and political bands which drew Terena kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena on Government lands. The Post was the new protector and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station. 178 182 596 [648] [797] [342]

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177
to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554
beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648
other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177
among the Terena is the Protestant mission sta- 797
tion. The activities of the missionaries go far beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684]
the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648]
sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

also true that the status-giving capacity of the manager and the missionaries leads to tension and discord. The role of Catholic missionaries, also Americans, is much less important. They visit the settlements only occasionally and are concerned almost solely with questions of religious belief, births, marriages, and deaths. 177 797

The economic contacts of the Terena outside the villages are restricted to the fazendas, the railroad, and the towns. It is on the fazendas and the railroad that the Terena make most of their cash incomes, and where they learn to use tools and other mechanical techniques. In the towns the Terena learn such arts as carpentry, tailoring, and masonry of a more advanced order than in the villages. In the towns, too, they come into contact with a variety of individuals, the movies, bars, and houses of prostitution. It is here where the men learn to dress better and where the girls learn the custom of using lipstick, face powder, and having their hair waved. A more organized form of contact with the towns is by means of football games played by Terena teams against the town teams. 177 [464] [434]

Although every young Terena has the right to go out to work, and some of them spend a number of years away from the villages, none, so far, according to the manager of Bananal, has achieved success or independence in the Brazilian community. Sooner or later they return. In Campo Grande, the largest town in southern Mato Grosso, a young Terena was working as a waiter in a hotel. When the manager of the hotel was asked what he thought of the services of the Terena waiter, he said, "He is the laziest waiter I have." So far the Terena have not shown a capacity to advance further than supplying the common labor market on the fazendas, the railroad, and in the towns. When they grow tired of working they return to their native villages. 166 177 464

SUMMARY

Enough has been said to enable us to outline briefly the main features of the development of Terena social organization in post-Columbian times. 105

1. In association with, and perhaps in reaction to the Mbayá, the Terena developed a military and class organization based on the use of the horse for raiding. The resulting mobility led to 105 177 [361]

[P. 37-A]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 283 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 5E 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

[P. 41 -A]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. 797 872 [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. 648 872 797 [875]

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. 797 872 [181]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted 776 [774] [789] 775 [756]

[P. 41-B]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear. 756 796 789

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season. 796 756 [292]

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world. 756 554

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him. 756 [197] [797] 756 795 [789]

Shamanism is still an important part of Terena 771
belief. The Terena still speak with awe of their 756
famous shamans who, in the past, performed great miracles. In a sense, these old shamans have become legendary culture heroes, symbols of Terena unity and past greatness. Although they admit that present-day shamans do not have as much power as the shamans of old, they believe that the shamans of today can cure sickness and can demonstrate their powers. Many Terena, although members of either the Catholic or Protestant church, attend shamanistic performances. An [177]
interesting feature of present shamanism and one which shows Christian influence is the fact that some of the shamans attach a cross to the handle of the *ki'pahé*. In addition, the *ohéo'koti* is given on the 19th of April, the internationally recognized "Indian Day." Thus while Terena shamanism may have lost much of its meaning in competition with Christianity and white man's medicines and technology, shamanism is, along with the Terena language, a strong link with the past, an element which is still specifically Terena and one which gives the Terena a feeling of social and cultural unity.

Although the Terena have no clear record of 771
missionary activity among the tribe from the date 177
of their arrival in Brazil until about 1910, per- 797
sonal histories show that many old Terena were baptized and considered themselves Christians. We know that before the establishment of the Post, the Terena worked on the fazendas and that the Catholic fathers wandered from farm to farm in their official capacity, baptizing, marrying, and holding religious services even as they do in Mato Grosso today. Terena farm laborers, therefore, came under the influence of the "padres" quite early and it is most likely that the priests visited Terena villages from their headquarters in Campo Grande, Miranda, and Aquidauana. Although no statistics exist, it is more than probable that most, if not all, of the Terena were nominally Christians by 1900.

In 1910 a number of English Protestant mission- 797
aries, belonging to the Inland South American Missionary Union, visited the Terena led by Henry Whittington, who, in 1913, returned to establish the first permanent mission at Bananal. Along with his missionary activities, Whittington began teaching the Terena children to read and write

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable 797
impression, for the Terena speak about him even
today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" es- [648]
tablished the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought
the Terena together and made Catholic missionary
activity among them more effective. Around 1920
the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn
their mission. By 1925 American Protestant mis-
sionaries, belonging to the South American Indian
Mission, had established a mission and school at
Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse
are still active. In 1930 an American branch of
the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established
at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make pe-
riodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the Amer- 797
ican Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the 776
Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day 796
celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint 177
among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a
martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an
arrow in his side. The arrow may have something
to do with the selection of this saint to serve In-
dian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint
Sebastian provides protection against hunger,
sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint
Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner
mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint.
This banner is then presented to the village of
Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are pre-
dominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their
procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the
Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on
Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration
takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner 796
walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, 177
two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and
the faithful. The procession stops in front of
each house and the people sing. The banner bearer
then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner
offers shelter and gives alms to every member in
the procession. Wherever the procession happens
to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some
of the money received is spent on food. During the
night dancing is periodically interrupted by pray-
ers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues
in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where
more dancing and praying take place.

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 197 [198] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

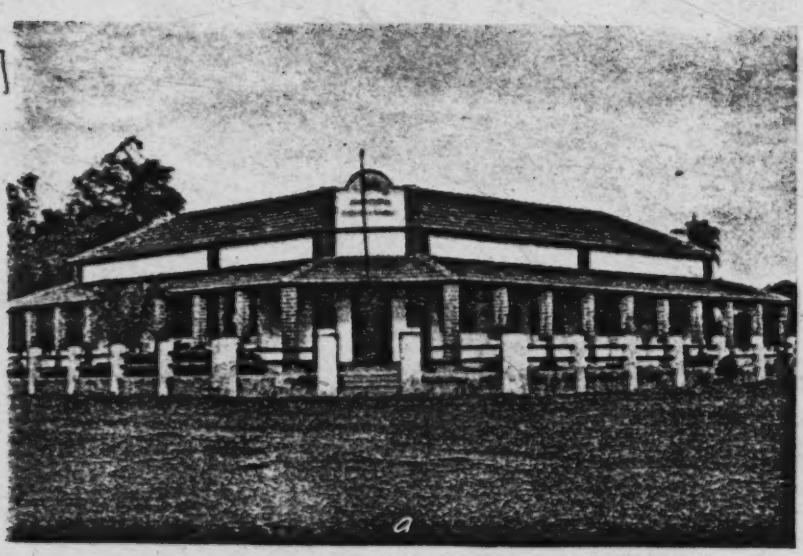
The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

2: Oberg E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

346
[648]



[997]

PLATE 3.—Terena schools. a, Government school. b, Protestant mission school.

[P. 75]

[End Plate 3]

/10 cont./

121 177 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are also recommended for the contribution they can make to the handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations. [114] [122] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it, while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that could open new and better living perspectives to the native populations of Brazil.

121 177 619 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 177 101 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes that spoke different languages and also had different cultures, or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers [648] [797] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative 121 177 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/22 cont./

175 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, in so far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [146] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [797] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

/62 cont./

175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

[162]

109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[101]

2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

/62 cont./

175 isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got
177 information on them in the same century--the Terêna were
797 represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near
131 the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the
[162] 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called
'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

/63 cont./

175 177 797 [184]

been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later,

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikináus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

G /67 cont./
B taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even
175 after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the
648 Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members
B of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service.
657 While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the
G Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904,
[361] and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

H
175
648
K
175
177

128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

H
[212]
[292]

/63 cont./

175 neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were
177 much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.
[297] Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of informa-
[622] tion on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the
[184] caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region
are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their
[178] leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward
[297] a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

/64 cont./

175
177
199

the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terena groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

/64 cont./

175 177 797 had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 177 797 184 [101] Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna communities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

[361] 117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

175 648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

/68 cont./

H 175 648 G 175 177 [593]

gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

G 162 361 B 423 233

At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

B G 464

G 241 286

129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /69 cont./
B And while many of these things /70/ still occur today, keep-
466 ing the Terêna under a regime of exploitation, it cannot be
178 said that there has not been a marked change since the time
B when the native laborer became the object of special attention
657 on the part of the government, shown in the creation of the S.P.I. From then to now, exploitation has become more subtle, less brutal, but nevertheless effective. And it can be said that as the structure of a "feudal" nature that ruled up to that time in southern Mato Grosso breaks down, thanks to the penetration of the NOB, the native population, along with the neo-Brazilians subjected to the same exploitation, keep benefiting by this. (132)

G
114
177
297

132. In the last pages of his thesis, Fernando Altenfelder gives a very good summary of the history of the Terêna, with the aim of giving an idea of the process of cultural change undergone by the Bananal community. The role of the "Inland South America Missionary Union," pointed out by Altenfelder as a basic element in the most recent changes undergone by those Indians, cannot, nevertheless, be generalized to apply to the other communities, in view of the fact that in many of them no Protestant missionaries ever managed to settle.

G
[184]

[Cachoeirinha]

/75 cont./

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas. The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

797

798

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648 439 366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
628 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the
578 result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to
166
[697]

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a
[623] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi-
[872] pal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361/ as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially
devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for
cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the
Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall
quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers
more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the
beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old
aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions
stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes,
who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and
some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands,
probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was
appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and
distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted
to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and
his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde-and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
464 port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
648 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
177 many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[798] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a [144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikinau (one not being included). It should be explained 101 829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, 648 that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is [241] divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small [462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/90 cont./

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
681 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /título/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 825 they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
● 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[341] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Agua Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/104 cont./

797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were
798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain aldeas, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the
621 non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect,
798

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, op. cit.

is the aldea of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these aldeas, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of
177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It
797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

/105 cont./

797 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of aldeas, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of aldea routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.
797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!
621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[765] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

798 829 [273] thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do [212] not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" [292] have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

771/128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

/108 cont./

000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics" themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population participates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.

184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão, as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very successful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/109 cont./

184 621 797 795 [665] [128] Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

621 795 511 [184] [182] [648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/109 cont./

621
795
511

"Protestant" nucleus of Água Azul, in the Buriti reservation, the lowest standard of living, while we ascertained in Bananal that the wealthiest families were "Catholic" or were already in favorable economic conditions when converted to Protestantism.

184
621
797
795

this account divided the community into two antagonistic religious groups.

184
177

The socio-cultural variations indicated so far have served to show that the Terêna population, settled in aldeas, despite the different configurations and the diversity of experiences it has undergone, has maintained on the whole a relatively constant behavior. But while this behavior developed different styles (such as the pious attitude of the "Believers" and the freer comportment of the "Catholics"), this does not mean that it varies sufficiently for us to regard as legitimate the existence of two or more Terêna subcultures brought about as a result of the acculturation process. This, we believe, has been sufficiently demonstrated.

177
167

Nevertheless, this work would not attain its objectives if we did not /110/ consider another facet of the problem of the interaction of the Terêna with the Brazilian society of southern Mato Grosso: the mobility of part of the Terêna population, who, as separate individuals or as families, leave their aldeas of origin and go on to live in cities such as Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. Nothing has yet been said about this numerically inferior portion of the Terêna population, which is nevertheless considerable. Acculturation and mobility, as two dimensions of the same process--which we shall call assimilation--will be the themes of the next chapter.

/115 cont./ An interesting

178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist
padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It
seems that the first attempt was made on January 20,
St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included
among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of
dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of
"secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of
this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a
repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron
of Limão Verde. (185)

178
535
621
184

185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
●297 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[821] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
797 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
771 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[829] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
297 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
271 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
295 Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
[229] Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
[186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority, but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group consciousness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of the group toward change (far greater than the present conservative mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the *soi-disant* Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
297 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

/136 cont./

*177
797

Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 797 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 *177 648 [521] [529] 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/ as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas, invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

5:Rohde--1 E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

114 [124] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the [197] missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

563 174 1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking [114] groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the [120] presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[197] [7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 177 [178] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

The social tensions arising out of the competitive nature of Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena is something which both Protestant and Catholic missionaries deplore and something which causes considerable anxiety to the officials of the Brazilian Indian Service. For some time there has been an understanding between Catholics, Protestants, and the Brazilian Government that when Protestants go into a new area first the Catholics should stay away from that area. Similarly when the Catholics have opened up a new region in the interior the Protestants should remain away. This rule, however, either was not in effect or was not adhered to in the case of the Terena. At present, of course, the rule would be difficult to enforce among the Terena because the two creeds are well entrenched among the people. The tension between the Protestant and Catholic sects, however, would decrease if the Catholic and Protestant missionaries ceased in their efforts to convert individuals from one creed to the other and accepted the "status quo." 797 798 578

Moreover, the presence of shamanism in the religious life of the Terena cannot be forgotten. As matters now stand there appears to be a threefold struggle for allegiance between Catholicism, Protestantism, and shamanism. Shamanism, as we saw, is no longer pure paganism, having adopted elements of Christianity. The outcome of these differences in belief will, it seems, depend on the nature of the future development of Terena social life. If left to themselves in a Catholic country the Terena may overcome these differences by eventually developing a type of Catholicism with a strong admixture of shamanism. 771 177 756

SECULAR ENTERTAINMENT

DANCES AND GAMES

The important dances of the Terena today are the *kóhi-shoti-kipahé* (called "bate-pay" by Brazilians) and the *ohéo'koti*. Although these dances now reveal Brazilian elements, the Terena consider them as Terena dances and distinguish them from ordinary Brazilian dances, horse races, foot races, and other forms of secular entertainment in which they participate on saints' days and public holidays. 535 527 [177]

While they lived in the Chaco, the Terena had many dances and games which they still remember, [178]

[P.47-B]

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

797 138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas.

● 798 The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

[Lalima]

/81 cont./

621 population, 51 persons; adult female, 53; under fourteen
162 years, male population, 68; under /fourteen/, female,
[166] 62. We have there a young population, with great possibilities for growth, in spite of the continual departure of families to other aldeas closer to Miranda, such as Passarinho and Cachoeirinha. (145)

[295]
[298]

145. The inhabitants of Lalima, "Catholic" by definition, avoid communities characterized as Protestant, such as União and Moreira, not to mention Bananal.

36/ The 3,600 hectares that make up the reservation are
[134] found concentrated in an area that is one of the most fertile in the region, bound on the north and east by Guanandi stream, on the south by Barreiro stream, and on the west by
36/ the right bank of the Miranda River. Like Cachoeirinha--
62/ and in the same manner as most Terena aldeas--, Lalima includes more than one population nucleus: a) Lalima proper consists of a cluster of 20 houses, nearly all of them
[348] laid out in one line and thus forming only one street; this cluster includes the building of the native post and the school, as well as the Catholic church, thus rating as the chief nucleus of the community; b) another cluster is called Campina /82/ and is characterized by being inserted in the area where the aldea farm plots lie, like the Argola and Capão nuclei of Cachoeirinha aldea; we counted
[233] 11 ranchos; c) finally there is Divisa, the name given to a

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./

175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
[648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

34/ Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."

872
628

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

[346]
[875]

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give
them relative economic independence, like those of
Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/104 cont./

797 missionaries managed to organize groups of Indians who were
798 relatively imbued with the doctrine and practice of the gospel, through whom they went on to convert, in certain aldeas, a considerable number of individuals, to the point of creating a certain hostility between the Protestant converts and the
621/ non-Protestants or Catholics. (163) Typical, in this respect,
798

163. Consult Rattray-Hay, op. cit.

is the aldea of Bananal, followed closely by Limão Verde, Buriti, and Moreira-Passarinho. In these aldeas, it can be said that there occurred a division of the respective communities into /two plates appear here/ /105/ two groups: "Catholic" and "Protestant." We use these terms in quotation marks, because the mechanism that grants access to each of
177 these groups is probably as much political as religious. It
797 should be made clear, however, that other agents of culture change, such as the native post and the school it controls, are not being overlooked as active elements in the process of conversion, whether in a positive or negative way. There is no question that these agencies represent, alongside the missions, an unique and special instrument of change. Only by an attempt at abstracting on the part of the researcher, by identifying each of these agencies as variables of the same complex, does it become possible to differentiate the elements that make up this instrument. Thus, it might be said with Mayer Fortes that "the conversion of an individual or group frequently represents the culmination of a process brought about in the total complex by contact influences, of which the mission is only a single component." (164)

164. 1938:67.

[text continues on p.152]

/106 cont./

797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group
to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation.
Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group
of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must
be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account
necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted,
since at the first opportunity they changed categories once
more, passing with relative ease from one group to another,
in accordance with the political situation of the moment.
797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express
prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave
rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully
integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the de-
sire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious
fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious
group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months
in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!
621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggra-
vated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took
the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party
character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals
into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content
of both. (165)

795 165. Altenfelder da Silva,
771 in his work on Bananal, refers

/107 cont./

795
771

to the religious inconsistency of these groups, felt even by the missionaries themselves, who commented that "the Indians are inconstant and weak in their faith" (1943:359).

621
798
665
184

For this reason, it would not be fitting to say here--as did Redfield in relation to Chan Kom--that the introduction of Protestantism resulted in a new subculture: that of Protestant converts. (166) Aside from the factors emphasized above, it

776
[171]

166. Robert Redfield, 1949:355.

should be added that the Terêna--and we might extend this observation to the other Guaná groups, insofar as the bibliographic material permits us--never showed much religiosity, so characteristic in their Guarani neighbors. (167) Excluding

[172]

167. Cf. Ego Schaden, 1954:159-170. On the other hand, contrary to what occurs in various Brazilian tribes such as the Bororo or the Guarani themselves, in whose cultures religion is a symbol of tribal identity, among the Terêna it can be said that the old body of beliefs seems not to have survived the impact of Euro-American society.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[798] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[577] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

798 829 [273] thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do not take life seriously." [212] It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" have no such incentive. [292] This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

771 /128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him
[432] in Campo Grande, he had
[69] bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
578
181

[798] 201. As a source of such
[655] friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
[184] While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
181

/93 cont./

192
802

Masculine member, quaú
Feminine member, syuquaú
Gender /sex/, cotorohytij
Alcohol, cumá
Water, uné
1, aú
2, cahú
3, sjatúlé
4, pacahé

Fire, jucú
Money, tiuquetij /94/
5, sjutohé
6, petequé
7, chipahé
8, chachámé
9, charquihé
10, chatijhómé

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytő.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
[342] Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[627] habited by 367 Indians.

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hicoó*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm. 539 773 776

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritsu;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *pulá'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopée*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life. 773 776

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Vóropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story: [821] 539 773 776

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itáaka*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

771 821 [796] But much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that [177] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a [289] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 [114] [821] J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

5:Rohde--1 E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/404/
131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, pro-
302 truding, the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[82] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea con-
sists of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters re-
main in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young hus-
[353] band moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

/89 cont./

766 owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited
[622] by his son, who carries on in power. /90/
[428]

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls
[852] from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the
622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique
527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques
[628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his
[302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons
[905] are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky pipháyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approxi-
[162] mately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large
[114] number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited,
[103] the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro,
[342] Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest be-
[162] ing from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is in-
[621] habited by 367 Indians.

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 783 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174 241 [177]

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133 132

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Courlies decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133 [137] [136]

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds 136 [223]

[Text continues on p. 8-A]
[p. 6-B]

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Chaco Period] Terena

From this account it would appear that the Arawak-speaking people in this area were no longer using the large oval-shaped straw-thatched house which is still used by many of the Arawak-speaking people to the north. The covering used may have been made from "piri," a species of bulrush, which the Terena still use for making mats. This type of house was easy to dismantle and move, which may account for the probable abandonment of a more permanent type of structure.

Sánchez Labrador then goes on to describe the inside of the house:

> Each captain lives together with his brothers and their kin in one house. . . . Every house has five doors, in order that no one should get in each other's way. There is one door at each end and three on one side. When it rains, they cover their doorways with mats of rushes. Near the doors are the fireplaces and kitchens, which are no more than three movable stones, which act as a tripod on which they place their curiously worked pots. The food is cooked without any other spices than water. At the back of the house are the beds, that is, mats spread over the floor. It is astonishing that although these people grow cotton they do not use hammocks. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 276.]

In 1845, when the first groups of the Terena were already near Miranda in Brazil, we get a more definite description of Terena houses from Castelnau:

> In the village there are about 100 to 120 houses, joined to each other. They are long huts forming a circle around a big square. They resemble great "ranchos" covered with immense roofs of palm fronds. [Castelnau, 1850-59, vol. 2, p. 391.]

As to weapons and the interior of the house, Castelnau has this to say:

> The weapons of these people are spears with iron points, clubs, bows, and small arrows, and the "bodoque," an instrument which resembles a bow but has two cords united by a piece of leather in the middle on which stones are placed for shooting. In the inside of each hut there is a bed made of a platform of cane, supported by four stakes, which is covered with a hide of a bull. [Ibid., vol. 2, p. 469.]

The passages just quoted give us a general description of Terena houses. The descriptions are nearly 100 years apart. Sánchez Labrador states that the occupants of the house slept on the floor, while Castelnau states that they slept on skin-covered platforms. The Terena say that they did not use hammocks until recently and that they slept on bamboo platforms, *ipé*, covered with skins or reed mats called *hitúri*.

* [work published in 1850-59, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-B]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 241 [361]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees." [132] [412] [412] [516] [177 407] [824]

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.] [181] [516]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women. 592 241 462

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, caná, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco. 241

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6 243

[Bananal Village]

cold spells the people sit around fires in the early morning to keep warm. 352 513

Containers found in the houses are of the following types: 415

(1) Netted bags made from *yulú* fibers used for carrying and storing sweetpotatoes, maize, and other garden produce. Small bags are called *veri* and the large ones *nimaké*. These bags can be carried on the back or used as saddlebags. The mesh averages 4 inches and the size of the twine varies with the size of the bag, generally being about the size of heavy cotton fish netting. [286] [482]

(2) Round baskets of various sizes plaited from thin strips of wild bamboo or other wild cane. Some of the larger baskets have handles, so that they can be hung from a peg in the wall to keep dogs and chickens from taking the contents. [285]

(3) Large wide-mouthed clay pots for storing water, ranging from 1 to 4 gallons in content. These pots are made by the coil method and are unglazed and undecorated. It is reported that in the neighboring village of Cachoeirinha some of the Terena glaze and decorate these large pots. [323]

(4) Flat, glazed pottery dishes are also found. These are of a dark-red color, without decoration, and are used for serving food.

(5) Cast-iron pots purchased in Taunay are widely used for cooking food. [252] [439]

(6) Empty kerosene cans are always in demand for storing water and meal. Any empty can is readily accepted by the Terena.

(7) Calabashes of various sizes cut to form cups and ladles are used for many purposes. Chimarron or maté tea is drunk from calabashes. [824] [272]

(8) Flat iron pans about a yard in diameter are supplied by the Post for toasting manioc meal. [252] [439]

(9) Wooden mortars with wooden pestles for grinding dried maize or dried meat stand in every back yard. The mortar is a round block of wood about 3 feet long and 18 inches in diameter, hollowed out in one end to the depth of 8 or 10 inches. The block is set upright, and maize is placed in the hollow and pounded with a heavy wooden pestle about 3 or 4 feet long; a common sight every morning is to see women at the rear of the houses pounding out the corn meal or dried meat required for the day. 415 412 252

(10) In some houses a few porcelain cups, glasses, and table knives and forks are seen. 415

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechéti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *iná* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to
births of girls or vice versa: such a preference depends on in-
dividual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which
one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this
woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." --
If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and
sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the
mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes
to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from
her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, in-
deed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way
for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes;
later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For
[824] the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit,
which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but
only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today
they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work.
But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by
the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at
another place. I also have him to thank for the information con-
cerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other
Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

/407 cont./

323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel.
Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils
in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible
purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are
used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have
taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the
women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[829] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to
durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow.
The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all
adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut.
The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the
girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and
then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the
same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing,
lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he ex-
tends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family
gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's
house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to
the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is
borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and
ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family.
The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 - Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[329] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.] 136 [231] [825] [224] [262]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs. 361 [178] [362]

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná: 342 [127]

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

[1] [Work published in 1910–17, see bibliography, p. 69 -- Analyst]

[P. 8-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discus- 517
sing their crops and activities of the day. The
women remain at home but men gather in small
groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some
time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors
return to their respective houses and retire for
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, 512
covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the
mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets
are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing
their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for
axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and
mats. During this period the women spin cotton
yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew
clothes for themselves and their families. As
everywhere in the world, the women have such
constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking,
washing, and taking care of the children. The
older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little
by little learning the common duties and tech-
niques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were di-
vided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was
called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa"
in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild
people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these
moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they
exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to
settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of
a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made
from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat
shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was
no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena
people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[533] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night
through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing
parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This
fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously,
and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young
Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[225] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps
to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the
door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out
and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of
cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the
head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten.
As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone
goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows,
and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack
the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves
with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The
women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body
painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries
a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very
tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.

162 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters
621 long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[145] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

/140 cont./

developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
256 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[82] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
● 826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[92] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[469] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
[167] aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G
*177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
[191] the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
[142] biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G
563
184

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the villages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages, the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny distinct from that of the rest.

182
571
[648]
[828]
[628]

REFERENCES

ALTENFELDER SILVA, FERNANDO
1949—"Mudança Cultural dos Terena" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, vol. III, S. Paulo, pp. 271/379.

BACH, J.
1916—"Datos sôbre los indios Terena de Miranda" in *Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina*, LXXXII, Buenos Aires, pp. 87-94.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1937—"A successão hereditária do Chefe entre os Tereno" in *Ensaios de Ehtnologia Brasileira, Coleção Brasiliana*, pp. 70-85.
1950—"Lendas dos Indios Tereno" in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, Nova Série, IV, São Paulo, pp. 217-232.

BALDUS, HERBERT e EMILIE WILLEMS
1939—*Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia*. Companhia Editora Nacional.

CASTELNAU, FRANCIS DE
1949—*Expedições às regiões centrais da América do Sul*. Coleção Brasiliana, vol. 266 A, Cia. Editora Nacional, São Paulo (vol. II).

DURKHEIM, EMILE
1922—*De la Division du travail Social*, 4ᵉ édit., Paris, Alcan.

FIRTH, RAYMOND
1936—*We, the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. London.
1954—"Social Organization and Social Change", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 84, pp. 1-20.
1955—"Some Principles of Social Organization", in *Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 85, pp. 1-18.

113

Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178 182 596

Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178 182 601 [839] [191]

The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. 178 182 616 [582]

We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 101 829

[POST Chaco Period]

Brazilians so consider them. To the Brazilians the Terena are Indians. Of what does this Indianism consist? Outwardly there is no great difference between the Terena and the Brazilian "caboclo" or mestizo. In physical appearance many people who call themselves Brazilians in Mato Grosso show more color than the Terena, being mulattoes or a mixture of White, Negro, and Indian blood. The writer has met several individuals in Mato Grosso who admit being of pure Indian descent, yet consider themselves Brazilians owing to the fact that they have left their tribe and live in a town as members of a Brazilian community. Racial background and physical appearance, therefore, are not the bases of Terena Indianism. Most of the old people and all Terena of middle age or younger speak Portuguese, so on this score, too, they can pass as Brazilians. Nor can religion be the basis, for the Terena are all nominally Christians. 101 829 [771]

In their economic pursuits the Terena can scarcely, if at all, be distinguished from their "caboclo" neighbors. They live in the same kind of houses, wear the same kinds of clothing, eat the same kinds of food, cultivate their fields in the same way, work for the same fazendas and the same railroad company. At this point it must be remembered that this adjustment is not completely a one-way process. The "caboclos" have, in the course of years, borrowed much from their Indian neighbors. In fact part of the "caboclo" cultural background is Indian. Yet, the "caboclos" do not consider themselves as Indians nor do the Terena consider themselves as "caboclos." 101 177 829

A review of the recent history of the Terena leads to the conclusion that Terena Indianism is based on four conditions: land, legal status, language, and tradition, all of which are intimately related and will stand or fall together. Without doubt the primary element which maintains Terena social unity is the possession of a common territory which excludes non-Indians. If Indian lands had not been established in 1910 it is doubtful whether the Terena could have maintained their social cohesion. In all likelihood they would have dispersed, and gradually, through intermarriage with Brazilians, have lost their tribal identity. The isolation provided by a common territory checked the process of detribalization 101 177 182

[p.35-A]

/23 cont./

114 Baldus (1934) gives us an article on "A Successão Hereditária do Chefe entre os Terêno /Hereditary Succession to the Chieftainship among the Terêna/," worked out on the basis of the statements made by the "Captain" of Moreira aldea, close to
[82] Miranda; this same ethnologist was to give us another work, the fruit of his stay in Araribá aldea, in the state of São Paulo (1947), on the mythology of those Indians, which at the time had already been transformed into a body of legends, for it had ceased to be the object of belief on the part of the community. Finally, the Terêna were visited by Oberg and Altenfelder (1946-47), ethnologists who provided us with two detailed works on the Bananal local group, even though they tend to generalize their conclusions to the Terêna population in general. (8)

> 8. Altenfelder, in spite of generalizing from his study of cultural change to the Terêna as a whole, is perfectly aware of the problem (of the representativeness of the group studied) when he suggests in his article "a comparative study among the various communities of Terêna Indians, each of them subjected to different physical and social conditions." (1949:377.)

121 /24/ The study that we are now making of these Indians pinpoints them as tribal components of an area occupied by our society for centuries, where various waves of settlers arrived
121 successively in the course of the last 300 years. And among
177 those problems that spur us most strongly to research--and that
178 are the objects of this work--there figure those relating to the process of pioneering, conquest, and implantation of national

G M 175 648 561 G [62] G M [563]

/34 cont./

fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

G M 175 648 563

The chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

G M 175 648 M 727 G 829

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
616
796
571

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/66 cont./

125 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
125 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

121

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./

361 A third cluster of 18 ranchos, called Capão, makes up
621 the newest part of the native reservation and consists of families
[166] who came from other aldeas, especially from Lalima. It can
[556] be said that this area stands for all that is most progressive in
Cachoeirinha, including among its occupants two of the richest
177 families on the reservation. Although our aim here is to limit
433 ourselves to a descriptive explanation of the Terêna local
166 groups, we can mention that one of the factors basic to the
621 economic development of Capão is the extremely varied and rich
experience acquired by those families in their moves from one
aldea to another, frequently by way of fazendas and neo-
000 Brazilian settlements in the region. (139) Finally, both in

[156]
[829]

139. The interviews we had with these families, as well as some "life histories," permit us to conclude that these experiences were important to the birth of a "mercantile" mentality, which is practically nonexistent in Cachoeirinha. One of the most immediate results is the employment of Indians from the central nucleus on the Capão "fazendas," particularly on that of the ambitious Terêna, Lúcio Souza, a former worker on the Noroeste do Brasil railroad and former owner of a lot in the city of Miranda (he chose to return to Cachoeirinha, because his land in the city did not allow the development of his plantations).

[464]
[159]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained
101 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language
●829 for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[755] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
[797] the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

798
829

168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/108 cont./

798 thinks of himself and of the
●829 "Catholics." Now the
[273] "Catholic," while he does
not deny that a large number
of his coreligionists drink a
lot, believes that they work
much harder than the "Be-
livers," since the latter "are
always at meetings of worship
and just ask for alms and do
[212] not take life seriously." It
seems that the basic difference
between them is that most of
the "Believers" know how to
read and write--because they
are encouraged to do so in
order to be able to study the
Bible, whereas the "Catholics"
[292] have no such incentive. This
difference is apparent in the
religious intervention itself:
the Protestant missionaries
are much more concerned with
literacy than the Redemptorist
padres.

771/ Much could be said on the religious behavior of the
128 Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body
of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge
upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect
are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis.
The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--
to mention the community selected for a study in depth and
that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with
the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such
endeavor a futile one.

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indi-
[648] genous culture along the lines recommended by the rules of the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse

184. 1916:92.

race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see some-
541 thing exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities) made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells, rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet them--there arose the need for a "producer": a person who would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent, now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these "games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders (generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents, or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the "bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

/122 cont./

/167 and only one from Ipegue. This attests the importance of the
369 local group in the migratory movements of the Terêna, with
621 their tendency to survive wherever their members emigrate,
[161] whether to cities or to other aldeas--as happened with the Indians of Lalima in their move to Cachoeirinha and their settlement at the place called Capão, which we have already mentioned in Chapter V.

369 It is clear that the survival of the local group in the
621 cities cannot be explained only by the "local-group consciousness." Another factor here is kinship, in combination with compadrio relations. Religion, which at first we had regarded as primordial, turned out to be a secondary or complementary factor in the grouping of these urbanized Indians into neigh-
369 borhood areas. The neighborhood groups--and we regard them
621 in the broad sense of the term--bring together indifferently
795 "Catholics" and "Believers," although these two groups tend to have separate "neighborhood lives," determined by the religious obligations of the latter, /123/ who are always more strictly controlled by their church. Nevertheless, the number of "Protestants" who live in cities is much smaller than that
[162] of "Catholics." Discounting individuals without religion (5.37 per cent) and those not included (7.02 per cent), out of 242 individuals, 197 (81.40 per cent) identify themselves as Catholics and only 15 (6.19 per cent) as Protestants. And this difference between the numbers of "Catholics" and "Believers" remains more or less the same in the three cities
369 visited, when taken separately. This high number of "Catho-
621 lics" can be explained, in turn, by the reluctance of the
795 Terêna to appear to the interviewer as individuals without
771 religion, and thus not "civilizados".... The low percentage
829 of Indians in the "no religion" category, in a population with such a meager religious life--as we have already shown in the previous chapters--, can only be understood in terms of the distortion undergone by the information on being supplied by the interviewee. To declare oneself a "Catholic" is

/125 cont./

*177 What must be borne in mind is that the assimilation of
369 this urbanized contingent begins with individual marginali-
156 zation (pluralistic and uncertain aims of the individual,
● 829 ambivalence in the appraisal of persons /126/ of his own group,
etc.), followed by a reorganization of the personality based
on a different plane, of "desegregation," where the individual
begins to refer in a slighting manner to the identity that is
attributed to him (Terêna, Indian), at the same time showing
his preference for more inclusive identifications (such as
[124] Matogrossan, Brazilian). This is the impression derived from
[123] interviews and from the direct observation of the behavior
of these urbanized Terêna, especially the interethnic mestizos
and, above all, those individuals whose families have begun
[121] to break down. The advantage of this theoretical scheme,
regardless of the reservations one may have about it, is that it
permits a more practical view of the problem of individual
assimilation, since it deals with well-defined and logically
congruent categories.

*177 The result of the analysis focused on the Terêna who
369 live in the cities, shows that rather than a variant of the process
of assimilation, they represent a more advanced stage in a
processus, insofar as they make up a populational contingent
integrated into an (urban) structure that creates conditions for
assimilation. It indicates that the acculturation process itself
is not sufficient (though necessary) to lead a given population
to be assimilated by another, in the majority and politically
and technically dominant. At least this is what may be deduced
from the detailed examination of the relations between the
Terêna as a whole (both those in aldeas and not) and the
representatives of the national society in southern Mato Grosso.
[167] Assimilation begins to be a possibility when the Terêna leave
[571] their aldea and go on to live on fazendas or in cities. Where-
[829] as on the fazendas they adjust to a rural structure, in the cities
they are led to be integrated into the urban-national system
of stratification, occupying the lowest strata, which makes

/126 cont./

*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed. /Page 128 is blank./

[361] [186] [571]

/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/135 cont./

*177 or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is
297 well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obvious-
[171] ly, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding
[62] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

*177 As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be under-
297 stood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating
271 the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its
[829] missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a
[291] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian,
[191] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident
[295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal
[129] or group identification, arose recently, as the result of

/135 cont./

*177 Protestant penetration which made the designation "Christian"
797 too broad. But since /136/ no effective Catholic action was
771 developed parallel to the Protestant action, the "Catholic"
785 [829] Indians continued to identify themselves as such to the neo-
Brazilian population, more out of habit than conviction, thus
[186] reflecting merely conservatory positions. The Protestant
ideology, on the other hand, ushered in by means of far more
effective techniques--to which we referred in Chapter VI--
ended by galvanizing part of the Terêna population, a minority,
but which came to acquire a far more powerful "group conscious-
ness" or "party consciousness." The mechanisms that operated
in the conversion, or more precisely, in the recruitment of
individuals into the new politico-religious group, were already
examined in the above-mentioned chapter. It should merely
be underscored, regarding the Terêna as a whole and excluding
individual cases, that these mechanisms reflect a tendency of
the group toward change (far greater than the present conserva-
tive mechanisms that operate in the maintenance of the soi-
disant Catholic group), and consequently opening the way to
*177 assimilation. Thus we had, in the activity of the Catholic
797 missions of the last century, (205) an important instrument of

205. The missionaries who came to work more intensively with the Terêna were the Franciscan brothers, who took the place of the Jesuit padres after 1767, the date when the Society of Jesus was expelled. In Chapter IV, we showed the precarious contact that the Terêna had with the sparse neo-Brazilian population and with the missions until the Paraguayan war.

/136 cont./

*177
797

Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way
797 decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or
*177 national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the
648 Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/
[721] as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas,
[829] invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
369 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
● [829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/138 cont./

*177 and one more compatible with a democratic system, something
666 that does not happen in the aldeas or on the fazendas, which
369 are still part of a paternalistic structure (each in its own way)
● 829 and ideologically inconsequent. The fact is that both the aldea Indians and the detribalized ones, on the whole, are led by the activities of the political parties to an awareness of the existence of /139/ a broader structure that compels them to express themselves by means of the vote. Of course, the consciousness of this mechanism varies in the proportion indicated above, with the urbanized Indians in the "more enlightened"
[154] position. It is worth mentioning here, to illustrate a change which is taking place in the Terêna situation, the candidacy of one of their most active leaders, the "Believer," Patrício Lily, for a member of the city council of Miranda in the coming elections of October, 1958. (206) There is no doubt that the

[159]

206. This Terêna, in spite of living in a village--and of being classified roughly among the aldea Indians--is one of the exceptions, perhaps the most glaring one, owing to the fact that he is connected with the city to the same extent as the urbanized Indians, as demanded by his profession as a music teacher and an Evangelical leader, whose story we already referred to in Chapter V. (When this work was in press, in final proofs, we learned that the Terêna, Patrício Lily, had given up his candidacy, claiming that he was not a politician, although he had been invited to join various slates of candidates.)

/140 cont./

*177 developed a superior technique, in combination with the great
464 endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor.
461 It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better
[147] casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table"
[314] we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to
[124] hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day,
46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not
484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the
[829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with
46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in
463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the
826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional
159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case
*177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had
256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana,
46
[167]

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S.P.I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
● 829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

G /147 cont./
686 the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave
688 aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude
B 687 and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient....
G [829] But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Purutuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

G [369]

209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 759 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, *and the location of enemy war parties, in* the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

[P. 44 - A]

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

.6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

population. The status of *warrior hero* came to be a goal for all males, giving the Xuna-Xati an intensely integrative function in the lical groups, by means of the correspondences and adjustments in the roles of the warriors and in their acquired social rights. On the other hand, by also stimulating skill and bravery in combat, it helped physically to preserve Terena society.

5. The Kinship System

Except for minor differences which do not affect the structure, our analysis of the Terena kinship system corresponds with that recorded by oberg (1949) and Altenfelder Silva (1949). We will limit ourselves, therefore, to classifying it as of the "Hawaiian" type, following Murdock (1951 : 64), and to analyzing certain important relationships that have a bearing on the problems dealt with in this paper.

Examining the kinship system we find that consanguineous marriage was prohibited. Neither marriage among cousins, whether parallel or cross-cousins, nor between uncle/niece and nephew/aun was permitted (cf. Figure V). Sexual relations between children of father's and mother's brothers and sisters was considered incestuous, since all the children were treated as siblings. Thus Terena society, by laying emphasis on the solidarity of a group of brothers and sisters in a fashion that accords well with the principle of the unity of the sibling group (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952 : 64-67), reduced even more the permitted area for matrimony, already greatly reduced by stratum and moiety endogamy. A marriage that seemingly would be permitted or perhaps even preferred, between children of siblings of the opposite sex of Ego, i. e., those persons classified as Nevongé, is actually impossible because of the Terena emphasis on the solidarity of the sibling group. Wheter or not such a marriage was once permitted as the kinship terminology seems to imply, cannot be conclusively answered on the basis of the evidence in hand. Present day Terena deny it categorically. And not even tribal mythology presents us with a clue, as it does in the case of marriage between in-laws.

Among affinal relations, the preferred marriage seems to have been with the spouse of a dead brother or sister, i. e., sororate and levirate marriage. Along with these forms there also existed simple and sororal polygyny although these were not necessarily preferred forms. To a certain extent these exist down to the present, although they are now resisted by the community, as was notably one case of sororal polygyny in Cachoerinha.[12] As to sororate and levirate marriage, we found

[12] Today this type of barriage is very rare. We heard of only this case and one other in the village of Brejão. In both cases the husbands and their wives

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

582 [587]

several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

835 773

601

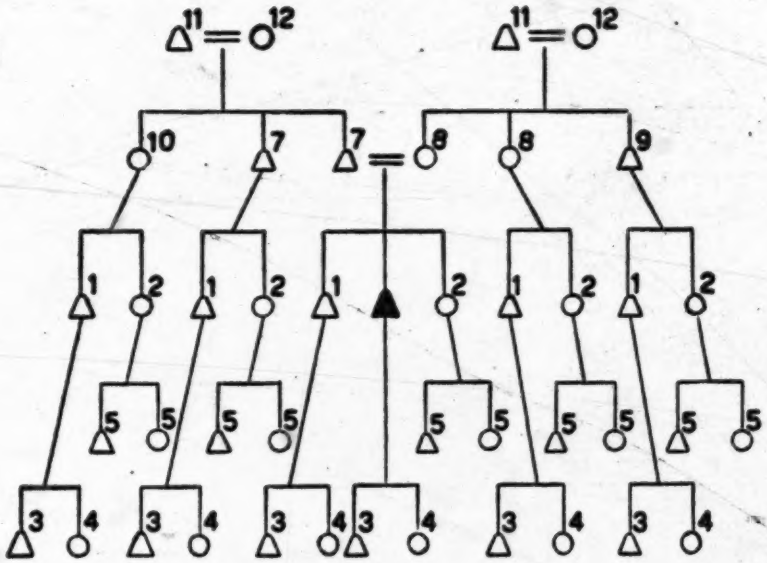


Figure V

(1) Andi, (2) Nongetxá, (3) Dje-á, (4) Inxiñé, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Eeno, (9) Eungo, (10) Oonge, (11) Ongu, (12) Onze. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Eeno and Nongetxá-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Eeno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

[114]

835 773

man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

[587]

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it 835
messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the 773
grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the [607] place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations 587
offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), [606] and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal* 595
polyandry. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with [587] the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was [554] true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, [591] and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a [622] Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection. [777]

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts, 836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does 585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the 833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes [825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For [824] the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man 178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later [126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could [114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 551 177 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 ● 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood [177]
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if [842]
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

/39 cont./

842 There is no rule as to whether births of boys are preferred to births of girls or vice versa; such a preference depends on individual taste.

584 If a boy is courting a girl, he makes a speech to her, which one can translate approximately as follows: "I wish, I love this woman, I would like to be married, I wish, I wish, I love." -- If the girl is in agreement with him, she declares, short and sweet: "I want to." -- Then the mother of the boy goes to the mother of the girl to ask for her, and the father of the boy goes to the father of the girl. The boy gives his parents-in-laws gifts,
836 and they respond with gifts. Pre-marital sexual intercourse does
585 not take place. When the marriage is to be consumated, the
833 future husband hears from his father, and the future wife from her mother, that for coitus one should lie on the side, and, indeed, /40/ facing each other. "First you must do it that way for it has been done that way since the beginning of the tribes; later you may do it as you please."

842 If there are not to be children immediately, the woman takes
[825] a preventive: she roasts a certain snail, places the juice of it
[824] in the morning dew, and drinks it very early in the morning. For the same purpose, she can also eat a certain small forest-fruit, which smells like the abacaxy (therefore like a pineapple), but only when it is ripe.

578 Formerly there were no quarrels between man and man, man
178 and woman, or woman and woman because of jealousy; today they do occur.

461 There are women who are lazy. Then the man does her work. But there are also men who are lazy and have their work done by the woman.

115 I have my informant, who first was called Kalapití and later
[126] Nakilí, to thank for a few texts of myths which I surely could
[114] not have learned from any other Tereno. I shall publish them at another place. I also have him to thank for the information concerning the succession of the chiefs, which without doubt no other Tereno could have given me so thoroughly and completely. For

Native dances like the shaman dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree of specialization, owing to the presence of stores, masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural activities. 105 [535] [463]

The Terena as a people are linked to the non-Indian world, first, by being made a part of the Brazilian State through the activities of the Indian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work. 105 177

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other Indians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status differences between the Indian groups and between the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences. 105 648 186 [554]

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware that she is pregnant when her menses cease and 843 [842]

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kocluscháti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *iné* and a childless man, *máo*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood [177]
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if [842]
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoná* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [156]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [156]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 195 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[329] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuecháti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *iná* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *máa*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [197]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [156]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [156]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm [789]
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [267]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikú, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[329] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

husband). Father's sister's husband is termed *imaongo* and mother's brother's wife *yenolulu*. 601

The terms for husband and wife are *ima* and *yeno*, respectively. The term for father-in-law is *imonjuko*, and the term for mother-in-law, *imongé*. Ego, male speaking, calls his brothers' wives *enomié* and his sisters' husbands *oneá*. These terms are extended to the spouses of parallel and cross cousins. A woman calls her brothers' wives *onungená* and her sisters' husbands *enomié*. The terms for son-in-law and daughter-in-law are *sinená* and *siná*, respectively.

The terminology for consanguineal relatives appears to indicate a kinship system basically similar to the Cheyenne and Arapaho subtype. Father's brother is classed with father and mother's sister with mother, while separate terms are used for mother's brother and father's sister. Grandparents and their spouses are distinguished by sex only. In ego's generation the terms for brother and sister are extended to parallel and cross cousins. The children of brothers are "sons" and "daughters," male speaking, or nephews and nieces, female speaking. The children of sisters are the reverse. All children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are called grandchildren.

In the past, an individual was prohibited from 582
marrying parallel and cross cousins or anyone whom he or she called sister or brother. An individual was expected to marry within his or her moiety and class. Marriage was generally mo- 595
nogamous, but there was no objection to polygamy. There was no strict rule of residence, the young 591
couple remaining with the parents who had greater rank and wealth. There was no mother-in-law or 606
father-in-law avoidance.

The above is a general description of the social 105
organization of the Terena while they were in the 177
Chaco. How much was due to Mbayá influence and how much belonged to the pre-Mbayá period is difficult to ascertain in detail. Comparisons with the Caduveo appear to indicate that the kinship terminology, the marriage rules, and probably the moieties are of Arawak origin, while the class and military organization was taken over from the Mbayá along with the horse. The custom [847]
of infanticide which the Terena claim to have practiced in the Chaco might also be of Mbayá origin.

[Chaco Period]

she has spells of nausea and is particular about 843
her food. In general the mother of a young woman
informs her about her condition. The Terena
have two words for pregnancy, *ikaikoné* and [192]
kochuechâti. The Terena distinguish between a
married man who is a father and one who is not,
a father being called *imá* and a childless man, *suá*.

In the past, infanticide and abortion were prac- 847
ticed. Whether this was an original Terena cus-
tom or was taken over from the Mbayá is not cer-
tain. As the Arawak-speaking Guaná did not [177]
practice infanticide there is a strong likelihood
that the Terena took over this custom from the
Mbayá. The explanation the Terena now give for
infanticide is that it permitted a family to have
male and female children alternately. If the first [842]
child was a boy, the second should be a girl and if
a boy was born, he was put to death by being
strangled at birth by the midwife. If a family
had too many children, or if children were incon- [756]
venient, the expectant mother would go to a sha-
man who would make her drink a beverage pre-
pared from certain roots. If this failed the mother
might still have the child strangled. If a male
child was due to survive, twins, if they were a boy
and a girl, were accepted; but if both were boys [845]
one would be killed. Twins were due, they be-
lieved, to the fact that the mother had eaten double
fruits.

If the child was wanted, the mother, in the past, 844
gave birth in her own home, attended by her
mother or mother-in-law. Shamans were called [756]
only in cases of difficult birth. The husband must [845]
cut the umbilical cord, *uró*. As far as the Terena
remember, no special knife was necessary to per-
form this act. The *uró* was later used as a charm
in cases of difficult birth by being placed on the [789]
abdomen of a woman giving birth. In order to
give birth the mother squatted on her heels, sup-
porting herself by holding on to some stationary
object. The midwife would massage her abdomen
and assist in the removal of the child. The mid-
wife then washed the child and gave it to the [846]
mother; she then rested for 6 days before resuming
her duties.

After the child was safely delivered the husband [262]
would go out in search of "palmito de bocaiuva" [824]
for his wife, for these palm shoots were believed
to induce a bountiful supply of milk. It was the 553
duty of the paternal grandfather to give a name 603

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóons* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 561 177 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, Nº 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

● 847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[327] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 [571]

situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557

The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [85]

/134 cont./

563 Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--,
608 baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most
557 formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits
175 of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of
851 the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today,
551 adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period.
178 At present, with the probable exception of the population that
369 still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent
occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio
system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant
184 structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the
795 fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

*177 4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have
797 undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective
171 have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Na- 582
ati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of 565
the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mecha- 557
nisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is at- [554]
tested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each [622]
local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a [701]
single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold 565
assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodat- 554
ing the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) 611
in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, 851
but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

565 554 611 851 been bilateral by the very fact of stratum and moiety endogamy. With the introduction of the Xuna-Xati institution it came to be alternately patrilineal and matrilineal, as shown in the above examples. Some aspects, however, are not too clear. One of these has to do with the extension of the Xuna-Xati standing not only to the true sons of Ego (masculine), but also to all those who were included withim the classificatory term Dje-á i. e., to male offspring, the masculine members of one's sibling group. The disappearance of the social structure here studied leaves this problem practically unsolvable.

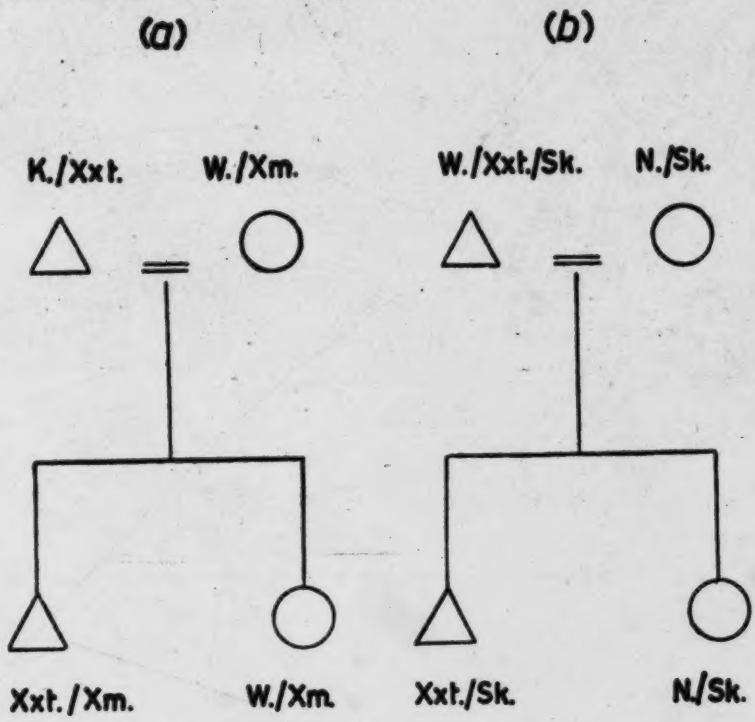


Figure IV

565 554 557 611 In summary, the existence of the Xuna-Xati as a mechanism for increasing both social position (either by enlarging the possibilities of marriage or by integration into the dominant tribal group), as well as political stature ("War Chief"), created a series of aspirations in aboriginal Terena society which were shared by all strata of the

/89 cont./

766 [622] [428] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 [852] Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 527 [628] [302] latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 [805] Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahúquethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 [162] [114] [103] [342] Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] [162] [621] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 283 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 551 177 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young children are carried straddling the mother's hip. [854]

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of [412]
food products. In the preparation of the land, the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 175 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tòhí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302 516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

:Oliveira--151b E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/104b/

142
291
302
854

Young Terena woman with her child. (Cachoeirinha, 1957)

After resting, the men saunter around the village 512
visiting their relatives and friends and discuss- 517
ing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté [521]
by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for 512
the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold 513
weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a [825]
makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are 462
growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building [356]
new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their [857]
parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were 616
in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members [616]
by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any vil- 616
lage of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. 622
The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children—Continued 511

Clothing for 3 children for year:	Cr. $
5 shirts at Cr. $20	100,00
3 pairs of pants at Cr. $15	45,00
3 jackets at Cr. $25	75,00
Total	220,00
Total for clothing for family of 5	975,00
Food and other household items per week:	
Maté tea, 1 kilo	3,50
Salt, ½ kilo	1,00
Soap, 2 pieces laundry soap	2,00
Rice, ¼ kilo	1,00
Dried meat, 1 kilo	6,00
Lard, ½ kilo	5,00
Total for week	18,50
Total for year	962,00
Average annual expenditure for family of 5:	
Clothing	975,00
Food and household items	962,00
Tools, ornaments, tobacco, kerosene, alcoholic beverages, travel, etc	122,00
Total	2.059,00

LIFE HISTORIES

In order to obtain a more intimate understanding of present-day Terena economy a number of brief life histories of representative individuals was made. These histories, although no more than sketches, give some idea of the economic life of men who follow the occupations just described. 121 159

AN EMPLOYEE OF THE INDIAN POST

Eleuterio Demetrio (native name *Oroopa*) is 34 years old. He was born on a Brazilian cattle ranch. His mother is a Terena woman but he believes his father was a Brazilian. He is married to a Terena woman, the marriage having been performed by a Catholic priest. He has six children (three boys and three girls), one of whom is attending the Protestant mission school at the Post. 159 551 177 797 871

He lives in a two-room house with a lean-to kitchen. The walls of the house are made of upright stakes and plastered with clay; the roof is thatched; the dirt floor is made smooth by being beaten with a heavy piece of wood. Inside the house there are a table, three long wooden benches, and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. 342 352

[P.17-A]

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159

one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling. [352] [353] [405]

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians. [241] [443] [438]

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village. [891] [997]

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use. [592] [352] [513] [405] [416]

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away. [231] [241] [494]

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro. [212] [997] [191]

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

[P. 41 -A]

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho,
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

lost two wives, he could marry only a woman who had lost two husbands. Even with all the precautions taken against the ghost, the influence of death clung to individuals who had been intimately connected with a dead person. Today, burial is performed in a Christian manner although some of the old women still mourn by cutting their hair. 765 [587] [177]

MODERN CHANGES

Today the whole cycle of events which mark the important changes of status in individual lives has been changed. Children are baptized, youths go through confirmation, people are married, and are finally buried by the Church. An important period in the life of every young Terena is the time he or she goes to school. It is in the school that they learn, not only to read and write, but to understand the religion, ways, and customs of the people among whom they live. 178 797 [87]

There are two schools in Bananal, one the official Catholic school, the other, operated by Protestant missionaries. The Protestant school was established in 1925. Until 1935 studies were carried on in the house of the chief. After this date a separate schoolhouse was built. In 1936 the Indian Service built the official Government school. The curriculum is the same in both schools, being determined by law. The religious teaching, however, is different. The school year begins on February 15 and ends on November 15, winter holidays extending from June 15 to July 1. Classes begin at 8 o'clock in the morning and go on until 11 o'clock with a 10-minute recess at 9:30. 797 871

The Protestant school today has about 100 students, with one American teacher and 3 Terena girls as assistant teachers. In 1936 the enrollment reached 120. About 20 new students enter each year. By law, students must attend school for 4 years. The three assistant teachers are in charge of the first 3 years, the missionary teacher instructing the advanced students in the fourth year. In the first 2 years the students buy only a slate and a few exercise books and pencils. In the last 2 years they have to buy textbooks. In the first 2 years they learn reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. In the last 2 years courses in geography, Brazilian history, grammar, drawing, and a little natural science is added. For half an hour every morning teaching of the gospel 797 872

[P. 41 -A]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. 797 872 [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. 648 872 797 [875]

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. 797 872 [181]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted 776 [776] [774] [789] 775 [756]

[p. 41-B]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

648
439
366

being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
628 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the
579 result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to
166
[597]

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a
[622] 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi-
[872] pal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
● 872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[247] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/90 cont./

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."

872
628

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

[341]
[875]

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875

they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[341] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

● 872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

[Buriti]

/95 cont./

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

/96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post, built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school, all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region, characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only five kilometers away.

As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries, nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants. On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155) keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers" have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians. From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did not profess the same creed.

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment. 797 872 [876]

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books. 648 872 797 [875]

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil. 797 872 [181]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted 771 [776] [774] [789] 775 [756]

[P. 41 - B]

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./

159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.

[785] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which

[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[247] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "do-
361 mestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
312

/87 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

162 Among all the Terêna communities, it seems that Limão
621 Verde is the one with the most diversified ethnic composition. Probably even more so than Lalima. In the Limão Verde nucleus alone there are 10 neo-Brazilian families and two Paraguayan ones, aside from many mestizos of Terêna origin. In Córrego Sêco, however, there are only Terêna families, undoubtedly
621 owing to its more isolated geographic position. As in Bananal,
798 there are in Limão Verde serious conflicts of politico-religious
797 origin. In the community (as in the other Terêna aldeas), North American Redemptorist padres work hard at the religious proselytism of their members. Also Protestants, of the same Bananal group, endeavor to convert Indians, Paraguayans, and neo-Brazilians to their creed. The result of this has been the division of the small Limão Verde nucleus into Catholics and Protestants and the identification of Córrego Sêco as a Catholic nucleus (in the same way as Ipegue).

162 Going from Aquidauana to Limão Verde, one passes
361 through three population nuclei: in the first place, Morrinho;
368 where we found several /88/ bolichos, among which that of the
871 "Paraguayan" was the biggest and the best supplied; in this nucleus we did not find Indians and it would be more fitting to describe it as a neo-Brazilian settlement, with a rural school and Catholic church; in the second place, one passes through Limão Verde proper, where we found two churches, one Catholic and the other Protestant; both serve also as schools, with a school of the municipality operating in the first and one of the
[875] Protestant mission itself in the second; in both, the teaching body is made up exclusively of Indians and mestizos (it should be emphasized that the município teacher is Pascoal Dias, nephew of old Daniel); finally, one reaches Córrego Sêco, whose children--in truth very few--attend the Limão Verde schools.

439 Limão Verde, comprising both nuclei, prefers to sell its products to Aquidauana, where they fetch better prices, although it also maintains trade relations with the neo-Brazilian

/90 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[297] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

361 Native Post, is central only because it comprises the post
621 building, along with the Catholic church and six Indian dwellings; in the second nucleus, called Água Branca aldea, there is the bulk of the "reservation" population, with 14 ranchos on the banks of the Urumbeva and quite close to the old aldea of Laranjal. Água Branca is actually the oldest population concentration, surpassing by far the other nucleus, which is more important only from an administrative standpoint, since
872 the native post is built in it. The official aldea school
875 operates in the post building, its teacher is the captain's daughter, and it is attended only by the children of nearby homes. Thus, all of the child and youth population of Água Branca, which naturally includes most of the children in the community, is excluded from the official school and is served only by a small private school headed by a Terêna "Believer." (150)

872
798

150. This school in "Água Branca" was built only recently. In 1955, when we were there, there was only the post school, and the inhabitants of Brejão, as a rule, implied that they wanted nothing to do with "Believers."

872
628

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned group from Aldeinha--led by old "Neco"--organized a "passeio" /"walk"/ (the term used by the informant) to "Água Branca" and, as a result, the visitors were invited

[346]
[875]

to build a school there. With four men from Aldeinha and some helpers from "Água Branca"

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875

they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community,
621 it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho."
[439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians,
439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it
241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts.
797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community
[342] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission,
177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an [795] area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, [797] a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The [184] result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical [875] mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing [622] to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

/95 cont./ [Buriti]

872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I. school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single adult male in the community; they were all working on the fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos" and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the "bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[433] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them because of the insufficient production of goods on the reserva-
[252] tion. It should be borne in mind that the chief product in Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropî*, and *Hihíaiuné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black. 616 796 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people. 565 [582] 881 565 622 [292] [567] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master. 565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers. 616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [237]

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it. 553 203 853 854 844

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced. 177 844 [797] 55 195 847

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only. 881 622 565 [302] [516]

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish. 841 823

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but 881 622 565 292

[Chaco Period]

881
622
565
[292]

also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's father and in the presence of all the members of the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

584

In the old days parents arranged marriages between their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

[567]

The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

585
574

When the girl reached puberty the wedding ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's parents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

585

The bride's father then led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not
881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken-
[352] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned
[302] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several
[534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every
[602] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and
[285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is
595 permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the
[588] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way
585 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at
527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis-
768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they
[304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons.
766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he
622
428

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

maintaining its social superiority, namely the Naati. One of the incidents most frequently mentioned by the Terena occurred in 1910, and illustrates the vitality of the threefold, assymmetrical structure. A Waheré-Txané family asked the hand of a Naati girl in marriage to one of their own young men, since the two were very much in love. The grandmother of the girl (mother of her mother) refused to give her consent on the grounds that the suitor was not a Naati. She finally gave in at the insistence of her own family: her son-in-law (father of the girl) had his wife intercede with her mother (the girl's grandmother) pleading that having to feed three daughters was too much for him. Some conclusions can be drawn from this incident: 1) the importance of the women in a Terena family, being as it were the guardian of tribal tradition (a number of examples support this observation); 2) a situation typical of the transitional state of the strata; 3) the important place of the old people in the Terena social system, almost suggesting the possibility of a gerontocracy (the retention of power by old people in the modern "Village Councils" is pertinent to this hypothesis).[10] There are Naati families in Cachoerinha that continue to maintain the endogamy of the stratum marrying by preference solely from among the stratum and with difficulty tolerate a marriage of one their stratum with a Waheré-Txané.

This brings us to the conclusion that, while the dual, symmetrical structure has disappeared as a regulatory element in marriage, remembered now only as a "ceremonial principle", the threefold, assymetrical structure, while remembered by relatively few, continues to have a certain effect precarious at best, in the regulation of marriage of the Naati as a social in-group.

4. Warrior Heroes—The Xuna-Xati

The dynamic of the threefold structure depended upon the Xuna-Xati. According to the interpretation of Oberg (1948 : 284, 1949 : 28-29), the Xuna-Xati represented a social "class" midway between the Naati and the Waheré. This interpretation appears to us to be unfounded, since both the Naati and the Waheré, as well as the Kauti, could become Xuna-Xati by having *killed an enemy in battle*. Xuna-Xati represented, then the *killer*, the warrior who distinguished himself on the battlefield by killing an adversary. The Terena recount that, after having killed an enemy, the warrior put his foot on the chest of

[10] The "Village Council" an institution created by the Indian Protective Service, was at first composed entirely of Naati individuals, taking advantage of the prestige of the elders in order to have a greater voice in th communities. Later certain prominent Waheré-Txané in each local group were accepted.